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THE GREAT APPEAL GREAT TO US ONLY BECAUSE WE ARE ON OUR KNEES—LET US ARISE.

Entered as second-class matter July 1, 1911, at the postoffice at Hallettsville, Tex., under act of Mar. 3, 1879.

HALLETTSVILLE, TEXAS, SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1917.

No. 301

Have We a U. S. Republic?

Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States, is the only czar left in the world now that Nicholas Romanoff has been shorn of his power and is in durance vile in the palace at Tsarkow Selo!

Whoa up there; keep cool, don't flap flags at me. I want your ears and attention and brains because your present understanding is juddled and your emotions are addled by the jingo press of Lord Northcliffe and the subsidized organs of Wall Street.

And so I ask your undivided attention until I prove that since the Romanoff dynasty has been overthrown and a republic has been established in China, North America has the one and only czar in all the nations of the earth.

To that end that I compel you to read on I am going to prove this by the written and spoken statements of President Wilson himself and the word of U. S. senators and representatives from the north and south as reported in the congressional records. To any one who is not satisfied with the proof I have nothing to say except to advise him to join the soldier that never fought at battle, our modern Barnum—Teddy—and go to the trenches in France.

What is a Czar?

Now then it is up to me to show that the president is a czar. Let us for the sake of utmost clearness ask the question "What is a czar!"

He is a ruler who has in his own person, the capacity as lawmaker greater than the vast majority of both the senate with its 96 members and the house of representatives with its four hundred thirty-five members.

This power is possessed by the veto power of the president; a power that over-rides the legislative desires of two-thirds of the combined members of the United States senate and the national house of representatives.

Power Greater Than the Kaiser.

Remember, this power is greater than that possessed by the kaiser. Let us see. The national congress of Germany is a legislative body with but one chamber; a senate, like our American house of lords is not in the Germanic national structure.

The veto power is unknown. The kaiser, however, if he disapproves of a law can dismiss the Reichstag and send them back to the people. If the people return the dismissed representatives the kaiser takes his medicine. This was clearly demonstrated in the struggle between Bismarck and the Socialists in the 80's. The man of blood and iron prevailed on the emperor to dismiss the Reichstag after the Socialists had gained a signal victory over him. The people returned the legislators and Bismarck went down in ignominous defeat lost his chancellorship and retired to private life amidst the jeers and scoffs of triumphant Socialists.

In this connection it should be noted that the universal manhood suffrage prevails in Germany for elections to the Reichstag; something that by no stretch of imagination can we conceive of existing here under the present regime. A glance at the poll tax and grandfather clauses and other restrictions on the ballot in Southern and Northern states proves that so far as suffrage goes the Reichstag is a more democratic body than congress and the kaiser has less power than the president in law making affairs.

In this connection it were well not to confuse the Prussian Diet with the Reichstag; as well confuse Congress with the Missippi, Louisiana or Alabama legislature where but one man in ten can vote.

President Wilson Defines His Power.

One of the presidents greatest powers—I have not spoken of all—his control which is very absolute, of foreign relations of a nation. The initiative in foreign affairs which the president possesses without any restrictions whatever, is virtually the power to control them absolutely. The president can not conclude a treaty with a foreign power without the consent of the senate, but he may guide every step of diplomacy; and to guide diplomacy is to determine what treaties must be made if the faith and prestige of the government are to be maintained. He needs disclose no step of negotiation until it is completed and when in any critical matter it is completed the government is virtually committed. Whatever its disinclination, the senate may feel itself committed also. (From Woodrow Wilson's work on "Constitutional Government," published in 1908 and 1911; I quote from latest edition.)

This quotation from the President's work was quoted with splendid effect by Senator La-Follette during the debate on the Gore resolution warning citizens off armed merchants vessels.

The senator from Wisconsin went on to say:

"So, I understand the pending controversy, the president assumes it to be the exclusive prerogative of the executive to pursue any foreign policy, whatever the issue, independent of any suggestion from either or both branches of Congress."

(See congressional record for the above and following quotations from February 17th to March 19, 1916, at which time the Gore resolution warning U. S citizens to stay off armed belligerent merchantmen was debated.

From the above can be seen that the presidents control—"which is very absolute" can and has plunged the nation into war and thus reveals himself as a czar without a possible probable shadow of doubt. Hear LaFollette again on that point in which he directly charged from the evidence that Wilson is a czar:

The Wisconsin senator said:

"If the president is clothed with such unlimited power, if in conducting foreign affairs he can go unhindered of congress to the limit of making war inevitable, and if the congress has no alternative but to accept and sanction his course, then we have become a one man power, then the president has authority to make war as absolutely as though he were czar of Russia."

Since these words were uttered in the U. S. Senate the czar of Russia has been dethroned, but the czar of the United States has plunged us into Europe's bloody maelstrom that may cost us millions of our precious lives and billions of treasure, not to speak of the worst crime of all that of turning back the hands on the clock of progress and keeping a czar's crown in existence in Washington instead of the crown that has fallen in Petrograd.

