

Thomas A. Hickey

WILL LECTURE ON

SOCIALISM

In Spanish

Fri Sep 9 night
Sat Sep 10 night

All are Invited to Hear Him.

BIG ENCAMPMENT

**At O'Brien, in Haskell
County, Aug. 5, 6.**

Everybody cordially invited. A large crowd is expected. Plenty of beef, plenty of bread, plenty of refreshments. Good speaking by such speakers as Reddin Andrews, T. A. Hickey, Mother Jones and Bill Haywood. Col. Dick Maple may be at our service. Fine camping ground and plenty of stock water. Come and hear the only live issue discussed. Time will be divided with any representative man who thinks he has something better to offer than Socialism. Remember the date:

AUGUST 5 AND 6

Farmers Journal  Print, Abilene.

Some Straight Tips to Voters.

1. The tickets printed hereon will appear in the column headed SOCIALIST PARTY on the Official Ballot at each polling place next November. Don't be fooled into voting the "Socialist-Labor" ticket.
2. Every farmer and wage-worker knowing his own interest will vote the STRAIGHT Socialist ticket, as all other tickets represent the capitalist class. It's easily done. Take your pencil and run a line from top to bottom through every column except that of the SOCIALIST PARTY.
3. One straight Socialist ballot worries the master class more than a thousand votes for any other party. Be a man for once. Quit voting WITH the plutes, but vote AGAINST them. Don't say: "I want to give the old party one more chance." That is just what you and the likes of you have been saying all the time. Give us a chance this time. The best way to make the old parties do better is to SCARE them into doing better. See the point?
4. If you favor Socialist principles it is your sacred duty to GO TO THE POLLS and vote the straight ticket. No excuse short of sickness or death will go. The hopeless, lifeless, helpless, stay-at-home "near-Socialists" are greater enemies to the Cause than all the anti-Socialist knockers in Christendom.

This Leaflet is issued by the state office Socialist Party, (E. R. Meitzen, Secretary) Hallettsville, Tex., at: 1000 leaflets with blank for county and district ticket for \$2.70; 500, \$1.45; 250, 75c; 100, 40c; 50, 30c; postpaid.

If you want a speaker, or desire to organize a local, or wish to do anything or know anything pertaining to the organization write to your county secretary, or to the state secretary.

District and County Ticket.

State Ticket and Platform SOCIALIST PARTY OF TEXAS



Reddin Andrews, of Tyler, nominee for governor, native Texan, born 62 years ago in Fayette county; a Confederate veteran; an eminent Baptist minister; was president of Baylor university. A clean, lovable and cultured man who has refused lucrative positions as teacher and preacher in order to devote his great abilities and energies to the cause of Socialism. He is the very opposite of Colquitt—the corporation candidate.

P. G. Zimmerman, of Anson, Jones county, nominee for lieutenant governor, aged 36, is a live and noble young worker for the cause of humanity. As a speaker and especially as an organizer he is favorably known throughout western Texas, where he has helped to build up a strong movement. He is strictly a man of and for the working class and the very opposite of Davidson—the politician and lawyer-aristocrat.

For Governor	REDDIN ANDREWS, of Tyler.
For Lieut. Governor	P. G. ZIMMERMAN of Anson.
For Comptroller	E. R. MEITZEN, of Hallettsville.
For Com. Gen. Land Office	ALF. MUELLER, of San Antonio.
For State Treasurer	W. J. BELL, of Tyler.
For Attorney General	M. A. SMITH, of Commerce.
For Supt. Public Instruction	MRS. H. A. FEE, of San Antonio.
For Com. of Agriculture	M. S. GRAHAM, of Lueders.
For Railway Commissioner	J. C. ASCHENBECK, of Wharton
For " " " "	EUSTACE BELLINGER, San Antonio
For Associate Justice Sup. Court	S. H. TUCKER, of Gatesville.
For As'te Justice Court Crim. Ap...	G. P. MCLESTER, of Nimrod.

SOCIALIST STATE PLATFORM

Drafted by the platform committee, A. N. Simpson, J. L. Swan, G. W. M. Taylor (all farmers) July 9. Adopted, referendum Aug. 7, state meeting Aug 9, 1910

The Socialist party of Texas reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of International Socialism as expressed through the National platform of the Socialist party.

Today, men, women and children work with complex and wonderfully productive machinery. The driver of the modern locomotive can transport more articles of commerce in one hour than his predecessor of fifty years could in months by means of the overland cart. The wonderful textile machines, attended by children, turn out miles of cloth where the hand loom of the past wove inches. The combined steam header, thresher, and sacker harvest thousands of bushels of grain where the scythe and the flail of the last century harvested none. Whichever way Society looks, the same advancement in every line of industry is seen. Because of this evolution of machinery and its complement—the acquisition of land—the members of society have been separated into CLASSES: the owners or non-workers, and the non-owners or workers. The workers, or the majority, in order to obtain life's necessities, MUST use the land or the machines. But before they can use either, they must secure permission of the owner or the minority. Permission is never granted, only on the condition that the workers surrender a part of their labor's product to the owner. This constitutes the economic basis of society, and can be changed only by making the ow-

nership of the land and machinery collective: i. e. by making Society the owner, instead of the individual. In order to perpetuate Society's present economic foundation, the owners of the land and the machinery MUST maintain political power. For the workers to change the present economic status, and thereby retain to themselves the full social product of their labor, they must come INTO possession of the political power.

The Socialist party of Texas has for its object, the capture of the political power of this state, and pledges its candidates, on penalty of recall and expulsion from the party, to labor for the economic changes as set forth in the above,

Immediate Demands

THEREFORE IT DEMANDS:

1. A democratic form of government by constitutional amendment providing for the initiative, referendum and power of recall, on a basis of six, eight and fifteen per cent respectively.

2. The extension of the full right of franchise to women.

3. The abolition of the poll tax as a qualification to the right of ballot, and the simplification of the Terrell Election Law to a correct and an easy interpretation by the average voter.

4. The unrestricted right of peaceable assembly, free speech, and free press. To this end we demand the refusal by the state to

cities of charters tending to restrict or abridge this constitutional right.

5. That the State of Texas cease the sale of school or other public lands; that all land now held by lease, shall, on the expiration of said lease become a part of the public domain, upon payment for all improvements at an appraised valuation.

6. That the state purchase all land sold for taxes in this state, the same to become part of the public domain.

7. That non-resident land owners assess their own land, the state reserving the right to purchase such land at its assessed value, plus 10 per cent.

8. A graduated land tax on all farm land held for exploitation or speculation.

9. That the state rent to landless farmers unoccupied farm land now in its possession, or hereafter acquired, at the prevailing rate of rent share. As soon as such rent share amounts in the aggregate to a sum equal to one-half the value of the land at the time of application, rent to cease, and the state to issue to such tenant a permanent right of occupancy.

10. That the tools, teams, and implements of landless farmers to the amount of \$800 be exempt from taxation.

11. The state ownership of cotton gins, cottonseed oil mills, cotton compresses, warehouses, and other utilities in their nature public.

12. The establishment of an eight-hour work day among all day laborers; the passage of sanitary laws and their rigid enforcement in

all public works; strict inspection of mills, mines, factories, etc.; abolition of child labor in all wage-paying industries; state fire, life, accident and sick insurance.

13. The immediate and speedy extension of the state railway, employing free labor at prevailing union wages.

14. Humane and scientific treatment of the inmates of the state penitentiaries, all the value of their labor above an economical cost of maintenance to go to their families or dependents.

15. The erection, by the state, of as many as three sanitaria, to be located equiangularly or as nearly as may be; board and treatment of inmates to be furnished by the state.

16. All physicians and surgeons doing general practice in this state shall be in the employ of the state. To this end we recommend the districting of the counties on a basis of square miles; the distribution of physicians proportional to the population; and the operation, by the state, of a drug dispensary in each such district. The removal of any physician for incompetency to be by majority vote of qualified voters in such district.

17. Free text books to the scholastic pupils in the public schools, and adequate public maintenance of all destitute and semi-destitute children in this state.

18. That the right of asylum to political refugees shall not be denied in Texas. We condemn the act of some officials in lending aid to foreign tyrants and Pinkerton thugs to have such men extradited or imprisoned.

JOINT DISCUSSION

**Between Democratic and
Socialist Party
Champions**

JUL 9 1910



A. C. Nicholson, the well-known Democrat of Haskell County, and T. A. Hickey of Phoenix, Arizona, State Organizer of the Socialist Party, will fight out the question of the Socialist Party platform on Saturday afternoon and night, at the Stamford Opera House.

Each man is endorsed by his party and a good time is promised to all when these gentlemen meet

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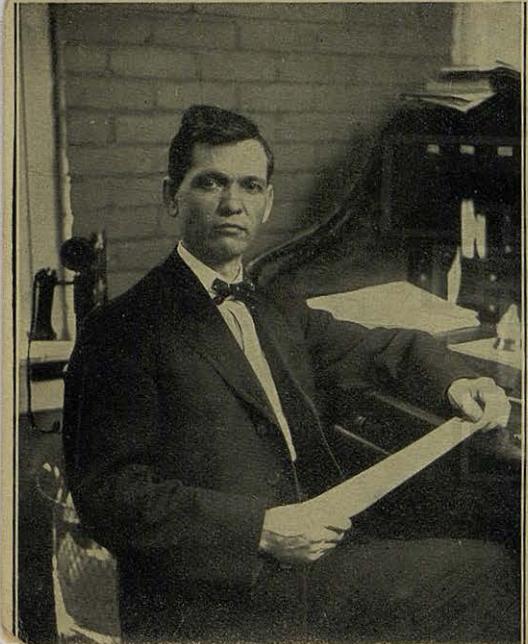
DEAR COMRADE:

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YOURS FOR THE REVOLUTION,



Comrade Fred Warren

SOCIALIST EDITOR WHO WAS
CONVICTED AND SENTENCED
BY A FEDERAL COURT, U.S.A.

"IN conclusion, permit me to say that I am not asking the mercy or leniency of this court. I have committed no crime and there is festering in my conscience no accusation of guilt, but if my conviction and punishment will serve to rivet public attention upon the abuses which I have tried to point out, then I shall feel that I have not suffered this humiliation in vain.

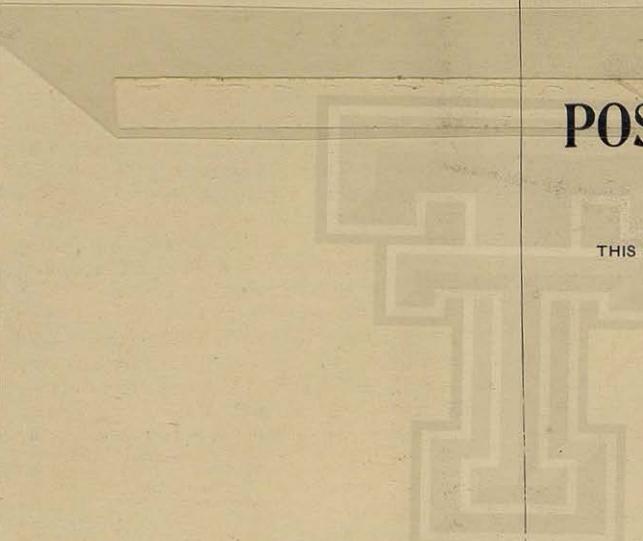
"After all, this is the price of human progress. Why should I expect immunity? The courts have ever been and are to-day the bulwarks of the ruling class. Why should they not punish offenders against that class?"—
Extract from Warren's Federal Court Speech.

Paper, 10 cents

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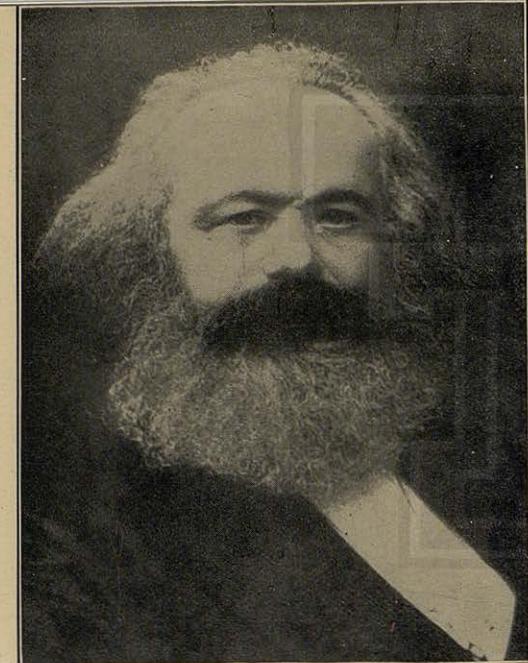
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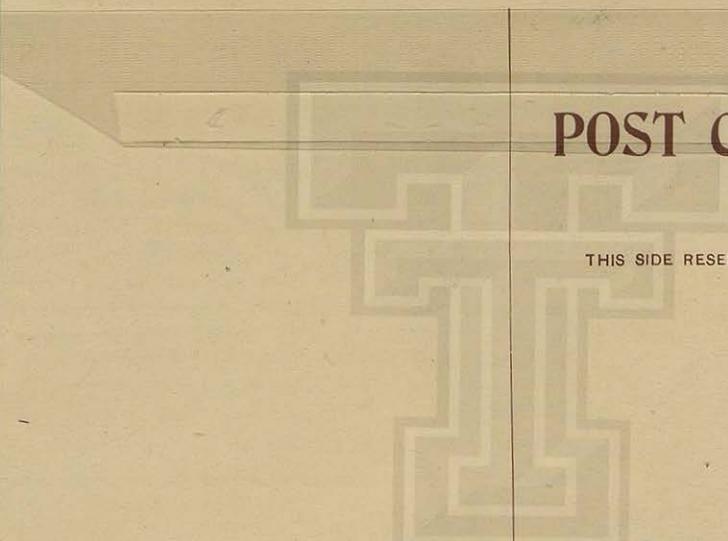
Karl Marx

Trades Unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class. * * * Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work!" they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wages system!"—From Value, Price and Profit.

Marx is recognized by general consent of friends and enemies as the greatest of socialist writers. His principal works are Capital, The Poverty of Philosophy, Value, Price and Profit, Revolution and Counter Revolution and the Communist Manifesto. Catalog of his books and other socialist writings mailed free on request.

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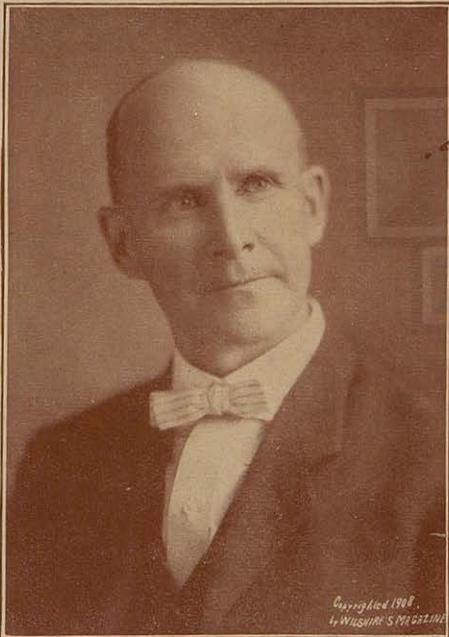
 118 Kinzie Street, Chicago.



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Comrade Eugene V. Debs

Says in "Revolutionary Unionism":

In every mill and every factory, every mine and every quarry, every railroad and every shop, everywhere the workers, enlightened, understanding their self-interest, are correlating themselves in the industrial and economic mechanism. They are developing their industrial consciousness, their economic and political power; and when the revolution comes they will be prepared to take possession and assume control of every industry. With the education they will have received in the Industrial Workers they will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for Industrial Mastery and Social Freedom.

Five books by Debs, You Railroad Men! Craft Unionism, Class Unionism, Industrial Unionism and Revolutionary Unionism, all mailed to one address for 10c. A dozen Socialist Post Cards, assorted, 10c.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,
118 Kinzie Street, Chicago.



Special May Day Anti-Military Edition

PROGRESSIVE WOMAN

Prepared by the Woman's National Committee as a protest from the mothers and daughters of the working class against the military usurpation by the capitalists, and the subservience of the United States Government to their dictation.

COMRADES, GREETING:—

As you circulate petitions, and as you gather together in protest meetings, strengthen your arguments with the printed facts. Show your neighbors the TRUE CONDITIONS in Mexico. Prove to them that the capitalists, with the aid of President Taft and the United States Government, are enticing our boys into the army to be murdered for Wall Street greed. If we submit to the further brutalization and enslavement of our brothers across the Rio Grande, our turn will come next. BE NOT DECEIVED! THE ARMY IS BEING STRENGTHENED FOR USE AGAINST US, THE WORKING CLASS! This special ANTI-MILITARY EDITION will PROVE IT.