So keenly alive is the president to his czar-like prerogatives that he actually uses the terminology of the former Russian czar. In a letter to the belligerent powers on Jan. 18, 1916, he says:

"I should say that my government etc, etc." An erstwhile Romanoff could not phrase it better. It is not a government of by and for the people, not a government of Jefferson or Lincoln, it is "my government."

Arises the question, where does the president get this czar-like power over "my government?" The answer is it is purely and simply—by usurpation. It is not granted by the constitution. It has been usurped. It is not true that the constitution vests such unlimited and unconditional authority in the president that it becomes an offense for congress to take action in matters that his wills against. Fearful of kingly prerogative the powers of the constitution were not at first inclined to let the president have much to do with foreign relations. The constitutional congress kept this function of government in its own hands. But late in its deliberations it was suggested by Madison that the president should have a share in the treaty making power, and it was only 13 days before final adjournment that the president was given a part in the conduct of foreign relations. It is important to note that the only power they committed to the president exclusively was that of receiving foreign ambassadors and ministers.

Acts as Czar' in Mexico Case.

"What is a czar!" I asked a student of international law some years ago. "A man who on his own initative can plunge a nation into war."

If this definition is good, as it seems to be(the president has already displayed the power of czar in Mexico. Hear Senator La Follette on this point:

Mr. President, less than two years have gone by since President Wilson sought the advice and co-operation of Congress upon a situation so grave in character; so overripe in its development, that it culminated in blood shed before it was possible for Congress to act at all.

The immediate incident which led on to the landing of the United States troops on foreign soil and the capture of a foreign city and port had transpired on the 9th of April. On that day a boat loaded with American sailors in the uniform of the American Navy landed at the wharf in Tampico, Mexico. They were arrested by a Mexican officer in charge of a guard. They were presently returned to the boat, released from arrest. The action of the officer making the arrest was promptly disavowed by the de facto government. The officer making the unwarranted arrest of our sailors was placed under arrest by his government. The commandant at Tampico apologized for the act. The head of the de facto government also promptly apologized. Admiral Mayo—our naval commandant—at the port—not being satisfied that sufficient amends had been made for the affront committed, made further demand that the Mexican military commander at the port of Tampico should fire a salute of 21 guns, with special ceremony.

The government de facto consented to fire a salute, but disagreement arose as to the number of guns which should be fired and what were the proper and customary incidents in the way of returning the salute.

Finally, on the 20th of April, the president, in an address made in person, submitted a very brief statement of the matter to congress, assembled in joint session, and asked its approval that he should use the armed forces of the United States to enforce the demands which had been made.

The president prefaced his request for the approval of congress to use the armed forces of the United States to enforce the demands made by Admiral Mayo with the assertion that he had the power to act in the premises with out approval of congress, the prefatory statement being made in the following language—and I quote from President Wilson's message delivered in person before the joint session of the two houses—

No doubt I could do what is necessary in the circumstances to enforce respect for our government without recourse to congress and yet not exceed my constitutional powers as president.

The president's address was concluded at 3:12 p. m. on April 20, when he retired from the hall to the house.

That prompt action was desired by the president upon his message to congress was made known to the house immediately by Mr. Underwood, of Alabama, who said:

Mr. Speaker, I merely wish to state to the house that the president informs me that it is of the utmost importance that action should be taken today in reference to his message just received. I wish to ask each member of the house to remain here until the resolution can be passed if the house at a later hour this afternoon.

The resolution passed the house that day, and while it was under consideration in the senate on the following day the wires brought the news from Mexico that our soldiers had been landed at Vera Cruz and that fighting was in progress in the streets of that city.

Mr. President, I have briefly presented the essential facts of this important event at this time because of its bearing upon the issue which has been raised between the president and congress.

The differences between the president and the head of the de facto government of Mexico growing out of the Tampico affair had reached such a stage before we sought the co-operation of congress and while that matter was at his request under consideration by congress, that he ordered the armed forces of the United States to capture and hold the port of Vera Cruz and plant our flag on Mexican soil. This order was issued over a disagreement as to whether 5 or 21 blank cartridges should be fired by the Mexicans to accentuate their apology, which had already been voluntarily tendered for the offending act of subordinate officer. He acted without authority from congress. We invaded Mexico with an armed force. Blood-shed on both sides followed as the inevitable result.

Had it been Great Britain or Germany or any other great power, on earth, instead of poor, weak, bankrupt, distracted Mexico, we would have been involved in a war the cost and sacrifice and suffering of which is beyond the imagination of man to portray.

Not to digress, I might say, in view of the attack made upon Columbus, N. Mex., by a band of Mexicans led by the outlaw Villa, that the pursuit of raiders who have violated the rights of American citizens upon American soil across the borders into their own country has the sanction of innumerable precedents. It is easily distinguished in fact and principle and presents an entirely different question from that raised by the Vera Cruz incident.

"If the president has the power to order the forces of the United States to invade a foreign country, capture a city, and slay its people, as in the case of Vera Cruz, he has the absolute power to make war at will."

I do not believe the framers of our Constitution ever intended to invest him with such power, either directly or as an incident to any power directly conferred upon him."