This edition of the Progressive Woman is made up of striking extracts from George R. Kirkpatrick's "War—What For?" and John Kenneth Turner's "Barbarous Mexico" and other writers who have cried aloud to warn the workers of the coming danger. Here are some of the articles:

BARBAROUS MEXICO, by John Kenneth Turner

"What is Mexico?" This article gives you a true picture of Mexico.

"The American Partners of Diaz."

"American Persecution of the Enemies of Diaz."

WAR—WHAT FOR? by George R. Kirkpatrick.

"A Special Warning to the Working Class." Comrades, WE DARE DELAY NO LONGER! ACT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

"The Dick Militia Law." Do you know what it is? Then give your neighbor a copy of this magazine, and see that he learns how he has been betrayed.

"The Cost of War." The cost of war in the warm life-blood of our boys, in the sweat and blood of our class. Use the figures, and convince your doubting neighbor. Show him what it costs him in homes, schools, universities. Show him that for him and his class WAR IS HELL!

"Advertisement for Men for the Navy." This is an OPEN INSULT to the workers. As MEN and WOMEN, and not SLAVES, let us ACT.

"Description of a Japanese-Russian Battlefield by Mr. Richard Barry," in "Port Arthur, A Monster Heroism." Read this, fathers and mothers, and then decide to sacrifice your boys if you can.

"What Shall We Do?" That is the question we must decide, and this article is filled with valuable suggestions.

These and other articles of vital importance are in this number of the Progressive Woman. It is already off the press and orders can be filled at once. If you have no speaker for a protest meeting a full program is prepared for you, songs, recitations, the Proclamation issued by the National Executive Committee, the Protest of the Mothers, everything complete. Send in your order without delay. Address, Progressive Woman, Girard, Kans. Price 1½ cent a copy in bundles of ten or more.

Fraternally yours,

CAROLINE A. LOWE

General Correspondent,

Woman's National Committee

WOMAN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE

205 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN SUBS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN

Special Rate, 25 cents per year

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Aspermont, Texas, April 2nd, 1911.

To the people who are for the bonds, and against the bonds for the purpose of probably giving each of you a statement of the business end of the proposed Bond issue:

We the undersigned, desirous of submitting a statement of the cost of the building of a Court House for this County, as proposed by the Bond Issue, make the following explanation of the business end of the proposition. First, It will take a levy of tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents on the \$100.00 dollars valuation, on a basis of County values of \$5,500,000 or 75 cents on the \$1,000.00, in other words if your property is valued at \$500.00 the extra tax will be $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per annum on a valuation of \$500.00 which multiplied by 40 (as the bonds will be payable in 10 years and due in 40 years) gives \$15.00 it will cost you in all when the debt is paid, and one has 40 years to pay that amount ~~at 5 per cent interest~~ without interest. The same rule applies either up or down. A tax payer whose property is \$10,000.00 will of course pay 20 times that amount, and a taxpayer whose value is \$100.00 will only pay one-fifth that amount.

In regard to public improvements the Bond issue is really the only way to raise the funds, so the burden will bear equally on everyone, as the man who is worth \$50,000.00 will be compelled to pay fifty times the amount of one who has only \$1,000.00 wort of property.

In this question there is only two business propositions to be met and dealt with.

The first is, do the people of Stonewall county Texas need a Court House?

The second is, are we able to build it?

The first question answers itself, in the affirmative very forcibly.

The second is answered by saying that we are, and then some. We have the right to issue bonds for not over 5 per cent of the total values of the County, while our present bonded indebtedness is one and three-tenths per cent of the present values.

Our county is in splendid financial condition, the indebtedness being one and three-tenths per cent of the values or in explanation thereof will say, that if one has \$1000.00 in cash or property, and owes \$13.00 is he in bad financial condition? This is the undisputed fact of the final status of this County. We do not present you with this for the purpose of misleading you in this matter, but wish to state the facts as they actually are.

These figures are made on a basis and with the supposition that the property values remaining for the coming 40 years at the present amount, \$5,500,000, which any foreseeing mind can readily conceive that it will be double in 15 years after this date, and then the tax for the \$50,000 will be less than one-half of the rate levied at this time for the bonds, for after the expiration of ten years there will be an accumulation of \$12,500, which will pay one-fourth of the entire issue, which alone, without increase of property values a single dollar, will reduce the burden to a tax of 5.6 tax levy for the \$50,000 issus.

It has come to us that the bonds will increase the taxes from one-third to one-half more than they are now, and to the reasonable arid calculating mind, this is untrue.

Remember that SOME of the leaders in the proposition have personal interest at stake, and prey upon the minds of the unwary, concealing the real motiye of their opposition to the bond issue, and will, no doubt, between this date and the 8th of April, submit to the voters a statement of some kind against the question, and all that we ask is to compare this statement with any others, and you will observe that the matters herein referred to, cannot be successfully disproven.

We make this appeal to you as a thinking man that you may ponder it well and ask that you consider only the two questions above mentioned—all other petty objections are of no moment and should not be considered. The people of Aspermont are for the development of the county as well as the town, for a general upbuilding of the reputation and standing of the county in order that we may creditably rank with our sister counties. Will you help us do it? Talk it over among your friends, help us to place your county and our county upon the level that she deserves, bury the hatchet of discontent, and unite and win the victory on April 8th, by voting for the bonds.

A. V. McCARTY,
J. C. LINK,
J. B. LIPSCOMB,
J. DURHAM,
T. M. HILL,
J. A. GHOLSTON,
M. D. GUEST.

Have you
seen my
lover, Jerry,
my sunny brown

III. b

A. G. MCGARRY
J. E. LINN
J. R. LIPSCOMB
J. D. MARKHAM
T. M. HILL
J. V. CHOLSTON
W. D. CUTTER

LET US USE THE LOCAL NEWSPAPERS.

"Poteet, Tex., Jan. 2, 1912.—J. L. Hicks, Abilene, Texas: Dear Comrade—Our local newspaper, the Poteet Register, has offered our local the use of two of its columns for the discussion of Socialism. This offer came unsolicited and also as a surprise. As we are a weak local here I doubt if we can do justice to our space without help from the outside. Can you make us any suggestion or help us in any way? The editors of the Register are not Socialists. Please give us your opinion as to how to proceed. Your comrade, JOHN SCARBOROUGH, Literature Agent for Poteet Local No. 1070."

Now, friends, see what an opportunity there is right there, simply thrust upon the Socialists, to do the most telling and effective work for our cause! And I believe there are dozens and scores of such opportunities only waiting for us to take them up. Why not go after them? The time is ripe, and we can very likely reach many thousands of voters through the local county papers who cannot now be induced to read a straight-out Socialist paper. If we will make the effort, in earnest, there is no estimating the good we may accomplish. Nearly all the local editors are treating the Socialists with more courtesy than they once did, and I am convinced that many of them would grant us space free, or for a small consideration, if they could be assured that the space would be used in a clean and respectful manner, without personal abuse or ugly and offensive language, for the purpose of telling what Socialism is and what it is not.

Now, comrades, if my work for seven years as editor of the Farmers Journal, and from the first of July to the last of December as edi-

tor of the fourth page of The Rebel, is a guarantee that I am qualified to conduct a Socialist Department in your local newspaper, and it is your desire that I should do such work, I will agree to furnish matter for a column or two columns, as the case may be, if you, my comrades, will make up for me the small sum of one dollar a week. And if we can enlist a sufficient number of papers, this rate of compensation will be reduced. Arrange with your editor for the space, and agree upon some one of your number to deal directly with me in the matter, and I am ready at once to begin sending to your local paper the weekly installments of matter setting forth the reasons why all working people should be Socialists. In this move I have the hearty co-operation and good will of all the Socialists in and around Abilene whom I have been able to meet, and to whom I have submitted this whole matter before sending it out over the state. If we can get into the local newspapers with our arguments, many of their readers will soon be wanting the Appeal and other Socialist papers.

The little colored leaflet inclosed herewith is intended for your local editor. Take it to him at once, let him read it, talk kindly with him about it, and let's see what can be done.

Yours to carry Socialism into the enemy's country,
J. L. HICKS.
Abilene, Tex.
[Please read this to your comrades.]

Socialist Party Platform

Adopted by National Convention, May 1908 and by Membership Referendum August 8th, 1908
Amended by Referendum September 7th, 1909



Issued by the National Executive Committee Socialist Party.

180 Washington Street, Chicago.

Principles Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

To-day the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society. The small farmer, who is to-day exploited by

large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

There can be no absolute private title to land. All private titles, whether called fee simple or otherwise, are and must be subordinate to the public title. The Socialist Party strives to prevent land from being used for the purpose of exploitation and speculation. It demands the collective possession, control or management of land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bona fide manner without exploitation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist Party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

PROGRAM

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

GENERAL DEMANDS.

1—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work-day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamboat lines and all other means of social transportation and communication.

3—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

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

5—The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assembly.

INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.

7—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all un-inspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

8—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

9—A graduated income tax.

10—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12—The abolition of the senate.

13—The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

15—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

16—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

17—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18—The free administration of justice.

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

OVERSIZE CORRESPONDENCE

Communication to the
Socialists of Texas

10" x 11"

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correspondence

JOINT DISCUSSION

**Between Democratic and
Socialist Party
Champions**

JUL 9 1910

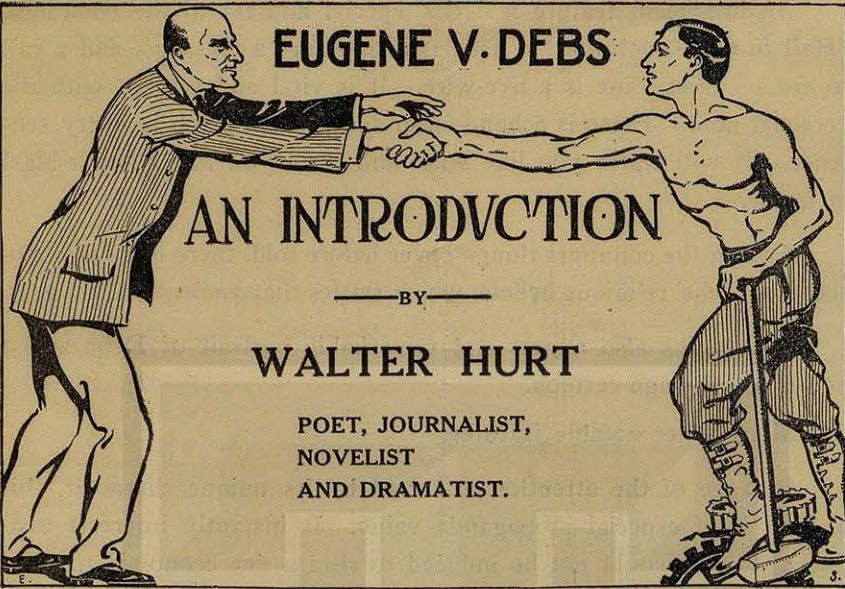


A. C. Nicholson, the well-known Democrat of Haskell County, and T. A. Hickey of Phoenix, Arizona, State Organizer of the Socialist Party, will fight out the question of the Socialist Party platform on Saturday afternoon and night, at the Stamford Opera House.

Each man is endorsed by his party and a good time is promised to all when these gentlemen meet

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TRIBUNE PRINT. STAMFORD



EUGENE V. DEBS
AN INTRODUCTION

—BY—
WALTER HURT

POET, JOURNALIST,
NOVELIST
AND DRAMATIST.

Do You Know Debs?

If you *don't* you *will* know him, and if you *do* you'll know him better, after you've read "Eugene V. Debs: An Introduction," by Walter Hurt.

Nothing like this has ever before been written—it is the Book of Personal Revelations.

No man knows Debs better, more intimately—and more correctly—than does Walter Hurt. And out of the amplitude of this understanding he has given us an accurate analysis. Not only has he portrayed the real and characteristic Debs with fidelity and skill, but he also has given us the wherefore of his being.

Walter Hurt, author of "The Scarlet Shadow," former associate editor of the *Appeal to Reason* and first editor of the New York *Daily Call*, is a member of the Girard (Kan.) Local, and no man has stood closer to Debs both in his public work and in his private life. Because of this intimate association he has been able to give the world an illuminating insight of this great evangelist of economic salvation.

Throughout the pages of this book keen wit and sparkling satire, touching pathos and earnest eloquence, are interwoven with the soundest Socialist philosophy. It is forceful, logical, convincing.

An important feature is Debs' special address to the comrades, "Hail to the Revolution!" This is a greeting, a message, and a call to arms. Every line is a live-wire. It is vital and vibrant with the personal note. There is a hand-clasp and a heart-throb in every sentence. It will warm you like wine and thrill you like a bugle-blast in battle.

Among the countless things never before told, there is a full exposition of Debs' religious beliefs, which settles that ancient controversy.

It contains also a new and remarkable portrait of Debs and a powerful full-page cartoon.

Many other notable features.

Because of the attention attracted by its unique character, this booklet is of especial propaganda value. It instantly interests non-Socialists who could not be induced to read a dry economic treatise. An evidence of this interest is found in the unusual nature of the notices given it by the capitalist press, of which the following extracts will serve as examples:

This brochure on Debs is a decided departure from the ordinary Socialist propaganda literature.—*Boston Globe*.

Few writers would dare, and fewer still would care, to say such things about any man until he is dead.—*New York Sun*.

This Monograph on a Man is one of the most remarkable literary productions that has come to our notice.—*New York Times*.

Evidently the writer's purpose is to popularize Socialism by increasing the popularity of its most eminent exponent.—*Omaha Bee*.

If Debs' personality is half so attractive as Hurt's description of it, there is small wonder that he holds his following.—*Galveston News*.

If the public can be convinced that Debs is all this writer says he is, it certainly should add to his strength as a Presidential candidate.—*Detroit Free Press*.

Disapproval of Hurt's economic doctrines need not impair the enjoyment of his delightful diction and clever phrasing. * * * His persuasive pen invests with a glamour of plausibility the most fallacious of social theories.—*Minneapolis Tribune*.

The author has cleverly utilized the personality of Debs to point certain Socialist arguments and illustrate some uncertain effects of Socialism. * * * Considered as a literary product, it will interest the general reader.—*Cincinnati Times-Star*.

Socialism seems to have robbed Hurt's pen of none of its potency. * * * He discourses on even the driest subjects in fascinating fashion. * * * In this pamphlet he has produced a masterpiece of pure and powerful English.—*Chicago Evening Post*.

The best that can be His characteristic literary worth reading for sake of *Cleveland Leader*.

Many who have known to find him in the role of a ever, has at least the meri interest others.—*Philadelphia*

Walter Hurt, formerly brilliantly written brochure who fail to agree with th nevertheless, admire the *Morning Telegraph*.

As samples of wh following will suffice:

Criticism pales before colorful as opal, which are Every Socialist should have well as to show his friends made in the workshop of L McMahon, in New York 1

Do you know Debs? E Hurt introduce you to "O of us know Debs, know him presented us with a literary every Socialist. It is a hu man, and we are glad to h fore get it!—*Chicago Daily*

Comrade Hurt has wri not merely a verbal blosso coldly laid upon the bier o living flowers, whose prof gives his life and gets so l of no more beautiful tribu may enjoy the perfume of their odor in Hurt's book, to *Reason*.

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The best that can be said of this booklet is that it is eminently Hurtesque. His characteristic literary sparkle flashes from every page. * * * It is well worth reading for sake of the luxury of its English, if for no other reason.—*Cleveland Leader*.

Many who have known Walter Hurt as a newspaper writer will be surprised to find him in the role of a Socialist pamphleteer. * * * His latest work, however, has at least the merit of originality. * * * It will please Socialists and interest others.—*Philadelphia North American*.

Walter Hurt, formerly editorial writer on this paper, has brought out a brilliantly written brochure entitled "Eugene V. Debs: An Introduction." Many who fail to agree with the author's estimate of the man or his mission will, nevertheless, admire the adroit manner in which the matter is handled.—*New York Morning Telegraph*.

As samples of what the Socialist press thinks of this book, the following will suffice:

— Criticism pales before the sparkle of the verbal gems, clear as diamond and colorful as opal, which are packed in the casket of Walter Hurt's tribute to Debs. Every Socialist should have this casket for his own pleasure and inspiration, as well as to show his friends. These jewels are artificial in a sense, yet they were made in the workshop of love. They excel the wares of Maiden Lane.—*John R. McMahon, in New York Daily Call*.

Do you know Debs? Eugene V. Debs! If not, be sure to let Comrade Walter Hurt introduce you to "Our 'Gene.'" It is worth your while, of a verity. Some of us know Debs, know him pretty well—but nothing like Comrade Hurt, who has presented us with a literary portrait of our leader that should be in the hands of every Socialist. It is a human document—a transcript of the soul; it reveals the man, and we are glad to have seen it. And comrades all, so will you be—therefore get it!—*Chicago Daily Socialist*.

Comrade Hurt has written a very beautiful tribute to Eugene V. Debs. It is not merely a verbal blossom given to a man who is worthy—not even a wreath coldly laid upon the bier of a great personage—but it is veritably a garden of living flowers, whose profusion must cheer the soul of the weary agitator who gives his life and gets so little from it save the joy of his own service. I know of no more beautiful tribute made to any man in any age, and I am glad Debs may enjoy the perfume of his own unselfish thoughts and deeds, as they exhale their odor in Hurt's book, while he yet lives.—*Charles Lincoln Phifer, in Appeal to Reason*.

This extract from a letter by Ryan Walker, the widely-known cartoonist, is a specimen of what hundreds of delighted comrades are saying about the book: "It is a masterly bit of literature—something of which every Socialist in America should be proud."

Hurt now writes of Debs, and as a warrant that he writes worthily it is well to quote from something Debs once wrote of Hurt:

"Ingersoll said of Shakespeare, 'From his brain there poured a Niagara of gems.' The same can with truth be said of Walter Hurt. Every page he has written gleams with literary gems, sparkling epigrams, flashing wit, melting pathos, and the true philosophy of love and life."

Wherever this book has been distributed it is proving the greatest Socialist campaign document ever printed. Start some of them to work in your community if you want an easy time making converts.

Get the book and **Get It Busy.**

Price, 15 cents; two for 25 cents; ten for \$1.00. Prices on larger quantities quoted upon request.

A PICTURE OF DEBS.

The finest likeness and the only really high-class portrait of the Saul of Socialism ever made. It is something superb—the extreme of elegance, the quintessence of quality. The drawing is a magnificent masterpiece—individual, distinctive, speaking—and every detail of the mechanical execution is done in a style befitting so noble an art reproduction. Read what Debs himself says about it:

"This is the best portrait of myself that has ever been made. It has life and force and personality. It is all that could be desired in faithful portraiture—the very genius of delineation."

This drawing has all the fidelity of a photograph, while possessing the artistic qualities which the limitations of photography preclude. It is fit to grace any parlor or library wall, and should be in the home of every comrade. Just the thing for Local headquarters. Beautifully printed on heavy pebbled lithograph paper and handsomely mounted. Size, 11 x 14 inches. Price, prepaid, 25 cents; five for \$1.00.

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WILLIAMSBURG, O.



DEBS: HIS LIFE, WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

Look into the heart of Eugene V. Debs, and you will find written large upon it: **THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD.** And this book is a glimpse into the heart of the great Revolutionist.

The life sketch, by Stephen Marion Reynolds, one of Debs' life-long friends and co-workers, is full of personal reminiscences that will inspire the heart of every Socialist.

All of Debs' writings and speeches which he thinks worth preserving appear in this book.

How I Became a Socialist relates how actual battles with capitalists brought Debs to realize the Class Struggle.

The American Movement is a condensed history of Socialism in the United States.

The Reply to John Mitchell proves beyond a doubt that a "labor leader" who serves the interests of capital is a traitor to the wage-workers who trusted him.



The Growth of Socialism,
You Railroad Men,
Unity and Victory,
Liberty,
The Issue,
Arouse, Ye Slaves,
Craft Unionism,
Industrial Unionism,

The Federal Government and the
Chicago Strike,
Open Letter to Roosevelt,
Prison Labor,
The Socialist Party and the Work-
ing Class,
Class Unionism,
Revolutionary Unionism,

with the other contents of this book are the cream of Debs' writings and speeches. No man can know Eugene V. Debs and fail to recognize his splendid class loyalty, his love for the working class. And to read this book is to know our 'Gene.

Extra cloth, stamped in gold, 515 large pages, with 15 full-page illustrations.

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THREE DAYS'
DEBATE

Mr. Will T. Bagby
[Leading Democrat]

vs.

Mr. Thos. A. Hickey
(State Organizer Socialist Party)

ROYAL THEATRE, YOAKUM, TEX.

Nov. 25, 26, 27.

Subjects:

NOV. 25 at 2:30 p. m.—“Resolved that Socialism does not Seek to Destroy Religion.”

NOV. 26 at night.—“Resolved that Socialism does not Seek to Destroy Established Government.”

NOV. 27 at night.—“Resolved that the Socialist Party can Legally and Peaceably Gain Possession of the Industries of the Nation.”

Mr. Hickey Affirms; Mr. Bagby Denies.

Admission, 10 Cents to Pay Hall Rent etc.

Mr. Hickey will also speak at the following places: Ezzell, Monday night, Nov. 29. Hallettsville, Tuesday and Wednesday nights, Nov. 30 and Dec. 1.

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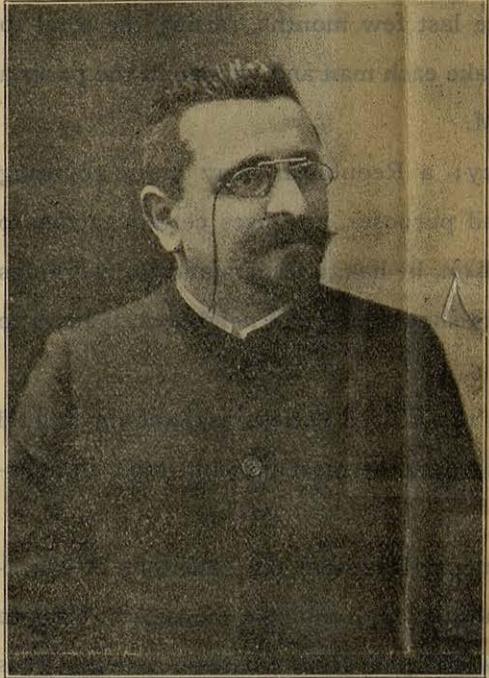
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MY COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG

It was the ringing words of GUSTAVE HERVÉ at the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress that roused proletarians the world over into militant opposition to WAR, and that struck terror into the hearts of the economic masters of society from Germany to Japan.



GUSTAVE HERVÉ

Now serving a four years' prison term for writing and publishing "My Country".

This was the clarion call that will some day render impossible capitalist wars and all wars between the nations of the world:

"The Congress . . . calls upon all comrades, in view of the diplomatic incidents which, coming from all quarters, threaten European peace, to answer any declaration of war, from WHATEVER side it may come, by military strike and INSURRECTION."

Gustave Hervé is the author of a book which is beyond all comparison the most powerful indictment of WAR and of PATRIOTISM ever written. It has lately been translated into English and published in London, under the title MY COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG.

We have been fortunate enough to secure from the English publishers 500 unbound copies of this great book,—all that could be had. We have had them handsomely bound in extra silk, cloth, red and gold. Comrades who are acquainted with the literature of the Socialist movement are already clamoring for copies of this book. So will thousands of others when they know what it is like.

The copies we have been enabled to obtain will not be nearly enough to supply the demand. Therefore we have decided not to SELL them at all. We shall GIVE them to the first five hundred comrades sending \$3.00 each for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW one year to three new names or three years to one name. The book is now ready for delivery. Write at once or you will be too late.



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Charles H. Kerr & Company,
118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago:

Comrades—Enclosed find three dollars for which please send the International Socialist Review one year to three names, as follows:

1 P. O. State.
2 P. O. State.
3 P. O. State.

Send me postpaid as premium a copy of MY COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG

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A Study Course in Socialism

and the ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX for BEGINNERS starts in the November issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Our party has gained immensely in membership during the last few months, raising the total to more than 50,000. Think what we can accomplish if we can make each man and woman in the party a TEACHER, a SPEAKER and a WORKER for SOCIALISM.

A Democrat may know nothing about so-called democracy; a Republican may mean anything under the sun; but a SOCIALIST stands for definite aims and purposes, and uses certain tactics to secure these things. He has to KNOW the meaning of Socialism, he has to understand the workings of capitalism, and he must be able to explain daily events to his shop-mates and neighbors, if he is to become an efficient unit in the great revolutionary movement.

For these reasons, all the most active Socialist Locals in the United States are planning to hold study classes this fall and winter. The most important, and until now the most difficult, topic in a Socialist study course, is the Economics of Karl Marx.

The Review Study Course, starting in the November issue, will present the essentials of Marxian economics as they have never been presented before—simply enough to make the subject clear to the man unaccustomed to books; logically enough to challenge criticism from whatever source. It is written for working men and working women by a wage-worker.

Socialism is a NEVER-ENDING CAMPAIGN. Do not allow the new recruits for the Revolution to drift away from the party. Teach them the true meaning of socialism; give them a clear idea of the economics of Marx, and they will become permanent workers for the abolition of wage slavery.

Now is the time to train the new party member. Now is the time to clear up our own ideas upon hazy or disputed points. The STUDY COURSE in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will be just what you need.

Ten cents a copy; \$1.00 a year. For \$2.00 we will mail you 40 copies of one issue, 20 copies two months, 10 copies four months or 5 copies eight months.

Three books are essential to those taking the course: VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT by Marx, SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC by Engels, and the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO by Marx and Engels. We have them in cloth at 50c, and in paper at 10c; a dozen assorted copies mailed for \$1.00 or 100 for \$5.00.

The November REVIEW, now ready, contains Lesson I. A few thousand extra copies have been printed, and you can get a supply if you order at once.

Yours for the Revolution,

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,

118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago.

HEAR ALL SIDES.

To The Editor:

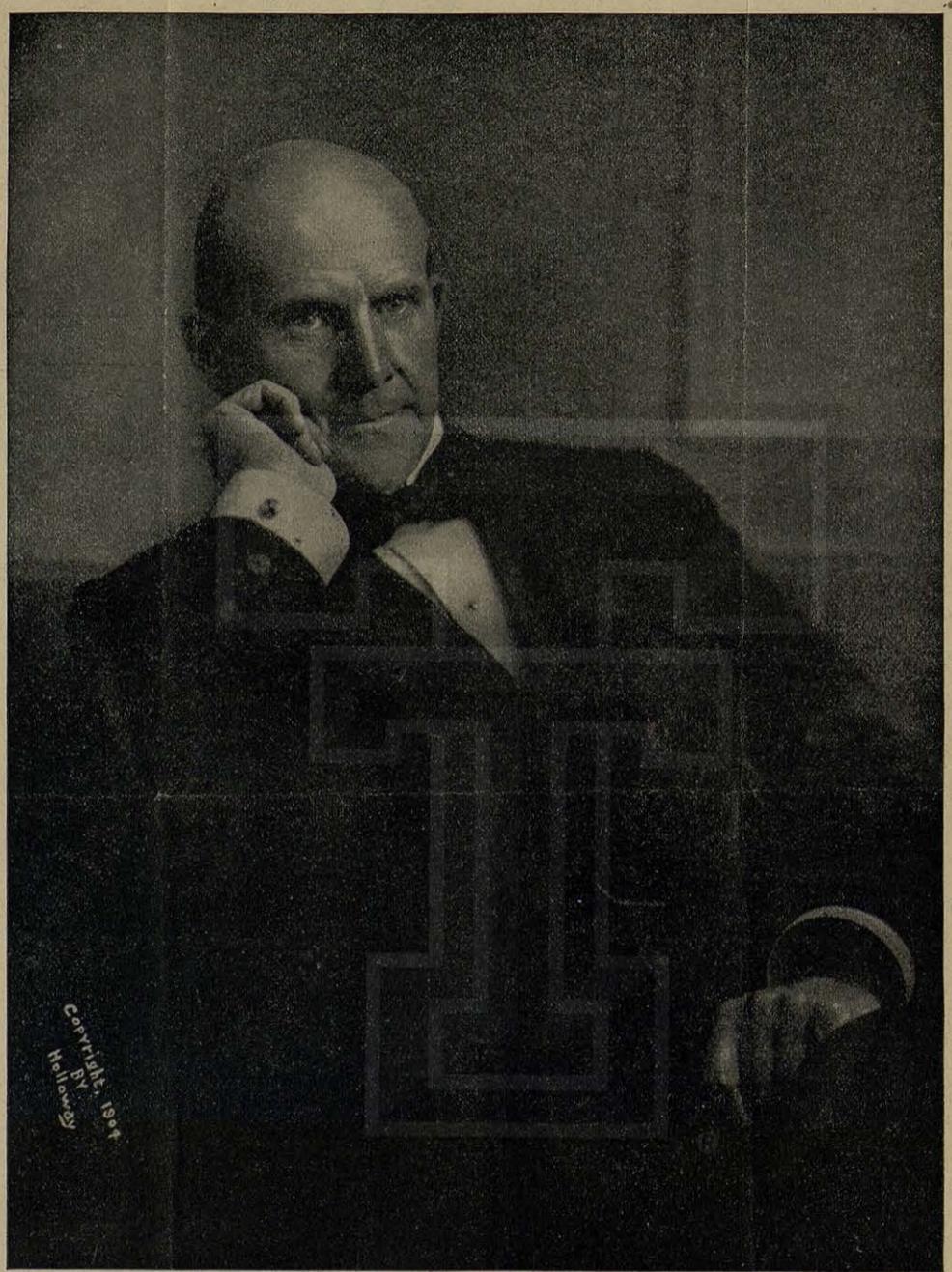
Please read the following letter, and kindly consider my subjoined proposition:

"Poteet, Tex., Jan. 2, 1912.—J. L. Hicks, Abilene, Texas: Dear Comrade—Our local newspaper, the Poteet Register, has offered our local the use of two of its columns for the discussion of Socialism. This offer came unsolicited and also as a surprise. As we are a weak local here I doubt if we can do justice to our space without help from the outside. Can you make us any suggestion or help us in any way? The editors of the Register are not Socialists. Please give us your opinion as to how to proceed. Your comrade, JOHN SCARBOROUGH, Literature Agent for Poteet Local No. 1070."

Now, with reference to the above, I wish to say, not only to the editors of the Poteet Register, but to any other editor, that if my work as editor and publisher of

the Farmers Journal at Abilene for seven years, and as editor of a page of The Rebel, of Hallettsville, for the latter half of 1911, is a guarantee of my ability to prepare matter for a Socialist department in your paper in a clean and educational way, without personal abuse or ugly language, I will be glad to fill such amount of space in each issue as my friends in your locality may arrange for. I will mail "copy" directly to you, neatly typewritten, and would ask that you put me on your mailing list while such service may continue. Very truly yours, J. L. HICKS.

Abilene, Tex.



Copyright
Holloman

Eugene V. Debs.

THEODORE DEBS, MANAGER • TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA

Eugene V. Debs

John Swinton

The great New York editor who heard Lincoln in Cooper Union, New York, in 1860, wrote as follows after hearing Debs from the same platform in 1894: "I recalled the appearance, the manner, the voice and the speech of Lincoln as Debs stood before me thirty-four years afterwards. It seemed to me that both men were imbued with the same spirit. Both seemed to me as men of judgment, reason, earnestness and power. Both seemed to me as men of free, high, genuine and generous manhood. I 'took' to Lincoln in my early life as I took to Debs a third of a century later. In the speeches of both westerners there was cogent argument; there were apt illustrations; there were especially emphatic passages; there were moments of lightning; there were touches of humor; and there were other qualities which produce conviction or impel to action." * * * "I confess that I was as much impressed with the closing words of Debs' speech as I was with those of Lincoln. Lincoln spoke for man; so spoke Debs. Lincoln spoke for right and progress; so spoke Debs. Lincoln spoke for the freedom of labor; so Debs. Lincoln was the foe of human slavery; so is Debs."

Frank McPhillips

The correspondent wrote as follows in the Detroit News after hearing Debs in that city: "The public is beginning to understand Eugene V. Debs, the poet, orator, wit, epigrammatist and lover of humanity. Debs is no ordinary man. In ten thousand he would be conspicuous. Debs has a great heart and a great soul and his countenance mirrors both."

Rev. Frank De Witt Talmage

The following tribute was paid by the preacher to Mr. Debs: "Among all the speakers I have ever heard there has not been one who came nearer to my idea of Abraham Lincoln than Eugene Debs."

Alfred Russell Wallace

The most famous living scientist, writing from Parkstone, Dorset, England, said: "Eugene V. Debs is a great man. With a few more such to teach and organize the people the cause of justice must prevail."