Following up this terrific and unanswerable indictment of the president, Senator La Follette, concludes:

"WE ARE, INDEED PLACED IN AN EXTRAORDINARY POSITION BEFORE THE WORLD, IF CONGRESS MUST UNCONDITIONALLY SURRENDER ALL RIGHT TO VOICE THE POPULAR WILL IN A SITUATION SUCH AS NOW CONFRONTS US."

Vardamann Predicted The War.

Anyone who reads the 19-day debate in congress during the spring of 1916 can not but be impressed with the fact that the senators and representatives were positive that Wilson stood on the side of the Allies; that he was not neutral and that with his czar-like power he would inevitably plunge the nation into war. Such was the views of Senator Vardamann of Mississippi, who said in the senate (I quote from the Record):

"Germany has shown a disposition to do well night any and every thing demanded by the United States in order to avoid war, and it is my deliberate judgment that if we should have war with Germany, and God forbid that we may, it will be after Germany has made every possible concession to avoid it. Germany has been quite as respectful and observed the rules of international law in her dealings with the United States as the Allies. It is also my deliberate judgment that some of the gentlemen who hold the bonds of the Allies and are probably carrying large accounts against the Allies for munitions of war would be very glad to see the United States drawn into this vortex of slaughter and death. Meetings are being held in some of the Eastern states urging the United States to take action. Some of the hired organs of the bondholders and munition manufacturers are taunting the United States with being cowards, and saying that Great Britain and her allies are fighting America's battles. IT HAS BEEN INTIMATED THAT THERE IS A LEANING OR SYMPATHY IN HIGH OFFICIAL CIRCLES IN WASHINGTON TOWARD THE ALLIES, AND I DO NOT HESITATE TO SAY THAT UNLESS THIS CONGRESS TAKES AFFIRMATIVE ACTION LOOKING TO THE PROHIBITION OF AMERICANS FROM RIDING ON BELLIGERENT SHIPS, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY, AYE, MORE, A PROBABILITY, THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, UNDER PRETEXT OF DEFENDING THE RIGHTS OF THE AMERICAN CITIZEN WILL BE DRAWN INTO THIS HORRIBLE MAELSTROM.

I do not hesitate to say that to follow the lead of the president in the matter of prohibiting by law Americans to travel on belligerent merchant ships involves a violation of my every idea of duty to my constituent. It involves a violation of my sense of loyalty to the right and betrayal of the American people. The sacrifice is too great to ask any self-respecting American congressman to make. I will not be guilty of such a perfidious crime against my own conscience.

Mr. President —
Though every leaf were a tongue
To cry Thou must,
I will not say the unjust thing is just.

Another senator hit the nail squarely on the head when he said:

Mr. ROEDENBERG. Mr. Speaker, I do not accuse President Wilson of deliberately planning to get us into war with Germany. I do not even go as far as impugning his motives as does his former political friend and adviser, Senator Gore; but I MAKE THE STATEMENT, AND MEASURE MY WORDS IN DOING SO, THAT IF THE PRESIDENT PERSISTS IN THE AUTOCRATIC AND ARBITRARY COURSE THAT HE IS NOW PURSUING THE IRRESISTIBLE AND INEVITABLE RESULT WILL BE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL BECOME INVOLVED IN WAR WITH GERMANY.

Congressmen Fear American Czar

That insistent cry that the president is the whole thing and that congress is worthless and that the republic is doomed is heard from Congressman Black. Hear him:

THE THEORY THAT THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE IS ALONE CAPABLE OF CONDUCTING OUR FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS A RELIC OF THE 1215 M WHICH WE SEEM TO HAVE INHERITED FROM THE EUROPE OF 100 YEARS AGO. When this Republic was founded the framers of the Constitution liberalized every part of the system of government in vogue in the Old World with the single exception of this: WE STILL ADHERE TO THE MONARCHIAL TRADITION THAT OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS SHOULD BE DEALT WITH BY THE PRESIDENT ALONE, TO THE EXCLUSION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE. Such unlimited power placed in the hands of one individual may easily prove a serious menace of a nation. UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION THE POWER TO DECLARE WAR IS RESERVED BY CONGRESS. IT IS QUITE REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT THIS POWER CARRIES WITH IT THE UNQUESTIONED RIGHT TO DISCUSS FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TO ASSIST IN SHAPING FOREIGN POLICIES.

Congressman Slayden of San Antonio fears Wall Street and the czar. He says: "I also come to suspect the existence of a conspiracy to force our country into war with Germany and was influ-

cused by that suspicion."

Congressman Fuller fears the American can't dominate:

"IF MR. WILSON CAN DOMINATE THE CONGRESS BY A MERE REQUEST WHICH THE SENTIMENT OF THE PEOPLE DISAPPROVES, AND IF CONGRESS IS COWARDLY AND OBSEQUIOUS ENOUGH TO BE THUS DOMINATED BY THE PRESIDENT, TRUE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IS AN END. IF A SINGLE MAN, HOWEVER GREAT HIS TALENT, RIGHTEOUS HIS MOTIVES, OR HIGH HIS PLACE, CAN SET ASIDE THE COLLECTIVE JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE, THEN THIS IS NO LONGER A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE PEOPLE. IT IS A BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM, A MONARCHY VEILED UNDER REPUBLICAN FORMS.