Eugene Field

The poet said: "If Debs were a priest the world would listen to his eloquence, and that gentle, musical voice and sad, sweet smile of his would soften the hardest heart."

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The Man and His Work

Frederic Auguste Bartholdi

The great sculptor who modeled the colossal statue, "Liberty Enlightening the World," in New York harbor, wrote of Debs: "He is endowed with the most precious faculty to which one can aspire—the gift of language, and he uses it for the proclamation of the most beautiful and generous thoughts. His beautiful language is that of an apostle."

Horace Traubel

Editor of the Conservator, and literary executor of Walt Whitman, writes: "The four letters that spell Debs have added a new word to the vocabulary of the race." * * * "Debs is not so much size as quality. He has ten hopes to your one hope. He has ten loves to your one love. You think he is a preacher of hate. He is only a preacher of man. If man is hate then Debs is a hater. When Debs speaks a harsh word it is wet with tears."

James Whitcomb Riley

The world-famed "Hoosier Poet" said: "God was feeling mighty good when he created 'Gene Debs and he didn't have anything else to do all day.' The poet and Mr. Debs have long been personal friends. When Mr. Riley was ill and

confined to his room Mr. Debs sent him a bouquet of his favorite flowers and it was this incident that inspired one of Riley's sweetest and tenderest dialect poems, herewith reproduced:

Them Flowers

(To My Good Friend, Eugene V. Debs)

Take a feller 'ats sick, and laid up on the shelf,
All shaky, and ga'nted and pore,
And all so knocked out he can't handle hisself
With a stiff upper-lip any more;
Shet him up all alone in the gloom of a room,
As dark as the tomb, and as grim,
And then take and send him some roses in bloom,
And you kin have fun out o' him!

You've seed him, 'fore now, when his liver was
sound,
And his appetite notched like a saw.
A chaffin' you, mebby, for romancin' round
With a big posey bunch in yer paw
But you ketch him, say, when his health is away,
And he's flat on his back in distress,
And then you can trot out your little bokay
And not be insulted, I guess!

You see, it's like this, what his weaknesses is,
Them flowers makes him think of the days
Of his innocent youth, and that mother o' his,
And the roses she used to raise;
So here all alone with the roses you send,
Bein' sick and all trimbly and faint;
My eyes is—my eyes is—my eyes is—old friend,
Is a—leakin'—I'm blamed ef they ain't!

Eugene V. Debs

PRESS COMMENT

University Daily, Ann Arbor, Mich.—Newberry Hall was packed to the doors last night to hear Eugene V. Debs. His brilliant sallies of wit, and his glowing descriptions kept interest at a high pitch throughout the entire lecture.

Boston Advertiser—Some of Debs' utterances were of such lofty and ennobling nature that they would not have disgraced a Phillips Brooks. At the end of his lecture many hundred people stopped to shake hands with him.

San Francisco Examiner—Eugene V. Debs had a tremendous audience at Metropolitan Hall last night. He is a terse and nervous speaker, lean in person, with the quick, eager movements of a panther; eager, insistent, earnest, full of matter, gifted with a neat turn of phrase, but never wasting time on ornament. He held his audience for two hours and over. He could have held them for two hours more.

Ann Arbor Evening Times—Through the efforts of the enterprising students of the University of Michigan Ann Arborites are being afforded the opportunity of hearing three of the five great orators of the world—Bryan, Cochran and Debs—and the greatest of these is Debs. Bryan is battling for the success of a political party, Cochran is the tool of the money power, while Debs is championing the cause of humanity.

Washington Gazette—Honesty and force of character are the chief qualities of Mr. Debs. In him one sees not only the true and consistent friend of the laboring element, but man in his noblest form. Intelligence and sincerity are stamped on his every feature and the traits of a born leader of men are dominant within him.

Columbus Evening Press—The greatest audience ever assembled in Columbus to listen to an address of a private citizen met in the new Auditorium to hear from Eugene V. Debs the greatest speech ever delivered in this city. Fully 4,500 persons greeted the orator. He announced no topic for the most remarkable discourse upon the rights and dignity of labor, and for equality and justice among men, that has ever been made in this country. His entire speech of two hours was a fervent appeal for justice and a higher humanity. It combined all the learning of economists, all the sentiments of the poets, all the wisdom of philosophers and all the ethics of moralists and divines. The vast audience was enchanted with the magical grace of his speech and the dignity and elevation of his sentiments. Astonishment and admiration were equally blended in the minds of all. They had listened to one of the greatest discourses ever inspired by courage, conviction and humanity in any age of the world. When the history of this generation is written, the palm of praise for his unselfish courage and devotion in the cause of a better humanity will be accorded to Eugene V. Debs, the inspired evangel of fraternity in religion and economic life.

THE GENIUS OF LIBERTY

Extract from the Speech of Eugene V. Debs on "Liberty"

"It does not matter that the Creator has sown with stars the fields of ether and decked the earth with countless beauties for man's enjoyment. It does not matter that air and ocean teem with the wonders of innumerable forms of life to challenge man's admiration and investigation. It does not matter that nature spreads forth all her scenes of beauty and gladness and pours forth the melodies of her myriad-tongued voices for man's delectation. If liberty is ostracized and exiled, man is a slave, and the world rolls in space and whirls around the sun a gilded prison, a domed dungeon, and though painted in all the enchanting hues that infinite art could command, it must still stand forth a blotch amidst the shining spheres of the sidereal heavens, and those who cull from the vocabularies of nations, living or dead, their flashing phrases with which to apostrophize liberty, are engaged in perpetuating the most stupendous delusion the ages have known. Strike down liberty, no matter by what subtle art the deed is done, the spinal cord of humanity is sundered and the world is paralyzed by the indescribable crime. Strike the fetters from the slave, give him liberty and he becomes an inhabitant of a new world. He looks abroad and beholds life and joy in all things around him. His soul expands beyond all boundaries. Emancipated by the genius of liberty, he aspires to communion with all that is noble and beautiful, and feels himself allied to all the higher order of intelligences, and walks abroad, redeemed from animalism, ignorance and superstition, a new being throbbing with glorious life."

Address all communications to Theodore Debs, Manager, Terre Haute, Indiana

TRADES PUBLISHED
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OF THE TRADES
IN THE UNITED STATES

MANZ
ENGRAVING
COMPANY
THE
HOLLISTER
PRESS
CHICAGO

The American Circus

An Appeal to the Filipinos by W. S.
Morgan, Hardy, Ark.

You Filipinos don't know what you are missing by not wanting to become citizens of this grand country of ours. There isn't anything like it under the sun. You ought to send a delegation over to see us—the land of the free—land of fine churches and 180,000 licensed saloons; bibles, forts and guns, houses of prostitution; millionaires and paupers; theologians and thieves; libertines and liars; politicians and poverty; Christians and chain gangs; schools and scalawags; trusts and tramps; money and misery; homes and hunger; virtue and vice; a land where you can get a good bible for fifteen cents and a bad drink of whiskey for five cents; where we have a man in congress with three wives and a lot in the penitentiary for having two wives; where some men make sausage out of their wives, and some want to eat them raw; where we make bologna out of dogs, canned beef out of horses and sick cows, and corpses out of the people who eat it; where we put a man in jail for not having the means of support and on the rock pile for asking for a job of work; where we license bawdy houses and fine men for preaching Christ on the street corners; where we have a congress of 400 men who make laws, and a supreme court of nine men who set them aside; where good whiskey makes bad men and bad men make good whiskey; where newspapers are paid for suppressing the truth and made rich for teaching a lie; where professors draw their convictions from the same place they do their salaries; where preachers are paid \$25,000 a year to dodge the devil and tickle the ears of the wealthy; where business consists of getting hold of property in any way that won't land you in the penitentiary; where trusts "hold up" and poverty "holds down"; where men vote for what they do not want for fear they will get what they do want by voting for it. Where "niggers" can vote and women can't; where a girl who goes wrong is made an outcast and her male partner flourishes as a gentleman; where women wear false hair and men "dock" their horses' tails; where the political wire-puller has displaced the patriotic statesman; where

men vote for a thing one day and curse it 364 days; where we have prayers on the floor of our National Capitol and whiskey in the cellar; where we spend \$500 to bury a statesman who is rich and \$10 to put away a workingman who is poor; where to be virtuous is to be lonesome, and to be honest is to be a crank; where we sit on the safety-valve of energy and pull wide open the throttle of conscience; where gold is substance—the one thing sought for; where we pay \$15,000 for a dog and fifteen cents dozen to a poor woman for making shirts; where we teach the "untutored" Indian eternal life from the bible and kill him off with bad whiskey; where we put a man in jail for stealing a loaf of bread and in congress for stealing a railroad; where the check-book talks, sin walks abroad in daylight, justice is asleep, crime runs amuck, corruption permeates our whole social and political fabric, and the devil laughs from every street corner. Come to us, Fillies! We've got the greatest aggregation of good things and bad things, hot things and cold things, all sizes, varieties and colors, ever exhibited under one tent.

These slips, postpaid, for \$1.00 a thousand.

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The following books make a good beginning:

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM. By N. A. Richardson.
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THE IDEAL REPUBLIC. By A. M. Dewey.
WHAT ARE WE HERE FOR? By F. D. Todd.
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WAR—WHAT FOR? Is a handsome, gold stamped, high grade, cloth bound, double backed book, printed in easy, open type on high quality paper. The book contains: 350 pages; 12 chapters; 11 intensely interesting pictures (one a beautiful half-tone in red); several literary special photographs of hell; more than a dozen strong passages for school and entertainment declamations; over 300 citations and quotations from authorities; numerous suggestions for promoting the propaganda against war and capitalism: an abundance of material for lectures on war, militarism, the class struggle, capitalism, Socialism, and the history of the working class.

The book **explains** the slayer, the seducer and the ruler of the working class.

This book instructs, stings, scorches, rouses, pleads, argues; produces a realization of the existence of two *industrial classes*, and points the road to power.

PRICES—Single copy, prepaid \$ 1.20
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Special Offer open until Oct. 14, 1910:

One copy of *War—What For?*—if ordered by mail from the publisher at \$1.20—will be sent for examination. The \$1.20 will be promptly returned to the purchaser—if the book is unsatisfactory, and is returned to publisher by mail *unsoiled and in thoroughly good condition* within two days after it is received by purchaser. If the book is retained by purchaser, he can, if he wishes, use his copy as a sample to show his friends and, if ordered within ten days following, have three added copies for his friends—prepaid—for \$2.25.

*Address the Publisher: George R. Kirkpatrick,
Box 206, WEST LAFAYETTE, OHIO.*

55

WAR—WHAT FOR?

By George R. Kirkpatrick

A Beautiful but Terrible Book

EUGENE V. DEBS

(In personal letter):

"This wonderful book . . . the book of an epoch, an immortal achievement. **War—What For?** has set fire to all the blood in my veins.

. . . It is useless to attempt to describe the book. . . . It could have been inspired only by a great soul and produced only by a master mind. . . . This book delivers to war and to the social system responsible for war a deadly blow. It will do more to hasten the day of peace, universal and everlasting peace, than all the counterfeit capitalist peace conferences held under the patronage of the war lords in a thousand years."

APPEAL TO REASON: "One of the most intense and thrilling volumes ever contributed to the literature of Socialism is Kirkpatrick's "**War—What For?**" just issued from the press. It is the most scathing indictment of war and the most terrible impeachment of the powers and personalities responsible for war ever written. Every sentence is like the flash of a Damascus

blade in the sunlight. It is the first searching analysis and comprehensive treatment of war and the causes and horrors of war from a Socialist point of view in the English language. It is written in keen, incisive, epigrammatic form, and the gruesome illustrations it contains almost make the flesh creep and the heart stand still. Every lover of peace and every hater of war; every human being with a heart and conscience to distinguish him from beasts and reptiles will read with joy and inspiration this masterful volume from one of the most masterful minds in the Socialist movement."

GERING, NEBRASKA, Sept. 13, 1910.
Mr. George R. Kirkpatrick, West Lafayette, Ohio:

DEAR COMRADE: Ten books received by last night's mail. . . . Sold all this morning in 30 minutes—put me down for 50 more. Certainly an eye-opener. Every man, woman, and child should read one. . . . Depend on me to do my share.

Yours for justice,
D. C. ONSTOTT.

FIRST EDITION: 2,500 oversold in advance in 3 weeks. (Delivered latter part Aug., '10.)

SECOND EDITION: Selling—over 100 per day—chiefly to purchasers of first edition.

25 UNION PRINTERS purchased each a copy of *War—What For?* in the New York City printery where the book was produced.

The author is receiving scores of letters like the following:

Lena Morrow Lewis, en route to International Socialist Congress: "I intended to read the book at sea, but Comrade Haywood captured it and proceeded to read it thru carefully. . . . I read some sections aloud to a company. Several young men wanted it at once; a young woman asked that she be permitted to copy some passages. . . . I am very sure I shall make a great effort to distribute the book."

Wm. C. Chandler, Schenectady, N. Y.: "I have sold 175 of First Edition, and am out to smash that record—after reading the book and seeing so many enthusiastic purchasers. . . . I do know that 500 more can be sold in Schenectady. . . . A Grand Army man says "*War—What For?*" is the "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*" of the Socialist movement. . . . Will send order for 100 next week as first installment of 500."

The Free Press, Newcastle, Pa.: ". . . The only book in existence, so far as we know, that deals with war in the manner Kirkpatrick deals with it. . . . Never saw anything like it."

Zeph O'Brien, Blytheville, Ark.: ". . . Ten books received. The book is a beauty, and the contents wonderful. I will take 30 copies Oct. 1.

St. Louis Labor: ". . . A powerful indictment of war. . . . A presentation of hard facts. The author digs into the fundamental causes of war. . . . A grave and signal warning."

C. E. Good, Norfolk, Va.: ". . . Splendid! The 175 received will make it easy to sell 250 more."

The Progressive Woman: ". . . A God-send to a needy nation."

F. E. Rooney, Altoona, Pa.: ". . . *War—What For?* is the greatest thing along that line in the Socialist movement. . . . Name your terms for a lecture on War. . . . Am getting up a new club. . . ."

George W. Farnsworth, Wadsworth, Ohio: "They are great. . . . Send me prices on more."

Milton Fenner, Camden, N. J.: "Fifty copies received in good condition. It is all to the good."

Charles B. Baldwin, Rochester, Pa.: ". . . I must congratulate you on that fine book. . . . It is the very thing we have needed. . . . There is no question but that it is a huge success."



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EXPOSE BY HON. ZACH. SHED, DENVER, COLO.
ONE DOLLAR A HUNDRED. SAMPLE FREE.

Published by ASSOCIATION INDEPENDENT DOCTORS (Incorporated)

National Headquarters, 2100 Prairie Ave., Chicago

ARGUMENT AGAINST MEDICAL LEGISLATION,

By ZACH SHED, ESQ., of Denver, Colo.

OCCASION: ATTEMPT TO SECURE MEDICAL MONOPOLY IN COLORADO

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

Through your kindness, and at the request of the Colorado Medical Liberty League, an organization numbering 1,300 enrolled members, who are taxpaying citizens of this state, I appear before you this evening to protest against the enactment of any of the numerous restrictive medical measures which have been urged by the medical doctors of this state for passage at this session.

Before proceeding with my argument I beg to inquire of this committee whether at any time during this session there has been presented to either branch of this Legislature a petition from the people of this state, asking for the enactment of this or any similar measure?

Mr. Chairman: I think there is one petition on file here, but that is a petition from the medical doctors.

Mr. Shed: I did not suppose that the people had petitioned for such a law, and it is a strange circumstance that during the twenty years which I have been fighting the unjust demands of the medical doctors, who alone are asking for this legislation, I have never in a single instance found before a legislative body a petition of a single citizen asking for such a law.

Gentlemen, the importance of this legislation is such, its influences so restrictive and oppressive, its effects upon society so brutalizing, its establishment of an inquisitorial medical censorship over the people so complete, its effect upon civilization so debasing, that no fair-minded or liberty-loving citizens can discuss it without evincing the most loathsome contempt for its promoters.

And right here at this juncture I desire to impress upon the committee as clearly and as forcibly as possible that nothing which I may say in the discussion of this question is intended as the slightest reflection upon the honor and integrity of the leading and reputable doctors of this state. I count among the physicians and surgeons of this state some of my warmest personal friends.

The creatures I am after are those professional wolves; those sycophantic dwarfs, who pollute an honorable profession by their hospitality; hangers-on to hospitals; office-seeking nonentities and medical stinkers who infest Legislatures like carrion buzzards. I have camped on their trail for twenty years—and I am proud of it. (Applause.)