Must Act Like Europe.

Another congressman says we must not—

"PERMIT THE ESTABLISHMENT IN THIS COUNTRY OF THAT EXCLUSIVE EXECUTIVE CONTROL OVER FOREIGN AFFAIRS THAT THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE ARE NOW REPENTING AMID THE AGONIES OF WAR.

"MR. PRESIDENT, THERE NEVER WAS A TIME IN HISTORY WHEN IT WAS MORE FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT THAT WE PRESERVE INTACT THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY ON WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT IS FOUNDED — THAT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE IS THE LAW OF THE LAND."

Restore The Republic.

Did space permit and did I not fear worrying my reader with too many resolutions I could fill this paper with similar passages to those quoted above, all of them showing that over a year ago the senate and house or at least that part that was not controlled by the munition trust and war traffickers knew that President Wilson was only waiting for the opportune time to strike the spark that would set this country in a war blaze and thus throw us into the European inferno on the side of the Allies. The time would be after the presidential election which would be fought out on the issue that "He kept us out of war." The events of the past few weeks show how false was the issue but it was sufficient to win!

I believe I have proved my contention that we have not a republic unless it be a republic with an autocrat at its head. And an autocrat and a republic cannot live together in the same nation. We would have the worst despotism on earth if it were not that the president is limited to two terms. But when we have conscription with millions of armed men then look out for a cry from the capitalist jingo sheets for a permanent dictator instead of an eight year one as at present and hang the traitor that objects.

The Rebel finally believes that insamuch as we have the only czar in the world that it is the most vicious hypocrisy to claim that we are going into war to down German autocracy. Let us clean our own door steps first. And if we do raise a great army let it be used to re-establish democracy in America!

To secure this priceless boon for the race I am on my way though there be a gallows at the end of the road.

Quakers are specifically exempted from military service in the pending army bill. While this is a well-deserved compliment to the one sect that has not weakened in adherence to the Christian doctrine of peace, it was not inserted for such a purpose. If it had been then conscientious objectors not connected with a church devoted to Peace, would have been exempt also. But militarists make the fatal error of trying to overcome by force such steadfast unity in devotion to principle as the Quakers have

WHY IDEALISTS QUIT THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The chagrin of the Socialist organization in the United States over the precipitate decline of its vote is uncommonly keen. Immediately after the reverse in presidential election over-enthusiastic Socialists jubilantly claimed 1,300,000 votes. Had their claim been borne out, there would have been a large increase over the 901,000 votes received in 1912. The sorry situation developed that notwithstanding years of the most active propaganda, the Socialist vote fell much more than one-third of what it had been four years previously. The total vote of the Socialist party in 1916 was 590,166. Nominally, this is less than a one-third decrease from the 1912 vote. But when it is considered that the 1916 votes includes approximately 150,000 women's votes in new suffrage states, the actual diminution can be reckoned at more than one-third!

(What make our showing worse is that the total vote for all other parties increased over one million votes in 1916 over 1912.—Ed.)

For other political parties to make explanations of losses is a customary aftermath of an election. Seasoned in the whirligig of politics they expect reverses; their confident campaign assurances are a recognized part of pre-election tactics. But leaders of the Socialist party believed in the uninterrupted gain of their voting power. Successive increases in past elections had increased a sanguineness bordering on complacency! Ill prepared therefore was such a party of such sever disappointment, and the great less hurtfulness it has proved a disconcerting shock.

Confronted with the necessity of explaining, apologists assert that this defection is not that of "class-conscious Socialists." It is, according to most of these explanations, nothing more than the fluctuation of an unstable group easily led astray by the reforms of persuasive promises of other parties. Some mention also as the general upsetting brought about by the war. All of these imply the pregnant fact that when in prior elections this protest class of voters supported the Socialist ticket, its accession was effusively hailed as a solid increase, and as the sure forerunner of the still more glorious expansion of the voting strength.

Then when large numbers of former Socialist voters withdrew their approval of the party, their action was set down as that of quondam "more sentimental sympathizers" who had never become indoctrinated with the "principles of class solidarity."

Explanations like these are calculated to divert attention from the fact that a considerable part of the loss was caused by widespread dissatisfaction upon the quality of the leadership. The suppression of facts of which Socialists accuse their opponents is transmuted by some unfathomable process into "good party tactics" when done by themselves. Any admission that disintegration has been spreading in their organization would be sure to impair the supposed value of what has become to them a sort of vested proprietorship. Hence the blame is cast upon the fickleness of voters. Their own system of ethics comprise not only the refusal of information about themselves, but the penalizing of the publication of it. When some years ago The New Review, a scholarly, independent Socialist periodical, made public the fact that in a single year 75,000 duespaying members had left the organization. Socialist leaders were so enraged over the giving out of the fact and the conclusion stated that the New Review was formally boycotted and blacklisted by the Socialist party local in New York City. Nor is this an isolated instance.