I hold in my hand what purports to be "A bill for an act to protect the public health and regulate the practice of medicine in the state of Colorado."

Just why a profession which depends entirely upon sickness for its emoluments and support should be so manifestly unjust to itself as to ask for legislation which, if effective, would reduce its ranks to the verge of bankruptcy by dispensing with the necessity for doctors, will, I apprehend, be difficult for the most astute medical luminary to explain.

And while these self-constituted guardians of the people propose sneaking this vile measure through this body under the false and libelous title of a bill to protect the public health, there is not a sentence in the entire measure, from start to finish, which relates to the public health or the protection thereof.

Why is this bill so entitled? What interest have these schemers in keeping the people well? Why this unjustifiable impudence in masquerading as custodians of the people's most sacred rights, except it be to clothe this scoundrelly contrived measure with a dignity to which it is not entitled, wheedle the members into its support by these false pretenses? How the mighty have fallen!

State Socialist Platform, 1910 :

The Socialist party of Texas reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of International Socialism as expressed through the National platform of the Socialist party.

Today, men, women and children work with complex and wonderfully productive machinery. The driver of the modern locomotive can transport more articles of commerce in one hour than his predecessor of fifty years could in months by means of the overland cart. The wonderful textile machines, attended by children, turn out miles of cloth where the hand loom of the past wove inches. The combined steam header, thresher, and sacker harvest thousands of bushels of grain where the scythe and the flail of the last century harvested none. Whichever way Society looks, the same advancement in every line of industry is seen. Because of this evolution of machinery and its complement—the acquisition of land—the members of society have been separated into CLASSES: the owners or non-workers, and the non-owners or workers. The workers, or the majority, in order to obtain life's necessities, MUST use the land or the machines. But before they can use either, they must secure permission of the owner or the minority. Permission is never granted, only on the condition that the workers surrender a part of their labor's product to the owner. This constitutes the economic basis of society, and can be changed only by making the ownership of the land and machinery collective: i. e. by making Society the owner, instead of the individual. In order to perpetuate Society's present economic foundation, the owners of the land and the machinery MUST maintain political power. For the workers to change the present economic status, and thereby retain to themselves the full social product of their labor, they must come INTO possession of the political power.

The Socialist party of Texas has for its object, the capture of the political power of this state, and pledges its candidates, on penalty of recall and expulsion from the party, to labor for the economic changes as set forth in the above.

THEREFORE IT DEMANDS:

1. A democratic form of government by constitutional amendment providing for the initiative, referendum and power of recall, on a basis of six, eight and fifteen per cent respectively.

2. The extension of the full right of franchise to women.

3. The abolition of the poll tax as a qualification to the right of ballot, and the simplification of the Terrell Election Law to a correct and an easy interpretation by the average voter.

4. The unrestricted right of peaceable assembly, free speech, and free press. To this end we demand the refusal by the state to cities of charters tending to restrict or abridge this constitutional right.

5. That the State of Texas cease the sale of school or other public lands; that all land now held by

lease, shall, on the expiration of said lease become a part of the public domain, upon payment for all improvements at an appraised valuation.

6. That the state purchase all land sold for taxes in this state, the same to become part of the public domain.

7. That non-resident land owners assess their own land, the state reserving the right to purchase such land at its assessed value, plus 10 per cent.

8. A graduated land tax on all farm land held for exploitation or speculation.

9. That the state rent to landless farmers unoccupied farm land now in its possession, or hereafter acquired, at the prevailing rate of rent share. As soon as such rent share amounts in the aggregate to a sum equal to one-half the value of the land at the time of application, rent to cease, and the state to issue to such tenant a permanent right of occupancy.

10. That the tools, teams, and implements of landless farmers to the amount of \$800 be exempt from taxation.

11. The state ownership of cotton gins, cottonseed oil mills, cotton compresses, warehouses, and other utilities in their nature public.

12. The establishment of an eight-hour work day among all day laborers; the passage of sanitary laws and their rigid enforcement in all public works; strict inspection of mills, mines, factories, etc.; abolition of child labor in all wage-paying industries; state fire, life, accident and sick insurance.

13. The immediate and speedy extension of the state railway, employing free labor at prevailing union wages.

14. Humane and scientific treatment of the inmates of the state penitentiaries, all the value of their labor above an economical cost of maintenance to go to their families or dependents.

15. The erection, by the state, of as many as three sanitaria, to be located equiangularly or as nearly as may be; board and treatment of inmates to be furnished by the state.

16. All physicians and surgeons doing general practice in this state shall be in the employ of the state. To this end we recommend the districting of the counties on a basis of square miles; the distribution of physicians proportional to the population; and the operation, by the state, of a drug dispensary in each such district. The removal of any physician for incompetency to be by majority vote of qualified voters in such district.

17. Free text books to the scholastic pupils in the public schools, and adequate public maintenance of all destitute and semi-destitute children in this state.

18. That the right of asylum to political refugees shall not be denied in Texas. We condemn the act of some officials in lending aid to foreign tyrants and Pinkerton thugs to have such men extradited or imprisoned.

LUEDERS FIFTH ANNUAL
Socialist
Encampment
AUGUST 8, 9, 10, 11.

Bigger And Better Than Ever

A splendid series of speeches by a grand galaxy of speakers. Among them Reddin Andrews, candidate for Governor of Texas; T. A. Hickey, Mary O. Riely, Wm. D. Haywood, "the undesirable citizen of Colorado."

Come And Camp With Us

Everything for the comfort and amusement of the multitudes will be on the ground,

Last year our Encampment was the largest and most successful in the State. This year it will be still larger. Noted Socialist from all over Texas will be with us. Three speeches each day, every one by a different speaker.

For Stand Privileges, address:

W.M.WILLIAMS, M.S.GRAHAM
MANAGERS, LUEDERS, TEXAS

THREE DAYS'
DEBATE

Mr. Will T. Bagby
[Leading Democrat]

vs.

Mr. Thos. A. Hickey
(State Organizer Socialist Party)

Princes
ROYAL THEATRE, YOAKUM, TEX.

Nov. 25, 26, 27.

Subjects:

NOV. 25 at 2:30 p. m.—“Resolved that Socialism does not Seek to Destroy Religion.”

NOV. 26 at night.—“Resolved that Socialism does not Seek to Destroy Established Government.”

NOV. 27 at night.—“Resolved that the Socialist Party can Legally and Peaceably Gain Possession of the Industries of the Nation.”

Mr. Hickey Affirms; Mr. Bagby Denies.

Admission, 10 Cents to Pay Hall Rent etc.

Mr. Hickey will also speak at the following places: Ezzell, Monday night, Nov. 29. Hallettsville, Tuesday and Wednesday nights, Nov. 30 and Dec. 1.

JOINT DISCUSSION

**Between Democratic and
Socialist Party
Champions**

JUL 9 1910



A. C. Nicholson, the well-known Democrat of Haskell County, and T. A. Hickey of Phoenix, Arizona, State Organizer of the Socialist Party, will fight out the question of the Socialist Party platform on Saturday afternoon and night, at the Stamford Opera House.

Each man is endorsed by his party and a good time is promised to all when these gentlemen meet

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Old Fashioned PICNIC

In The Beautiful WEBB PARK
AT LUEDERS

July 3rd and 4th

The celebrated humorsit, author and orator, Thos. A. Hickey will speak at 3 p. m. Sunday, July 3rd. Monday, the 4th there will be speaking all day and dinner on the ground.

Come and hear Hickey's "Roosevelt, the Political Dr. Cook;" the sensation of the 20th century.

Different state and county nominees of the Socialist party will be presented and will address the people.

Everybody come and we will see that you have a good time.

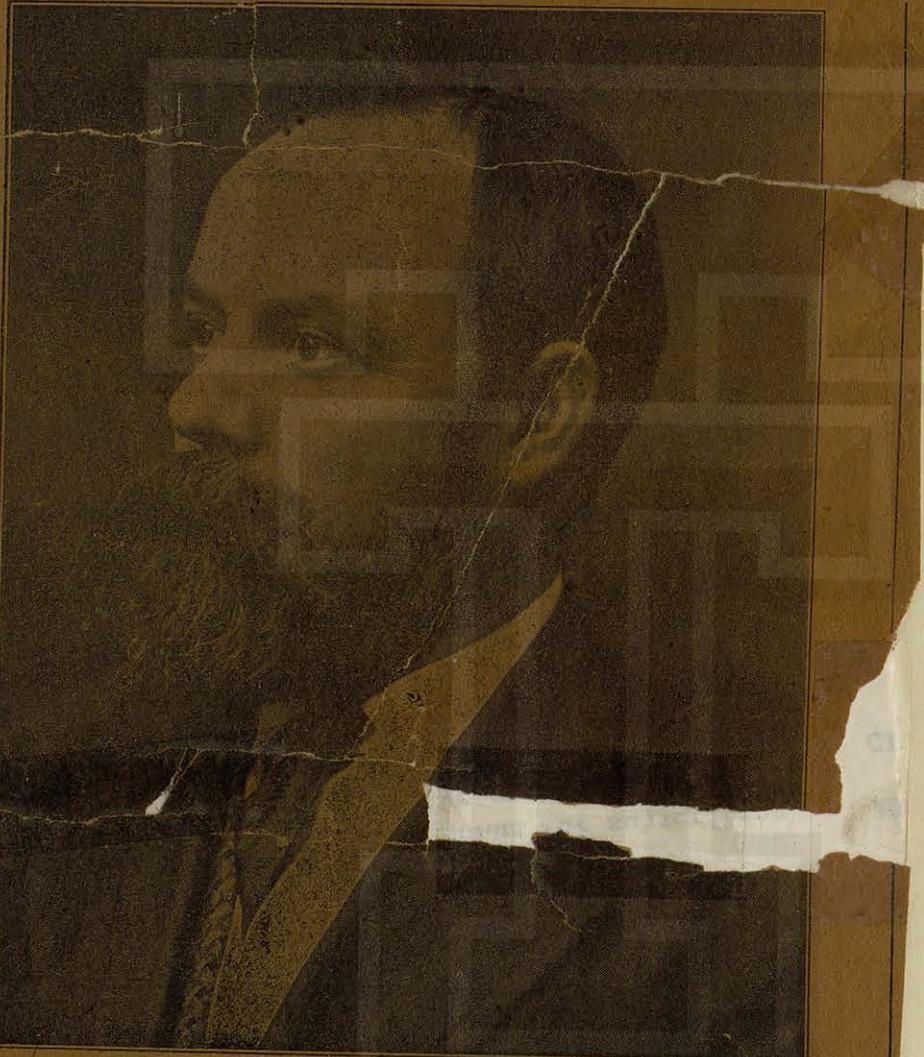
Ample shade water refreshments

THE COMMITTEE

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COLLEGE, FT. S.C.

Three Great Lectures Ea

Hig



T. A. HICKEY, of Hallettsville, Texas
EDITOR "THE REBEL", STATE SEC. SOCIALIST PART

O'BRIEN, Friday

T. A. Hickey

National Organizer for the Socialist movement in the United States will lecture at Jayton next Thursday, September 2nd, at 2:30 in the afternoon. If you are opposed to the Socialist movement you should inform yourself concerning it, if you are not opposed to it you will be the better informed after hearing Mr. Hickey. He makes no plea to your passion or prejudice, but appeals to the reason and intelligence of the people. Among the audiences that have listened to Mr. Hickey is the student body of our State University at Austin, in an open air meeting on the campus grounds, which lasted more than six hours. This is an opportunity to hear a man of ability. Everybody invited, especially ladies and children.

Thursday Sep. 2d.

THREE DAYS' DEBATE

Mr. Will T. Bagby
[Leading Democrat]

VS.

Mr. Thos. A. Hickey
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**For Stand Privileges, address:
W.M.WILLIAMS, M.S.GRAHAM
MANAGERS, LUEDERS, TEXAS**

*Pardon delayed
is never denied*

THE LAND

?

Legally, Morally, Philosophically and Biblically Considered by T. A. Hickey, Editor The Rebel, Hallettsville, Texas.

PRICE TEN CENTS

Rebel Print.

THE LAND

?

(Speech delivered at West Texas Encampment, Ellison Springs.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades All:

"Your committee has asked me to speak to you this afternoon on the subject of 'The Moral Teaching of the Good Book Insofar as it Applies to the Land.' They believe that the ownership of the soil bears a strong relationship to the salvation of the bodies and souls of men. With them I heartily agree. As a Socialist I know that there is a direct connection between poverty and crime, between penury and pestilence, between impecunosity and ignorance.

THE BIBLE, BLACKSTONE AND LAND.

Given a nation where the land is free to the people and is not fenced in by greedy hands that grab for gold, we find that the red lights are never lit, drunkenness is unknown, gambling is unheard of, men are brothers in deed as well as in name and all the social virtues spread their beneficent effects over the people as thick fallen leaves in Vallambrossa. (Applause.)

Turn we then to the Good Book to find justification for our position on the land question. Read it as our fathers did from 'kiver to kiver' and you cannot find anywhere that the Lord ordains that the earth—his gift to all mankind—should ever fall into private hands and be fenced in for the benefit of the few. I believe there is but one place in the Bible where there is an attempt to justify private ownership in land. That can be found in Matthew wherein it is related that when Judas had sold the Christ for thirty pieces of silver he threw the money from him, hung himself for shame and the silver was used to purchase the potters' field in which to bury the unknown dead.

"Let us open the Book at Genesis 1st chapter 28th verse and there we read the only title that God gives to man over the earth. Hear it ye suffering tenants of the South:

"And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

"Do not, I beseech you, believe that in my enthusiasm for the renters' cause I allow my imagination to run riot and in the exuberance of rhetoric made a statement that I cannot substantiate. When I say

that God gave the only title to land in giving it into the possession of all I am backed by Sir William Blackstone, the greatest authority on law that has ever lived who has taken exactly this position. If you will get Sharswood's Blackstone's Commentaries and turn to page 193, Vol. I, you will read what the great lawgiver says that substantiates my position. Hear him:

"But when law is to be considered not only as a matter of practice, but also as a rational science, it cannot be improper or useless to examine more deeply the rudiments and grounds of the positive constitutions of society. In the beginning of the world we are informed by Holy writ that the all-bountiful Creator gave to man 'dominion over all the earth over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and every living thing that moves upon the earth.' This is the only true and solid foundation of man's dominion over external things, whatever airy metaphysical notions may have been started by fanciful writers upon the subject. The earth, therefore, and all things therein are the general property of all mankind, exclusive of other beings, from the immediate gift of the Creator."

"Thus my friends, you find that in the opening of my address I link together the word of God in the good book and the greatest legal genius that has ever lived in all the centuries to prove my case, that there is no genuine private title to the land and that all the earth and the fulness thereof is the general property of all the people. (Prolonged applause and rebel yells.)

IT "SHALL NOT BE SOLD FOREVER."

"Let us now turn to the third book in the Bible, the book of Leviticus and hear the voice of the Lord:

"The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."

"It often happens that there is much conflict as to the meaning of various verses in the Good Book. Here is one verse that stands out conspicuously, a verse of which there is no doubt as to its meaning. The words are direct, positive and plain so that any wayfaring man can read and understand. 'The land shall not be sold forever.' This is Divine injunction. Bearing this in mind those of you that have tit deeds today go home and examining them; see what you read thereon: 'To your heirs and assigns forever.' The Book says it shall not be sold forever and thus we find that the capitalist system has a head-on collision with the Word of God. (Laughter and applause.)

"As I meditate upon this verse from Leviticus the picture comes over my mind of the great land owners of Texas, who while living in direct violation of the law of God, sit in the amen corner and for a pretense make long prayers. When we see Col. Slaughter, the great Baptist deacon, with his 600,000 acres of land secured by devious meth-

ods, and find him associated with thousands of other hypocrites that have stolen the domain of Texas from the people, I feel like crying out as did Christ in Matt. 23-25: 'Woe unto ye scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.' (Applause.)

NO COMFORT FOR APOLOGISTS.

As we march on through the stately pages of the Good Book we find absolutely no comfort for the upholders of the present system of land tenure. To the grand prophet Isaiah we turn and in Ch. 65, v. 2, 3 verses we read, a burning condemnation of landlordism as it is practiced now with its dividing-up system of the third and fourth of the crop, bonus systems and cash rent. Listen to Isaiah:

"And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat; for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands. They shall not labor in vain, nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord and their offspring with them." (Applause.)

Can you imagine a Socialist today offering a more bitter indictment and a more positive demand for them who 'bind heavy burdens upon the people' grievous to be borne, lay them upon men's shoulders and they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers (Matt. 23-4.) But be of good cheer, ye disinherited of the earth of the Lord for the day is coming when with the spirit of God in your hearts and your footsteps lighted by the lamp of Socialist science ye will remove these heavy burdens and say with that virile old prophet Nehemiah: 'Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children; and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already; nor is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and vineyards.'

Then having sized up the situation as did the prophet we will act as he did and say to the rulers of the nation:

"Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their olive yards, and their houses. (Applause.)

NEW TESTAMENT MORE RADICAL THAN SOCIALISTS.

Let us now take up the New Testament and we find that landlordism or the private ownership of land is attacked as severely as in the old testament. Hear Luke speak in the Acts:

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things that he possessed was his own. But they had all these in common. Neither was there any among them that lacked, for as many of them as were possessors of land or houses sold them, and brought

the price of the things that were sold, and laid them at the Apostle's feet; and DISTRIBUTION was made unto EVERY MAN ACCORDING AS HE HAD NEED.' (Acts 4 32-35.)

"From this you will observe that Luke goes further even than the Socialist who merely demands that each shall receive according to his deeds and as plain as the burning bush by night can we see that the early Christians did not believe in the private ownership of land. The early fathers of the church as with one voice held to the view that the land was the gift of the Almighty to all mankind. Hear Hieronymus'

"It is not without reason that the gospel calls earthly riches unrighteous mammon since they have their source in injustice for one cannot possess them except to the ruin of others."

"Again hear Chrysostom: 'The land lay dry parched by the sun, the fruits could not grow, famine threatened. Suddenly black clouds rolled up, it rained, deliverance came, everyone rejoiced—except one rich man. When he was asked the reason, he said: I had stored up ten thousand bushels of wheat, and now I do not know what to do with it.'

"Does he not deserve to be quartered as an enemy of the community?" asked Chrysostom.

Listen to Gregory:

"The earth is the common property of all men; it is vain for those to think themselves innocent who appropriate to themselves alone the wealth which God gave all men in common. When they do not share with others what they have received they become man slayers."

"Finally, my countrymen I would ask you to listen to the great Ambrose:

"God created all things to let everyone enjoy them and to make the earth the property of all. Nature originated communist rights, and it is force which has produced the rights of property. Since the earth was given to all in common, no one can call himself the owner of what exceeds his natural needs; what is over and above this he has alienated from society."

PREACHERS HAVE LAIN DOWN ON JOB.

"I hope I do not weary you, my comrades, with this extraordinary array of evidence adduced from the Bible and the early Christian teachings (loud cries of 'No, go on!') but I am moved to drag all this evidence in front of you because the vast majority of preachers in Texas have lain down on the job. They look to the landlords who pay their salaries and skip over every portion of the Bible that would offend their masters. Isaiah had these preachers in mind when he said in the first chapter and third verse: 'The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib.' (Loud laughter and applause.)

"If we turn to Ecclesiastes we are told: 'Moreover the profit of

the earth is for all.' If we turn to Leviticus 14:34 we read: 'When ye came into the land of Canaan which I gave to you for a possession.' We find the children of Israel speak of the land as: "the possession of our national inheritance." Turn to Deuteronomy 16:20, and read: "that thou mayest live to inherit the land." Again we read: "His seed shall inherit the earth." Turn we now to the Psalms and after reading the glorious twenty-third Psalm, the solemn grandeur of which has moved countless millions, pass on to Psalm 37:11 and hear: "The meek shall inherit the earth." Turn to Leviticus 25:23 and read: "The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine: for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."

"In the face of this tremendous array of testimony from the Good Book is it any wonder the Socialists can take their stand upon the Bible when making propaganda for their cause? that they are able to peel the hide of every capitalist preacher who opposes them upon the stump and squeeze the illiterate 'Lemons' who for money and price would seek to drag the people away from the Bible truths? (Applause.)

PHILOSOPHY AND LAND.

"By what means were these private titles to land secured? What measures were adopted by those who flew in the face of the word of God? The great philosopher Herbert Spencer, tells us in strong and simple language. In the ninth chapter of Social Statics he says:

"The original deeds were written with the sword; * * * blows were the current coin given in payment and for seals blood was used in preference to wax."

"In another portion of the same chapter he says:

"Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force—the claims of superior cunning—these are sources to which these land titles may be traced. Not only have present land tenures an indefensible origin but it is impossible to discover any mode by which land can become private property."

THRICE ARMED ARE WE.

"Now, my fellow workers see how we, the protagonists of the Renters Union and the Socialist party, find ourselves armed as we step into the arena to fight the greatest battle of the twentieth century. The battle for the restoration of the land, the gift of God to His children. We are backed by the Prophets, the Apostles, yea, even by the gentle Christ himself. We are backed by Wm. Blackstone, the greatest interpreter of civil law the world has ever known. We are backed by the illustrious Spencer, whom scholars look up to as the greatest

philosopher of modern times. We are backed by the immortal Marx, the greatest political economist of the centuries; the man who is said to possess the first universal mind since Plato. We are backed by Chancellor Kent, whom all lawyers in America look up to as the greatest authority on law who ever lived in our country. Kent declares in his Commentaries that use and occupancy is the only legal title to land. With the voices of the Prophets ringing in our ears why should we falter in the fray? With the words of Christ to encourage us why close our ears to the cries of the miserables and slumber when the trumpet calls us to the battle line? With the scientists, lawgivers, and philosophers of the ages encouraging us on, what fools we would be, what contemptible cowards we would show ourselves to be, if we failed to go forth and say: 'By the God of our fathers the Book is right, the land is mine and shall NOT be sold forever saith the Lord for ye are strangers and sojourners with me. (Tumultous applause.)

CONDITIONS IN THE LONE STAR STATE.

"Let us now turn our eyes to the beautiful Lone Star State of Texas and see what has resulted from the private ownership of the soil.

"In 1860 land renters were unknown in Texas. From El Paso to Texarkana, from the Panhandle to the Gulf a mighty land stretched out before the people. Land could be secured literally for a song. The state comprised 266,000 square miles, an area 57,000 square miles greater than Germany and 59,000 square miles larger than France. This immense empire was large enough and its soil was productive enough to comfortably feed, clothe and house all the people in the nation.

"But in the decade between 1860 and 1870, even during the years when the nation was suffering the rude shock of war, land thieves were acquiring vast tracts for themselves, the task that they had been engaged in many years prior to 1860 as Meyers points out in his chapters on the 'Land Frauds in Texas' in his History of the Supreme Court. Cattle companies fenced in multiplied thousands of acres. The legislatures gave away to individuals and corporations many millions of acres. Their gift to railroads alone amounted to thirty-six and one-half million acres and by the run-over system, which means that the surveyors ran their lines longer than was legitimate, the railroads came into possession of several million acres more. Three million acres was given for the building of the state capitol which was, characteristically enough a scab job. The stones for the capitol were quarried by negro convicts and put in place by imported English scabs.

As a result of these wholesale gifts to sharpers the public domain dwindled and enormous land holdings became the order of the day. Thus we find Mrs. King, who resides in Corpus Christi, owning 1,400,000 acres in Nueces county; it is just 50 miles from her front porch to her back gate: Mr. Waggoner of Ft. Worth owns 800,000 acres in the

Panhandle. Col. Slaughter has title deeds to 600,000 acres. Mr. Taft has 356 sections. Mr. Higginbottom, of Dublin, has 125 rent houses in one pasture in Nolan county. Mr. Swenson has eleven hundred sections in west Texas.

And so I might go on to tell you of other enormous possessions but I have said enough to indicate the size of the holdings of the great land owners in Texas. That these possessions came into the hands of the owners in the manner described by Spencer that I have just quoted is known to every student of the land question in Texas.

"A trail of blood and fraud lies over it all and so plain is this trail that I am serenely confident that did we but possess a Socialist Legislature at Austin that would be responsive to the best interest of the great masses of Texas they would appropriate \$100,000 to investigate the land commissioner's office, and the results would be, I am sure, that a number of the smug gentlemen who are now sitting in the seats of the mighty, would be deprived of their stolen goods and would to save themselves from the penitentiary, seek sanctuary in a less healthy clime than Texas. (Yells of Approval.)

THE MENACE OF LANDLORDISM.

"Need we wonder then, that shortly after the war renting commenced in Texas with the result that in 1870 about 5 per cent of the land was operated by renters in Texas. The 12th census of 1900 tells us that in that year 50 per cent of the land was operated by renters. The 13th census taken in 1910 reveals the fact that 71 per cent of the land is operated by renters and in some of the richest black land counties like Bell and Falls, the government reports show 82 per cent renters.

In this connection I must say that I have often pondered over the amazing fact that no matter what part of the world you go to whether it be in the olive groves of Sicily, along the banks of the Mediterranean, in sunny France, on the banks of the German Rhine, in the little green Isle, or on the banks of the Nile, wherever it may be that the plastic hand of the Creator has made the soil richest and most productive there the gaunt spectre of poverty raises its head and produces its most hideous aspect. There does the lash of landlordism fall heaviest on the backs of the poor. There does tenantry show up strongest. Even as in Bell and Falls county, Texas; even as in Oklahoma and other fruitful Southern states.

What blasphemer will say that the Architect of the Universe, He who set the stars singing in the skies at the dawn of creation produced his richest spots to be coralled by the greedy and covetous and cause his children to mourn and turn this world into a vale of tears? (Applause.)

LANDLORDISM AND MORALITY.

Let us look at this land situation from another angle, while keep

ing in mind the fact that from 1900 to 1910 there has been an increase in white tenantry from 174,991 to 219,106.

During these years when tenantry has been increasing we find that the little fellow who farms on a small scale is actually decreasing in numbers. Those who farm from 20 to 49 acres during the decade of 1900 to 1910 dropped from 99,137 to 98,363. This in spite of the great increase in population. Thus we see small farm owners decreasing and white tenantry increasing. We also find from the census that negro and non-white tenant farmers have increased 4,276 or from 65,536 in 1900 to 69,812 in 1910. And thus as plain as the noonday sun we learn from the official census record that all kinds of tenants, white, black and brown are steadily increasing while the small home owners are beginning to diminish in numbers.

In the face of such a showing is it not a bitter, vicious insult to our intelligence that the old party politicians hand us when they cause the state to be torn up over the question of whether the tariff of Richard Walker of 1846, was a better tariff proposal than the tariff of Mr. Bryan in 1912, or over that other equally ludicrous issue of the pro and the anti.

For years I have toured the Lone Star State. It has been my good fortune to be the honored guest of white renters in at least 400 homes. With Kipling I could say, "I have eaten your bread and salt; I have drunk your water and wine. I know your lives by personal contact. I have married a daughter of the soil and I know that there is no place in the world where a greater number of men wear the white flower of a stainless life than at the forks of the creek in Texas, where they pick and chop the cotton and garner and glean the harvest for the exploiters. The virtue of the Texas women is known through all the nations. I have gone through one tier of 20 counties and learned from the official records that not one case of bastardy is recorded in the courts for ten years.

If the possession of social virtues were the determining factor under this system in making people prosperous, learned and wise, then the wealth of Indus and Or would lie in your laps, Texas renters. But, alas, my friends, in this system of grab and graft where licentiousness is the law, greed sits in the councils of state and chicanery is the constitution, we are learning that to be honest is to fail in the race and rags is the royal raiment that you wear for virtue's sake. (Applause.)

From year's end to year's end the renters in not less than a hundred counties never see or taste red liquor. The Bible is in the front room instead of the deck of cards. You know no more about dice than you do of the pearls in a queen's necklace, and then just imagine what travesty upon statesmanship our democratic politicians present to us when from pulpit and press, stump and legislature they rend the state in twain over the idiotic proposition of whether

Mr. Cone Johnson, corporation attorney, is on top of the water wagon or Mr. Colquitt is under that ancient vehicle.

Down with such frauds! Let the renters get their eyes open to the fact that this pro-anti movement is a fake. Just as pickpockets start a riot so they can rob in the midst of the melee, so do the pros and antis, lay and clerical, cause you to gaze upwards at the fight on the water wagon while the land shark and his profit-rent-interest brother are going through your pants pockets to take the last dollar away. (Prolonged applause.)

LANDLORDISM DESTROYS EDUCATION

I now wish to call your attention to another evil that comes in the train of landlordism. It lies in the fact that the two greatest boons that our children can possess are denied them. First, education, and secondly, play.

As to education the state of Texas is in the most deplorable condition of any state in the union. Side by side with that fact remember Texas has more English-speaking people and less foreigners than any other state. Given then these prerequisites for education, first the largest school fund in the nation and secondly the largest number of native born Americans in the nation surely you might be justified in believing that Texas would as a matter of course lead all the other states in learning.

And yet I regret that I cannot say that the Lone Star State is first. If I said we were fifth you might doubt me. If I said we were fifteenth, you might commence to get mad, if I said we were twenty-fifth you might start to boil over. If I said we were thirtieth among the states you might want to whip me.

But what are you going to do when I tell you that Texas ranks thirty-ninth among the states and the only reason that she is not last is because of Mississippi with its 60 per cent of negroes and the old mountain states like the Virginias and Carolinas?

"Maine with its compulsory education law for 50 years leads all the states. Maine has demonstrated just as Sweden has done, that compulsory education raised the pall of illiteracy from the cradle of childhood, and in the face of this fact the last Democratic legislature at Austin killed a compulsory education law, in response to the commands of the landlords of Texas, who demanded from their servants at Austin an empty schoolroom and a full cotton patch. (Prolonged cries of 'shame!' and 'kill the donk.')

CHILD LABOR AND LANDLORDISM.

"Turn now to the second point I have just raised, that of child labor. I suppose nine-tenths of you renters who listen to me this afternoon have heard the question asked by the landlord when you were looking for a place; 'How much force have you got?'

"You know that if you stood before him with only your clear-eyed bride by your side your chances for the place were slim. But if beside you stood a bowed woman, young in years but old with toil, at whose skirts straggled a number of wide-eyed children, then you stood a first class chance of securing a place for the year because the babies would labor with hoe and cotton sack out in the fields, out under the burning sun, where their infantile ears hear never the music of the school-bell. It is this child labor, my friends, that causes illiteracy and the man in front of me today who will for one moment think of not protesting against this outrageous crime against childhood has a yellow streak up his spine as big as a barber's pole; is a peon in his heart and is not good enough to associate with a mulat to negro. (Prolonged cheers.)

RENTERS UNION THE FIRST STEP.

"I think I have made the situation very plain to you all. I have called upon the word of God, the philosophers, scientists, sages and law-givers of the centuries to support me in my position which is that use and occupancy must be made the title to land, that landlordism must perish in America and the land be restored to the people.

The question then springs to the lips: 'What steps should be taken to bring around this tremendous change?' I reply the first great step has been taken by the organization of the Renters Union.

"On the 4th day of last November in the labor hall in the city of Waco, at 9 o'clock in the morning, 110 delegates from 24 counties, assembled for the purpose of launching the Land Renters Union of America. Every man paid his own way and peace and harmony reigned in our councils. These men were renters, everyone. In every fiber of their being they felt the outrages heaped upon them by the system. They were determined to destroy landlordism. They finished their labors, returned to their homes and plunged into the fight. They drafted a constitution that statesmen who have read it say is superior to any constitution ever drawn up by a labor organization in America. They set forth an educational program that is forming the basis of an educational campaign that when properly carried through will electrify the South. They have elected able officers, competent men all, who have had a record of devotion to labor that guarantees them confidence and respect, men who have won their spurs on the field of the daily class struggle. They have established national and state headquarters at Hallettsville, Texas. They have appointed organizers and lecturers, opened up correspondence with other Southern states, arranging for the publication of pamphlets, and did such other preliminary work as befits a growing militant labor organization.

In the constitution we have provided that men who are not renters can join our ranks. I do not mean that we made the mistake the Farmers Alliance and Farmers Union made in permitting bankers, merchants, etc., in our ranks. All such are barred as well and as

thoroughly as the landlord. The man that exploits his fellow man by renting out as much as one acre of land cannot pass the portals of the Union. However the Renters Union in a broad statesmanlike manner has provided that one who owns his land and uses and occupies it, without exploiting his fellow man, is eligible to membership in the Union.

The next state convention will be held in Waco next November,* I expect to see a large and enthusiastic body of men and women present. And I know that they will make such provisions as a growing organization needs to safeguard and develop the movement, until they have accomplished their mission, the freeing of the tiller of the soil from the curse of landlordism. (Long continued applause.)

WHAT THE RENTERS UNION CAN DO.