For years, in fact, there has been cankering decay in the Socialist organization. A party boasting of its democracy was so far behind what it sneered at as "bourgeois movements" that it included tolerance a proposal for minority representation in its own ranks! The forms of democracy were outwardly observed in some respects, it is true, but the actual operation was in the hands of a bureaucracy intolerant of opposition.

It is instructive, therefore, to find that some of the Socialists who were once a part of that bureaucracy are now coming forward with the plaint that the party is not the exalted organization that they thought it. These critics happen to be essentially writers, not political leaders; yet it is not the long-festering effects of mental and spiritual distortion that prompt their strictures so much as the obvious loss of political prestige. Prodding onto the superficial causes of decay, they vary in their findings, but all have burst into print as though they had made discoveries. One of them laments that freedom of expression is much limited in the Socialist press, while no others have gone so far as to suggest, by implication, the often by inference—that the mob spirit often surges through the organization, and that, to judge by copious precedent, the "mechanism of discipline" will be stringently applied and the long line of expulsions and expulsions upon pretext will be increased; since to criticise is to "play into the hands of the capitalist class."

The Socialist party prefers to indulge the flattering sensation that it is a movement peculiarly distinct from all that have preceded. It is superior to the ignorances, passions, bigotries and corruptions signalizing so many other historic movements, each of which, by the way, made in its own time grandiose pretension. The Socialist organization, its leaders would have us believe, is the only one which has been established upon an intelligent study of conditions and a clear grasp of remedies! In the very act of proclaiming this, Socialists fail to comprehend that overdone materialism—the real basis of their philosophy—breeds the most vicious kind of bigotry, since it excludes any true understanding of the mental and spiritual depths of man. Theological bigotry has had its terrors, but unmitigated economic bigotry threaten greater. "The real trouble with our party," declares a critic in a Socialist publication, "is that it lacks ideas." He demands a "new vision," but this is as far as he gets. Although he sees the insufficiency if not the emptiness, of the party as it is, the materialistic concepts have been so drummed into him that he is unable to get a glimpse of what that vision might be.

Most of the idealists who quit the Socialist party were altruists. They were devoted to ideas and were not swayed by the indiscriminate aim for "practical power." Their concern was for the dissemination and right and fitting understanding of conditions. An inflated growth of organization the lure and expediency of officeholding did not appeal to them. Their attitude was open to revision as facts dictated. Often at much sacrifice of their own material interests, they joined the Socialist party; led into believing that it was the world's one great worth humitarian movement. It was they who imparted earnestness, disinterested enthusiasm, fire and vitality to the organization. Not for its own sake, but for the idea of what it promised many of them unreservedly accepted the material dogma. Their vision was a state of society in which, if guarantees of good subsistence were afforded to everybody, the human race, relieved of its sordid worries and conflicts would ascertain to noble heights of attainment and brotherhood.

The entrance of such men into the party was widely heralded, particularly of those having wealth or reputation. Now comes the astonishing sight of a party in professed rebellion against wealth and its standards revealing itself as a worshipper of wealth and a truckler to it. Shortly after their admission some of these rich men were elected by this "proletarian party" to the National Executive Committee, the highest of its functioning bodies. One of them, finding himself thus suddenly exalted, was so amazed and disillusioned that he soon found himself out of the party. Far from depreciating such a display of sycophancy, certain elements among what were called "the parlor Socialists" demonstrated by their conduct that no one can be so consumate a toady as the radical toady! But all self-respecting idealists were deeply distressed at seeing a professed "working class party" imitate the worst of those "bourgeois methods" against which it had so insistently declaimed. Other seriously disquieting symptoms obtruded themselves. A party denouncing existing authority as tyrannical intimidating inquisitorial authority as sacred and supreme.

The facility with which the German Socialist organization delivered over to the Kaiser's military caste has, in the case of some idealists, been the final object lesson. A profound feeling of discouragement and disgust spread through them when they reflected that a philosophy which could not produce ordinary manhood in time of stress must be woefully deficient. They viewed with repulsion a party that, instead of representing what to them were the broad, fluent aims of its original founders, had sunk to a drivel of formulas and lied by incapables and often by imposters, had become a fraud and a hoax. They saw with astonishment the movement from which they had expected such great humitarian results used as a powerful instrument by war lords in the scientific accomplishment of slaughter. For it was the adhesion of the Socialist party in Germany, they see, that made the Kaiser's government so strong and unit in the preparations for war. To their shame they have had to admit their much-rhapsodied movement is only such movement known to the world which did not in times crucial test yield its ultimate martyrs. They found to their further mortification that Socialist leaders and their henchmen here in the United States were smugly asking why it was necessary to die to prove sincerity. The very act of self-sacrifice that might have greatly advanced their cause was absent when the need arose. It was lacking because the spirit of self-sacrifice is not compatable with a philosophy sodden with materialism.

The exit of the idealists has been accomplished by aspersions. Any questions have been made within the Socialist organization as to why they left, the invariable reply has been "for personal reasons." The departure of such adherents was at first viewed with indifference by leaders estimating losses solely by arithmetic. But one by one, in all everywhere known of the enormous defection in November, the leaders can no longer conceal the decay of their party. Yet if they can they will avoid any real diagnosis of the causes and it is to this diverting performance that they are now diligently applying themselves.

HEAD OF FARMERS LEAGUE TELLS HOW FOOD SUPPLY MAY BE DOUBLED THIS YEAR.

To The Farmers of the Country:

At the present moment it is our plain duty to take adequate steps that not only our own people be fed, but that we may, if possible, answer the call for food of other nations now at war. In this, I feel, est of human needs I feel that the American farmer will do his part to the uttermost.

By planting and increasing his production in every way possible, every farmer will perform a labor of patriotism for which he will be recognized as a soldier of the commissary, adding his share to the food supply of the people.

(Signed) Woodrow Wilson.

* * *

By A. C. Townley

President, National Nonpartisan League.

The farmers of America can double their crops this year.

They can grow ten times as much food next year as they ever grew in any year before.

And they don't need any advice to do this.

All they need is a fair deal!

It is up to the United States government whether the year's crops shall be large or small, and it is up to the same government to say if next year's crops shall be enough to feed not only the people of this country, but all the allies, too.

This is what the government must do: to get all this food-stuff:

Take over the distribution system.

Take over the packing plants, canneries, flour mills, warehouses, elevators and storage plants.

NEED IDLE LAND.

Take over the idle land held by speculating land holders and distribute it among the hundreds of thousands of farmers who will make this land productive.

Loan the farmers money with which to buy seed, equipment and labor.

If the government takes over food distribution and sets prices it will end gambling in foods, and the fearful waste entailed by present marketing methods.

It should set a retail price, which the city retailer would have to charge. This price should permit the retailer a fair margin of profit. It should include the necessary transportation, storage charges and manufacturing expenses. Then it should give the farmer an amount equal to the cost of production, with a fair profit and interest on his investment.

LOWER COST OF LIVING.

That would make the cost of living lower during war time than it has been in the last few years in peace.

And the government could make enough profit out of it to pay all the war debt!

The only persons hurt would be commission men, food speculators and monopolists.

Then we could spare all these board of trade solicitors and speculators for the army and navy. In the trenches they could help the country; in private life they are parasites who feed on other people's production.

Why, the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce members spend over $1,000,000 each year paying solicitors to persuade grain growers to sell grain to them.

Take the meat-packing industry from its present control and farmers all over the country will start raising meat livestock, for they will know that they will get a fair price under government ownership. And at the same time meat eaters will pay less than they have in decades.

STOP GAMBLING IN FOODS.

Gambling in foodstuffs has done more to lessen production in America than anything else. If it is stopped you can depend upon rapidly increasing crops. You won't have to beg, or coax the farmers to plant larger acreages. They'll do it anyhow.

I can't see how the government can make prices as long as it permits gambling, and as long as monopolists control food manufacturing, transportation and marketing.

Any attempt simply to fix a minimum price to farmers will result in greatly increased prices to consumers, for those between producer and consumer will add their toll just the same.

Instead of urging the farmers to sow more and work harder, the government ought to HELP THE FARMER PRODUCE MORE!

This can be done by federal financing of farms. Let the government loan the farmers $1,000,000,000 or more at 2 per cent interest. Then the farmers can buy good seed, hire help, and get all the newest and most modern machinery. That will stimulate production as nothing else can.

FINANCE NEW FARMERS.

Let the government take over (purchase) the vacant, all cultivatable land now held by land speculators, and divide this land among the hundred of thousands of men working on farms, and who can't buy land. Let it do as New Zealand did— finance the men going out upon these farms. It can start right away, down South, and by winter thousands of new farmers will be growing crops for next spring's consumption.

The farmers already are working to the limit. They work harder than any other toilers, and they, on the average, don't take as much as day laborers in the city. It's useless to urge them to greater acreage as long as they can't get seed, machinery or help needed to increase acreage.

There would be no labor shortage on farms if farm hands saw a chance to get farms of their own, and if farmers got enough for their products so they could pay higher wages.

BETTER MARKETING SYSTEM.

Give the farmer a better market — a direct market— and he can pay good wages, and farm help will flock to the farms. Open these millions of idle acres and the farm hands will have a future on the soil to look forward to.

If you will do that America will produce 10 times as much food 10 years from now as she does today. Maintain the old system and she won't produce much more 10 years hence.

As a war measure this country can do nothing better than to increase its food supply along the above lines. It will insure more and cheaper food. That's patriotism!

As a further war measure I suggest that the government refuse to accept the enlistment of men from farms. They are needed far worse in the food-growing business than they are on battle field or battleships. It takes years to make a farmer; weeks to make a munition worker.

It is more important for the government to take over marketing, transportation and manufacture of food than of munition plants, for the government deals directly with munition makers and can regulate prices, but the people deal with farmers through a host of toll takers.

Regulation will not wipe toll takers off the map; government operation will.

Sherman said war is Hell. What did poor Hell do that it should be slandered so fully. On with preparedness.

No individual, whether connected with the Rebel or not is authorized to receive any money intended for The Rebel. Pay all such money to

The Rebel, Hallettsville, Tex.