"Let me show you now what the Renters Union can do.

"The original local union in Falls county has engaged in three strikes against the landlords in that county and WON ALL THREE.

"The Renters Union has provided in its constitution that use and occupancy shall be the title to land and that they favor a tax to the limit on all land held out of cultivation for speculative purposes. The renters know that it would be impossible to get these sweeping demands through under the present constitution of Texas, for the reason that the present constitution provides that no land shall be taxed more than 35c on the \$100 and actually the tax is less than half the sum. Hence the necessity for a constitutional amendment.

Naturally the first move toward securing that amendment is to place all political parties in the state on record for or against it.

With the Socialist party there would be no trouble, for in every platform, state and national, and through its every newspaper, speaker, writer, agitator, it has declared unqualifiedly that USE AND OCCUPANCY IS THE ONLY JUST TITLE TO LAND. Every legislator, governor and president elected by that party will stand, pledged and bound under penalty of recall to carry out that program to the letter.

With the Republican party (since it is not required to hold primaries) the most practical method will be to have a Renters Union delegation appear before the state convention and ask it to pass a resolution against landlordism—which it will be sure not to do.

However, it will just now be the most expedient to put the leading party of the South—the Democratic party—on record, and thereby immediately put the land question to the front. Here is the plan as to that party:

When the Democratic State convention meets put them on record for use and occupancy as the title to land and a tax to the limit on all land held for speculative purposes." As the leopard won't change his colors we know what to expect.

*The convention was held. It was a magnificent success. 112 delegates responding from 23 counties.

WHAT ABOUT THE COURTS?

"I fancy I hear the question rising to your lips: 'What will the courts do? They will do nothing, my friends, if you show the proper energy and spirit and determination in the fight. Judge Harris, of Austin, the greatest constitutional lawyer in the state and author of Harris' Annotated Constitution, in an article written for the Rebel's Land Edition published last New Year's Day, very wisely observes:

"That the courts are always willing to strain a point to the end that their decisions will be in line with popular opinion."

"It is up to us to make that popular opinion, something that we cannot do in an individualistic way or in a disorganized mob. But show me 100,000 renters organized in a solid phalanx and the pressure that they will be able to exert will render us immune from the hostile decisions of the courts.

"I would further point out in this connection that an industrial Renters Union with 100,000 members in Texas will have its counterpart in Oklahoma, Arkansas and the other Southern States. The wave of organization will spread into the congested districts of the North. **THE LAND QUESTION WILL BECOME THE BURNING QUESTION OF THE HOUR;** tariff and currency and all such issues will be thrown on the scrap heap and with our shibboleth of "**FREE LAND FOR A FREE PEOPLE,** we can sweep the nation by 1916. (Applause.)

THE GREATEST BATTLE OF THE WORLD.

"In conclusion let me say we are entering upon the greatest battle that has ever taken place in the history of the world. Every nation upon the earth is seething with discontent until the flames of progress have lit the Eastern skies and their glare has awakened even the Chinese, who are stumbling to their feet after their 4,000-year sleep. In no place is discontent against existing conditions more rampant than in the United States, unless we exclude Mexico that is in the vortex of a bloody revolution because 7,500 families own the land on which 18,000,000 live and have their being.

In this fight for universal freedom I am confident that the old Lone Star State will take her place where the battle rages hardest and the call for men is heard. This has been our history in the past from the days of the Alamo to the close of the nineteenth century when the famous Populist delegation of 103 Texans stood like a stonewall against the fusion with Bryan and the donk that resulted in defeat and despair.

It was in Texas that the banner of the Farmers Union was first hoisted. It was in Texas that the Knights of Labor entered the farm-

ing regions while the other agricultural states stood back. It was in Texas that the Greenback party, the Union Labor Party, the Farmers Alliance, the Wheel and the Grange reached their highest state of development.

"I have no time for the carping critic and heresy hunting fool who belittles the efforts of men like 'Bill' Farmer and Judge Nugent because they were not correct in every move they made. They were honest, they were fearless and were moved by the lights as they saw them.

"I have no fear but that Texas will remain true to its revolutionary traditions and that in this great commonwealth, kissed by the Red River and washed by the Gulf where the sweet magnolia lends its fragrance to the southern air; in this favorite land of glorious sunshine we will take a leaf from the books of the life of our fathers, capture the citadel of privilege, overthrow landlordism, abolish rent, interest and profit, make use and occupancy the title to land, sit under our own vine and fig tree and thus by establishing industrial freedom among men we will have lived the life of a man who has been true to his God, his country and humanity. Then when the death angel approaches our bedside we can hear the voices of our neighbors say as the Master said: 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Thou hast been faithful over a few things I will set thee over many.' " (Long sustained applause and Rebel yells.)



2. THE RENTERS' UNION.

The following is an article written by T. A. Hickey for the International Socialist Review, which gives a more complete insight into the Renters Union movement than previous articles. Our readers will please excuse a few repetitions of the other article:

Vol. 25, No. 9, Sept. 1912

A GREAT AMPHITHEATRE.

To understand the Renters Union situation it is necessary to know the immense amphitheatre upon which the tragedy of their lives is staged.

Texas is the largest state in the union in area. Between El Paso and Texarkana, a distance greater than from Boston to Milwaukee and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Panhandle there lies 266,000 square miles. This is an area as large as Germany with 57,000 square miles to spare and 59,000 square miles larger than France. It is sixth in population amongst the states containing 4,000,000 people. Less than five per cent of the population is foreign, thus making it the most American of all the States. The factory system is practically unknown, sixty-five per cent of the people living in small towns, villages, cross-road settlements and farms. More cotton is raised in Texas than in any other geographical division in the world including the valley of the Nile. The enormous production of this great staple makes Texas the greatest agricultural state in the union, for cotton still is king.

The people of Texas have never been noted for conservative methods. By tradition and training they are cast in a revolutionary mould. When the great cities of New England, New York and the middle west saw their proletariat bound to the chariot wheels of capitalism without much thought of protest the Texas worker, the much despised one-gallus fellow at the forks of the creek, was striking fearlessly though blindly at his oppressors.

And thus it has come to pass that the Greenback party, the Union Labor Party, the Populist Party, the Farmers Alliance, the Grange, the Wheel and Farmers Union have in the past reached their highest development in the Lone Star State.

AGRICULTURAL EVOLUTION PLAIN HERE.

In no place in the world can the trend of capitalism along the lines of agriculture be observed at first hand as it can in Texas. The great steam plows and mechanical cotton pickers on bonanza farms can be observed side by side with primitive methods of agriculture, that Potiphar's men might have used in Egypt.

Of still greater benefit to the student of economic development is the fact that this tremendous area has been taken over, within the lives of men now living, by a few great capitalists who possess greater landed possessions than any landlord in Europe ever dreamed of.

I have ridden in buggies over dozens of Texas counties when on a schoolhouse campaign and have had pointed out to me by my driver the great cattle trails over which the cowboys drove their mighty herds to Kansas. The cowboy now is as extinct as the dodo so far as

the open country is concerned and a large number of the survivors are washing dishes in Chinese restaurants in Fort Worth.

The trail is obliterated, the land is fenced in and the locomotive engineer has taken the place of the cowboy. It is of this fenced-in land that I would write, because with the coming of the barbed wire the gaunt spectre of tenantry raised its head in Texas.

RENTERS UNKNOWN IN 1860.

In 1860 land renters were unknown in Texas. Land could be secured literally for a song. This in spite of the gigantic land frauds that had been going on in Texas that are described in Meyer's great work, the History of the United States Supreme Court.

A story is told, with much relish in Texas that vividly illustrates how easily land was secured at that time. A cattleman rode across the Concho River in '60, dropped off his horse at a tent saloon and found himself unable to pour out his liquor because he was shaking all over with laughter. "What are you laughing at Mr. Brown," inquired the bartender. Said Brown: "I met a durned fool across the line in Coke County this morning. I swapped him a section of land for a calf. The idiot couldn't read and I'll be dadgasted if I didn't work off two sections on him." From this true tale it can be seen that landlordism did not menace the people when the guns roared out at Ft. Sumpter.

ENORMOUS LANDHOLDINGS.

After the war renting commenced. The lines had commenced to tighten even while the armies were battling at the front. Cattle companies fenced in multiplied thousands of acres. The legislature gave away to individuals and corporations many millions of acres. Their gifts to railroads alone amounted to thirty six and one-half millions of acres, and by the runover system the railroads came into possession of several million acres more. Three million acres were given for the building of the State capitol, which was a seab job. As a result of the wholesale gifts to sharpers the public domain dwindled and enormous land holdings became the order of the day. Thus we find Mrs. King, who resides in Corpus Christi, holds title to 1,400,000 acres of land: it is just 50 miles from her front porch to her back gate. Mr. Wagoner, the Ft. Worth banker, owns 800,000 acres in the Panhandle. Col. Slaughter has title deeds to 600,000 acres. C. P. Taft, the step-brother of the president, has 356 sections. Mr. Higgins, bottom, of Dublin, Tex., has 125 tenants in one portion of Nolan county. Mr. Swenson, Wall Street banker, has 1,100 sections in west Texas. Our old friend Post of sawdust fame, has 200,000 acres on the plains. I might go on to tell of other enormous possessions but I have said sufficient to indicate the size of the holdings of the great land holders of Texas.

OBTAINED BY VIOLENCE AND FRAUD.

These holdings came into the possession of their owners in the same manner described by Spencer in the ninth chapter of Social Statics:

"The original deeds were written with the sword * * * blows were current coin given in payment and for seals blood was used in preference to wax".

'T was even so in Texas. The cattle companies when stealing the public domain employed gun-men more vicious than the western mining corporations ever dreamed of, and indeed some of the thugs were borrowed by the Mine Owners Association, notably Bob Meldrum, of whom Haywood could tell a wonderful tale. These gun-men were used to scare away the "Nesters" as the bona fide settlers were called who went out into the wilderness to carve out a home for their wives and babies. Hundreds of them refused to leave and were shot like dogs, when the sun went down!

So plain is this trail of blood and fraud that I am serenely confident that did we but possess a Socialist Legislature at Austin, that would be responsive to the best interest of the disinherited masses of Texas, they would appropriate \$100,000 to investigate the Land Commissioner's office and the result would be, I am sure, that a number of the smug gentlemen, who own great tracts of land in Texas would be deprived of their stolen goods and to save themselves from the penitentiary would depart for parts unknown.

TENANCY INEVITABLE.

In the face of the conditions, just sketched, it was inevitable that Texas in spite of her enormous area of free land should soon find tenancy developing. In 1870 5 per cent of the men who tilled the soil in Texas were renters. In 1900 50 per cent were renters, while in 1910 71 per cent is operated by renters, while in the richest black land counties, such as Bell and Falls, 82 per cent of the land is operated by renters. In connection with this I may say that I have had some discussions with some of our socialist statisticians who claimed that the figures were somewhat less than I have given, but they overlooked the important fact, however, that the average renter needs from 80 to 160 acres according to his family to make a living and that there are 29,118 farmers who own less than 19 acres, a large proportion of whom are compelled to become renters so that they may live, and this is also true of the 98,363 farmers who own from 20 to 40 acres, hence my figures are conservative.

INCREASING RENTALS.

These renters of Texas, for two generations, have been accustomed to pay the landlord the traditional third and fourth, which means

that of every three bushels of corn and grain they produce, the landlord takes one, of every four bales of cotton the tenant produces, the landlord takes one. To the intense disgust of the renter this third and fourth system is passing away. The landlords have commenced to demand a third all round, which means that the tenant must give up one bale out of every three instead of one out of every four.

Then the landlords commenced to demand of the tenant \$1.00 an acre bonus, and some landlords have demanded as high as two and three dollars an acre bonus as well as the third and fourth. The putting through of these reductions in the renter's income produced a storm of discontent and was the main factor that led to the organization of the Renters Union, and inasmuch as the economic laws of capitalism will not permit of a reduction in these burdoses now being piled upon the renters it is inevitable that the Renters Union shall grow until it is the largest union in the United States.

WHY THEY WON'T COME DOWN.

I will now sketch the reasons why the landlords will not and cannot reduce these burdens:

Within the past fifteen years there has been a steady flow of capital to Texas. It was mostly brought to the State by wealthy farmers of Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Ohio and Illinois, who had sold out their lands at an enormous increase over what their fathers had secured them for. They believed they could come to Texas, buy lands at a "reasonable" price and trust to the growth of the State to enable them to secure large piles of unearned increment. They found however that the gentlemen already on the ground were able to maintain the price of land at a very high figure largely because of the fact that the public domain had disappeared and all hands were inclined to hold the land which, unlike other things, is a fixed quantity.

Thus it happens that land that in the 70's sold for \$2 per acre jumped to \$40, \$50, \$100 and even higher. I was on one section of black land in Bell county near the town of Rogers last year that had just been sold to a Northern man for \$150 an acre. The renters who work this land when it was selling at \$50 an acre, paid a third and fourth and the landlord was satisfied with receiving a good return upon his investment, but when this land went to \$150 an acre the new purchaser found that after meeting the fixed charges he could not secure 2 per cent on his investment, hence was compelled, in order to receive what he considered an adequate return to demand as well as the third and fourth, \$3.00 an acre bonus.

On the poorer lands, where production is not half what it is in the rich black land, a corresponding condition obtains, but the land being cheaper in price causes the landlord to ask a smaller bonus

than in the black land belt. In either case the renter finds himself in the same position as the city wage earner. That is, he just receives enough to keep body and soul together and enable him to prepare for the next day's toil.

LAND SPECULATORS IN CLOVER.

The second reason for the inevitable growth of the Renters Union is found in the fact that owing to the antiquated constitution under which the State of Texas is being ruled and that was drafted originally in the interest of the landlords, it is impossible to place an adequate purpose. The constitution provides that land shall not be taxed more than 35c on the \$100, and the actual tax is considerably less than half of that sum.

Hence the million acre land owners pay this petty tax on the millions of acres of land that they have fenced in and lie back in silent satisfaction as they watch the population growing by the natural growth within the State and the immense immigration from without. To give my readers an idea of the blighting effects upon the renter that results from this policy I will quote from an article published in the Chicago Tribune some months ago that was written by the present Governor of Texas, O. B. Colquitt. He said:

"There are 146,000,000 acres of land in Texas that has never felt the touch of a plow. 46,000,000 acres of this land is of mountainous and arid character but there are 100,000,000 acres of fine arable land that is fit for cultivation that is now fenced in in private hands," the Governor went on to say, "All the public domain is practically gone."

TENANTS INCREASING.

After pondering over this statement of the governor's I would like to then point out that the number of tenants is continuously increasing. In 1900 there were 174,991 white tenants, by 1910 they had increased to 219,196, an increase of 44,115 in ten years.

If we take a pencil and divide the 219,000 tenants into the 100,000,000 acres of arable land that Governor Colquitt speaks of, we find that each renter could have a farm of 456 acres of good arable land while the other 46,000,000 acres of land is good for stock grazing.

What a tremendous prize to struggle for! Where in all the nations is there a definite distinct proletarian group that was ever moved to action with the hope of such a reward for victory.

I will pass over the great broad fact that all the proletariat of all the Nation has all the world to gain by the establishment of the Socialist Republic. My readers will note that I am writing about an

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industrial union and not about the general philosophy of Socialism. Let us mass the facts that I have set forth.

Here is land far greater in area than the German nation that has been grabbed by a few exploiters in fifty years. From being practically worthless the land has gone to a price that the workers cannot think of purchasing. The great public domain has disappeared. Where there were no tenants there are now 219,000. The bonus system has been introduced. The landlord has increased his demand on the crop, and each year finds the tenant sinking to an ever lower level.

RENTERS UNION ORGANIZED.

These facts have led to the organization of the Renters Union of North America. On the fifth day of last November, in the labor hall in the city of Waco, 110 delegates, from 24 counties, met in convention for the purpose of launching the Renters Union. Every man paid his own expenses, some of them stopped at the dollar-a-day hotels and others slept in the wagon yards. I attended the convention and in consideration of the fact that I had written the first call for the organization in The Rebel on the 15th day of last July, the convention honored me by placing me on the committee on by-laws and constitution in an advisory capacity. I have attended many conventions during my twenty years in the labor movement, but never one that displayed more singleness of purpose, unity of action, clearness of thought or had a cleaner personelle than the men who formed this convention.

The slogan of the convention was LANDLORDISM MUST GO.

When our labors were completed I returned to my home confident that the ground work had been laid for an industrial union that possesses greater potential strength than any other union in the Nation.

This is what the convention decided upon as its course of action.

First, they declared with Chancellor Kent and Sir William Blackstone, that use and occupancy was the only genuine title to land.

Second, they declare that a confiscatory tax should be placed on all land held out of cultivation for speculative purposes.

Third, they declared that the organization should be strictly non political and non-sectarian.

Fourth, they demanded a change in the State Constitution that would secure the objects outlined above.

Fifth, they declared that when the organization was well under way that a committee from the Union should be sent to the political conventions of every party in Texas with a request to place in their platforms a plank demanding an amendment to the constitution that

would enable them to tax the land held for speculative purposes and that would make use and occupancy the title to land. They further pledged themselves to use all honorable methods to destroy the political party, be it Republican, Democrat, Prohibition or Socialist that would not accede to their demands.

Sixth, they took a positive stand for industrial autonomy and while declaring Texas State Division No. 1 the parent organization with the right to issue charters in other states, yet as soon as 40 local organizations were chartered in the state then a state convention should be called that would elect state officers and secure autonomy within that state.

Seventh, they struck new ground in a farmer's organization by providing that no one was eligible to membership who was not an actual tiller of the soil.

Eighth, they provided that a man who owns his small home might be eligible to membership but any man who rented as much as one acre of land could not pass the portals of the union.

Ninth, they demanded that the bonus system should cease, that no man should give a third of the crop. That the third in grain and the fourth in cotton should be the limit that they would give the landlord.

Tenth, they arranged for a widespread educational propaganda for the renters, their wives and their children under eleven separate heads.

Eleventh, they placed the dues at the lowest possible level, 50c initiation, 15c a quarter.

Twelfth, they demanded that all of their affairs, as far as possible, should be conducted by the initiative, referendum and recall.

HEADQUARTERS ESTABLISHED.

Headquarters have been established at Hallsville, Texas, with E. O. Meitzen acting as Secretary-Treasurer. Organizers have been appointed, pamphlets have been written, a constitution and by-laws adopted, a large number of localshave been chartered and when the second annual convention occurs at Waco Nov. 8, 1912, the Renters Union delegates will meet prepared to take such steps as will bring the entire renting proletariat of the South within the sphere of their influence.

One significant thing may be noticed in connection with this Renters Union: It has been of great value to us in building up the Socialist Party. It has broken down a wall of prejudice that stood between the renters and the Socialist Party. The Democratic Party renters have had the big fact rubbed under their nose that it was the Socialists of Texas that were the most active spirits in coming to their assistance when the difficult work of organization was projected. They are commencing to understand the necessity of using both the

political and economic arm. Their old time leaders are being put to the test and found wanting. Their union is drawing the class line taut. Before the launching of the Renters Union the landlord and tenant would walk arm in arm to the same primary, but now they separate at the union door and the renter is beginning to vote for the interest of himself and his class.

Another great advantage to the Socialist propaganda to be derived from this movement is that through strong organization the renter can no longer be blacklisted or boycotted by landlords on account of political or religious beliefs or other flimsy reasons.

The National Platform Analyzed.

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

ABLE-BODIED LIARS.

My Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen: Great and glorious is our beloved Lone Star State. With its 266 thousand square miles of land, it stands out as the largest in the Union, first in agricultural production, the State where king cotton proudly carries aloft his great white banner. The state where we have the strongest and cleanest men, the sweetest and purest women and incidentally the largest collection of able-bodied liars in the civilized world. (Loud laughter and applause.)

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

FRAMED BY REAL DEMOCRATS.

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

Before entering into an analysis of this platform I desire to point out to you one great fact in connection with it and that is that this platform was framed by men and women who are democrats to the

core and accomplished their work in a thoroughly democratic way. For be it known, I am a democrat from the soles of my feet to the hairs of my head. I am a democrat in all that the term implies. However I would say that I am not one of those Bailey-esque democrats of that type that can be determined by lighting a match in their vicinity and then be compelled to call up the fire department because of the presence of kerosene. I am a democrat who realizes that the fathers of our country found that the remedy for political autocracy was political democracy and so do I, as one of the sons believe that the remedy for industrial autocracy is industrial democracy. Thus I am an industrial democrat, a social democrat, a Socialist. (Applause.)

A COMPARISON OF METHODS.

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

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

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

A GREAT DEMAND.

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

"As a measure calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the Co-operative Commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist

oppression we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SECOND DEMAND.

Our second demand is for "the immediate ownership by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies."

The portion of this plank that deals with grain elevators will appeal to you tillers of the soil who have been caught coming and going, buying and selling, by the Elevator trust, while in the great cities the storage warehouses owned by the great monopolists have been the cause of incalculable sufferings among the masses in these congested centers. For instance, last winter in New York City millions of eggs and multiplied pounds of butter were stored in cold storage plants

controlled by the food trust with the result that they pushed the price up to 65c a pound for butter and 50c a dozen for eggs. To prevent this wholesale robbery we make this demand.

SOCIALISM AND DROUTH.

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

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

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

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

A FARMER'S PLANK.

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

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

- (a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.
- (b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.
- (c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.
- (d) By the stoppanage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of the mines and oil wells.
- (e) By the development of highways and waterway systems.

MOST IMPORTANT PLANK.

The next plank in our platform is unquestionably the most important of all. The plank that relates to the Socialist attitude toward land.

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

I make bold to say that the carrying out of this plank would result in the complete destruction of the land tenantry system in every state in the union. I will call your attention to some facts in connection with great landlords.

Take the Swenson holdings in west Texas; they amount to eleven hundred sections. Take Mrs King's holding in south Texas; they amount to nearly one million and a half acres. Take Mr. Wagonner's holdings in northwest Texas; they amount to 800,000 acres. Some of this land is already rented at from three to six dollars an acre cash rent. Should we proceed to tax this land at its "full rental value" as our platform demands we can readily see that these landlords could not hold the land one year and would be compelled to throw it on the market *en bloc*. Prices of land would drop to zero and thus the land monopoly would be smashed to smithereens. Men would not have to rent when they could get the land for a nominal rate and thus would tenantry disappear in Texas and in every other southern state where similar conditions prevailed. The northern renter could take advantage of this situation in the south and thus would the curse of tenantry be forever removed from our nation.

BANKING AND LAND GRAFT.

The great landlord is able to maintain his grip not only because of ownership of the political power but because of his control of the banking and currency system therefore the next plank in our platform dovetails into the plank we are discussing. It reads:

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

Under the constitution of the United States the government has the power to manufacture and issue money, hence the great mints at New Orleans, San Francisco, Philadelphia and elsewhere. The government has the power to say what shall be the standard of value. They can make it gold or platinum, silver, copper or lead. They can maintain national banks in private hands or smash them as did Andrew Jackson.

The free land that would come to the poverty-stricken tenant through the great tax mentioned in the previous plank in the platform

plus his ability to secure money at a nominal rate as provided for in this currency plank would thoroughly destroy the landlord and the interest shark. Then and not until then can he who tills the soil and earns his daily bread by the sweat of his face live in security under his own vine and fig tree. (Long-continued applause.)

This plank would indicate the desire of the Socialists to abolish the private banker and turn the full charge of the issuance of currency over to the nation. Were this done the usurers would disappear and money would no longer be monopolized by a money trust as at present.

CAPITALISM'S GREATEST CRIME.

The next plank in our working program deals with the vital question of unemployment. Hear it:

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

To my mind the greatest crime that capitalism is guilty of is that to maintain itself it demands what its professors of political economy call a "reserve army of unemployed."

What is an unemployed man who is willing to work? He is a man who desires to create wealth for society. Any state of society that says to even one of the citizens "You are willing to work but shall not do so" when dragged to the bar of reason stands condemned there and then.

It is estimated that there are four million people continuously unemployed. They constitute that army mentioned above and because of that unemployment a vast train of evil and woe comes upon society. We seek to grapple with this in our program. We point how this evil of unemployment can be abolished.

We say extend all useful public works. What is a public work? The Panama canal is a public work. The erection of federal buildings are public works. The erection of the Roosevelt dam in Arizona is a public work and so we could carry out the above plank by loaning money to the states and municipalities without interest and dam up every stream in America that could be practically turned upon our drouth-stricken farms or upon factory turbines. We could macadamize hundreds of thousands of miles of public roads and make them as easy to travel as the famous roads that led to ancient Rome. We could drain every acre of swamp land in the United States and turn these disease-breeding places into arable land that might feed a nation. We

could build temples of art that the ancient Greeks might envy. We could make the desert blossom like a rose and turn this nation of ours into a land that would literally flow with milk and honey. All this and more we could do by the carrying into effect the plank on unemployment in the Socialist party's platform. (Prolonged cheers.)

HOW TO CONSERVE HUMANITY.

Under the head of "Industrial Demands" the Socialist party proposes ways and means whereby we can conserve human resources, particularly the lives and well-being of the workers and their families. We propose to go about it in the following manner:

1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.
2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.
4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.
5. By the co-operative organization of industries in federal penitentiaries and workshops for the benefit of convicts and their dependents.
6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.
7. By abolishing the profit system in government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.
8. By establishing minimum wage scales.
9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

By shortening the work day we give the toilers a measure of benefit that should come to the whole race but is now appropriated by the capitalist.

By securing to every worker a rest period we give him time for culture and refinement, the handmaidens of civilization.

By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and mines we would prevent the awful loss of life and limb that takes place in gainful occupations each year.

By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age we safeguard the intellectual and physical well-being of the coming generation.

We put strength into our first demands by forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

We strike a blow at capitalist grafters by abolishing the profit system in public work.

We make living sure for laborers by the establishment of the minimum wage scale and, finally, by the abolition of official charity and substituting a system of old age pensions and a general system of insurance by the state we as a grateful nation perform an act of civilized justice when we pension the soldiers of industry whose forms are bowed and whose hair is grey; the wolf of hunger need never bark at their doors.

Under the influence of Socialist strength in England and most of the nations of continental Europe measures such as this old age pension and similar insurance laws have been passed. On an infinitely greater and broader scale we can put through similar beneficent legislation in these United States and I pray that the day may not be far off when the Socialists will have succeeded in awakening the multitude to the necessity of adopting these thoroughly democratic measures. (Applause.)

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

Our political demands are of a most sweeping character and every man of broad democratic faith can readily accede to them. They are:

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.
2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialisation of industry.
3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.
4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.
5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.
6. The abolition of the senate and of the veto power of the president.
7. The election of the president and the vice president by direct vote of the people.
8. The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.
9. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that the instrument may be made

amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the states.

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

11. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

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

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

14. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

15. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit court of appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

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

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

The first demand of freedom of press, speech and assemblage is one that must be continuously struggled for and failing to do so the hands of reaction will throttle these elementary human rights as witness San Diego and other places through the country.

A graduated income tax and the extension of inheritance taxes is in line with progressive legislation everywhere.

The abolition of the senate and of the veto power of the president is in line with the growth of democratic thought as is the plank demanding the election of the president and vice president by direct vote of the people.

For similar democratic reasons we demand the abolition of the power usurped by the United States Supreme Court in passing upon the constitutionality of laws enacted by congress.

Directly in line with the democratic trend is the demand for the abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution.

The granting of the right of suffrage to the District of Columbia and the extension of democratic government through all United States territory are also measures of highly democratic character.

The enactment of further measures for general education and for vocational education is in line with successful Socialist policy in other

nations as is the demand for the further enactment of measures for the conservation of health.

The demand to have the state courts possess jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations, the election of all judges for short terms, and the abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit court of appeals will strike a responsive chord in the hearts of every liberty loving American who has watched these courts encroach upon the liberties of the people.

The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions is a wise demand that all organized working men should welcome with open arms and finally the last plank that calls for a convention for a revision of the constitution of the United States is one that would, if carried into effect, bring the ancient document that was written before the advent of the railroad train, steamboat or electric light, up to date so that it would be responsive to the needs, hopes, aims and aspirations of the masses of our people. (Applause.)

THE ULTIMATE GOAL.

Now my friends, I have read and analyzed for you every single plank in the working program of our national platform. I would ask you all to remember that even though we placed every one of these planks in full operation, we still would not have reached the goal of the Socialist party which is the Socialist Republic if we did not have a state of society where *rent, interest and profit will have been abolished forever* and all things collectively used will be collectively owned and democratically managed, while all things that are privately used will be privately owned and privately managed.

As Socialists we realize this statement to be so abundantly true that we close our platform demands with this warning:

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

IN CONCLUSION.

Finally I would advise you all to send to the State Office Socialist party, Rockdale, Texas, or to The Rebel office at Hallettsville and secure a copy of this great platform. After reading it you will agree with me that it sets forth principles of the loftiest character in a statesmanlike manner that places it in line with any of the great state papers that have ever been produced in our country.

As you scan its lines and understand our aims you will know why the Socialist so intensely pushes his campaign of education. He knows

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that the adoption of this platform in its entirety would solve the bread and butter problem for all time and feed the multitude with the good things of this life even as the Christ fed the multitude with the loaves and fishes.

He knows that the carrying out of our program ends crime and prostitution forever and will leash the dogs of war in their kennels. It will promote civilization and make us brothers all in a nation where we can for the first time "have peace on earth and good will to men." (Prolonged applause.)



FARMERS' PROGRAM.

(Adopted at National Convention, Indianapolis, Ind., 1912.)

"1. The Socialist party demands that the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery shall be socially owned and democratically managed.

2. To prevent the holding of land out of use and to eliminate tenantry, we demand that all farm land not cultivated by owners shall be taxed at its full rental value, and that actual use and occupancy shall be the only title to land.

3. We demand the retention by the national, state or local governing bodies of all land owned by them, and the continuous acquirement of other land by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise; such land to be organized as rapidly as possible into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises.

4. Such farms should constitute educational and experimental centers for crop culture, the use of fertilizers and farm machinery and distributing points for improved seeds and better breeds of animals.

5. The formation of co-operative associations for agricultural purposes should be encouraged.

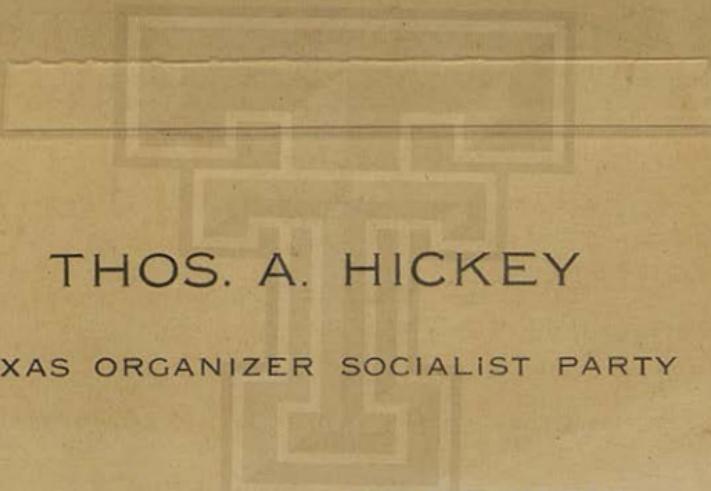
6. Insurance against diseases of animals and plants, insect pests and natural calamities should be provided by national, state or local governments.

7. We call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture will open new opportunities to the agricultural wage worker and to that extent free him from the tyranny of the private employer.

8. The Socialist party pledges its support to the renters and the agricultural wage workers in their attempts to organize to protect themselves from the aggressions of capitalism and the employers in agriculture.

While the above is offered as a general outline for the National Agricultural Program of the Socialist party, we wish to point out that there are such variations of conditions in the widely separate districts of the United States that to each state must be left the task of working out the further details of a program.





THOS. A. HICKEY

TEXAS ORGANIZER SOCIALIST PARTY

PERMANENT ADDRESS
BOX 911, PHOENIX, ARIZ.

The Texas Program for Social Democratic Conduct in Party Affairs.

FIVE PLANKS.

1. The counties, senatorial and congressional districts shall have absolute autonomy or local self government in their respective internal affairs.
2. The National and National Executive Committee must adjourn between national campaigns.
3. National and state candidates for office must be elected by referendum vote.
4. All salaried officers shall resign after two consecutive terms.
5. No member holding salaried newspaper position shall be eligible to election to party committees.

Socialist Speaking

at

Stamford Opera House

JULY 9th 2 P. M.

Come and hear—

THOS. A. HICKEY

Myron
of Montana. The party that he stands for is the only political party that stands for the working class. He will also speak at the following places:

Lueders -----	July 4th
Swans Chapel -----	July 5th
Plainview -----	July 6th
Sales -----	July 7th
Center Point -----	July 8th
Stamford -----	July 9th
Rockdale School House -	July 11th