A GERMAN DESERTER'S WAR EXPERIENCE.

(B. W. Huebsch, Publisher, New York, Price $1).

(Continued.)

Those were the thoughts that tormented my brain when crossing the Belgian frontier. And to console myself, and so as to justify before my own conscience the murderous trade that had been thrust upon me, I tried to persuade myself that though I had as Fatherland to defend, I had to defend a home and protect it from devastation. But it was a weak consolation, and did not even enlist the first few days.

Traveling in the fairly quick motor cars we reached, towards 8 o'clock in the morning, our preliminary destination, a small but pretty village. The inhabitants of the villages which we had passed stared at us in speechless astonishment, so that we all had the impression that those peasants for the most part did not know why we had come to Belgium. They had been roused from their sleep and half-dressed, they gazed from their windows after our automobiles. After we had stopped and alighted, the peasants of that village came up to us without any reluctance, offered us food, and brought us coffee, bread, meat, etc. As the field-kitchen had not arrived we were glad to receive those kindly gifts of the "enemy", the more so because those fine fellows absolutely refused any payment. They told us the Belgian soldiers had left, for where they did not know.

After a short rest we continued our march and the motor-cars went back. We had scarcely marched for an hour when cavalry, dragoons and hussars, overtook us and informed us that the Germans were marching forward in the whole neighborhood, and that cyclist companies were close on our heels. That was comforting news, for we no longer felt lonely and isolated in this strange country. Soon after the troop of cyclists really came along. It passed us quickly and left us by ourselves again. Words of anger were to be heard now; all the others were able to ride, but we had to walk. What we always had considered as a matter of course was now suddenly felt by us to be a great injustice. And though our scolding and anger did not help us in the least, it turned our thoughts from the heaviness of the "monkey" (knapsack) which rested like a leaden weight on our backs.

The heat was oppressive, the perspiration issued from every pore; the new and hard leather straps, the new stiff uniform rubbed against parts of my body and made them sore, especially round the waist. With great joy we therefore hailed the order that came at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, to halt before an isolated farm and rest in the grass.

II.

FIGHTING IN BELGIUM.

About ten minutes we might have lain in the grass when we suddenly heard rifle shots in front of us. Electrified, all of us jumped up and hastened to our rifles. Then the firing of rifles that was going on at a distance of about a mile or a mile and a half began steadily to increase in volume. We set in motion immediately.

The expression and the behavior of the soldiers betrayed that an emotion had taken possession of them which they could not master and had never experienced before. On myself I could observe a great restlessness. Fear and curiosity threw my thoughts into a wild jumble; my head was swimming, and everything seemed to press upon my heart. But I wished to conceal my fears from my comrades. I know I tried to with a will, but whether I succeeded better than my comrades, whose uneasiness I could read in their faces, I doubt very much.

Though I was aware that we should be in the firing line within half an hour, I endeavored to convince myself that our participation in the fight would no longer be necessary. I clung obstinately, nay, almost convulsively to every idea that could strengthen that hope or give me consolation. That not every bullet finds its billet; that, as we had been told, most wounds in modern wars were afflicted by grazing shots which caused slight flesh-wounds. Those were some of the reiterated self-deceptions indulged in against my better knowledge. And they proved effective. I was not only that they made me in fact feel more easy; deeply engaged in those thoughts I hardly observed that we were already quite near the firing line.

The bicycles at the side of the road revealed to us that the cyclist corps were engaged by the enemy. We did not know, of course, the strength of our opponents as we approached the firing line in leaps. In leaping forward every one bent down instinctively, whilst to our right and left and behind us the enemy's bullets could be heard striking; yet we reached the firing line without any casualties and were heartily welcomed by our hard-pressed friends. The cyclists, too, had not yet suffered any losses; some, it is true, had already been slightly wounded, but they could continue to participate in the fight.

We were lying flat on the ground, and fired in the direction indicated to us as fast as our rifles would allow. So far we had not seen our opponents. That, it seemed, was too little interesting to some of our soldiers; so they rose partly, and fired in a kneeling position. Two men of my company had to pay their curiosity with their lives. Almost at one and the same time they were shot through the head. The first victim of our group fell down forward without uttering a sound; the second threw up his arms and fell on his back. Both of them were dead instantly.

Who could describe the feelings that overcome a man in the first real hail of bullets he is in? When we were leaping forward to reach the firing line I felt no longer any fear and seemed only to try to reach the line as quickly as possible. But when looking at the first dead man I was seized by a terrible horror. For minutes I was perfectly stupfied, had completely lost command over myself and was absolutely incapable to think or act. I pressed my face and hands firmly against the ground, and then suddenly I was seized by an irrepressible excitment, took hold of my gun, and began to fire away blindly. Little after little I quieted down again somewhat, nay, I became almost quite confident as if everything was normal. Suddenly I found myself content with myself and my surroundings, and when a little later the whole line was commanded, "Leap forward! March, march!" I ran forward demented like the others, as if things could not be other than what they were. The order, "Position!" followed, and we flopped down like wet bags. Firing had begun again.

Our firing became more lively from minute to minute, and grew into a rolling deafening noise. It in such an infernal noise you want to make yourself understood by your neighbor, you have to shout at him so that it hurts your throat. The effect of our firing issued our opponent to cross unsteady; his fire became weaker; the line of the enemy began to waver. Being separated from the enemy by only about 500 yards, we could observe exactly what was happening there. We saw how about half of the men opposing us were drawn back. The movement is executed by taking back every second man whilst number one stays on until the retiring party has halted. We took advantage of that movement to inflict the severest losses possible on our retreating opponent. As far as we could survey the country to our right and left we observed that the Germans were pressing forward at several points. Our company, too, received the order to advance when the enemy took back all its forces.

Our task was to cling obstinately to the heels of the retreating enemy so as to leave him no time to collect his forces and occupy new positions. We therefore followed him in leaps with short breathing pauses so as to prevent him in the first place from establishing himself in the village before him. We knew that other wise we should have to engage in costly street fighting. But the Belgians did not attempt to establish themselves, but disengaged themselves from us with astonishing skill.

Meanwhile we had been re-enforced. Our company had been somewhat dispersed, and everybody marched with the troop he chanced to find himself with. My troop had to stay in the village to search every house systematically for soldiers that had been dispersed or hidden. During that work we noticed that the Germans were marching forward from all directions. Field artillery, machine-gun sections, etc., arrived, and all of us wondered whence all of this came so quickly.

There was however no time for long reflections. With fixed bayonets we went from house to house, from door to door, and though the harvest was very meager, we were not turned away quite empty-handed, as the inhabitants had to deliver up all privately owned fire-arms, ammunition, etc. The chief functionary of the village who accompanied us had to explain to every citizen that the finding of arms after the search would lead to punishment by court-martial. And court-martial means—death.

After another hour had passed we were alarmed again by rifle and gun firing; a new battle had begun. Whether the artillery was in action on both sides could not be determined from the village, but the noise was loud enough. For the air was almost trembling with the rumbling, rolling, and growling of the guns which steadily increased in strength. The ambulance columns were bringing in the first wounded; orderly officers whizzed past us. War had begun with full intensity.

Darkness was falling before we had finished searching all the houses. We dragged mattresses, sacks of straw, feather beds, whatever we could get hold of, to the public school and the church where the wounded were to be accommodated. They were soon full to the brim, and could be done. Those first victims of the horrible massacre of nations were treated with touching care. Later on, when we had grown more accustomed to those horrible sights, less attention was paid to the wounded.

The first fugitives now arrived from the neighboring villages. They had probably walked for many an hour, for they looked tired, absolutely exhausted. There were women, old, white-haired men, and children, all mixed together, who had not been able to save anything but their poor lives. In a presumbulator or a push-cart those unfortunate beings carried away all that the brutal force of war had left them. In marked contrast to the fugitives, that we had hitherto met, these people were filled with the utmost fear, shivering with fright, terror-stricken at the sight of this world. As soon as they beheld one of us soldiers they were seized with such a fear that they seemed to crumple up. How different they were from the inhabitants of the village in which we were, who showed themselves kind, friendly, and even obliging toward us. We tried to find out the cause of that fear, and heard that those fugitives had witnessed bitter street fighting in their village. They had experienced war, had seen their houses burnt, their simple belongings perish, and had not yet been able to forget their streets filled with dead and wounded soldiers. It became clear to us that it was not fear alone that made these people look like the hunted quarry; it was hatred, hatred against us, the invaders who, as they had supposed, had fallen upon them unawares, had driven them from their home. But their hatred was not only directed against us, the German soldiers, nay, their own, the Belgian soldiers, too, were not spared by it.

We marched away that very evening and tried to reach our section. When darkness fell the Belgians had concentrated still farther to the rear; they were already quite near the fortress of Liege. Many of the villages we passed were in flames; the inhabitants who had been driven away passed us in crowds; there were women whose husbands were perhaps also defending their "Fatherland", children, old men who were pushed hither and thither and seemed to be always in the way. Without any aim, any plan, any place in which they could rest, those processions of misery and unhappiness crept past us—the best illustration of man-murdering, nation-destroying war! — Again we reached a village which to all appearances had once been inhabited by a well-to-do people, by a contented little humanity. There were nothing but ruins now, burnt, destroyed houses and farm buildings, dead soldiers, German and Belgian, and among them several civilians who had been shot by sentence of the court martial.

Towards midnight we reached the German line which was trying to get possession of a village which was already within the fortifications of Liege, and was obstinately defended by the Belgians. Here we had to employ all our forces to wrench from our opponent house after house, street after street. It was not yet completely dark so that we had to go through that terrible struggle which developed with all our senses awake and receptive. It was a hand to hand fight; every kind of weapon had to be employed; the opponent was attacked with the butt-end of the rifle, the knife, the fist, and the teeth. One of my best friends fought with a gigantic Belgian; both had lost their rifle. They were pummeling each other with their fists. I had just finished with a Belgian who was about twenty-two years of age, and was going to assist my friend, as the Herculean Belgian was so much stronger than he. Suddenly my friend succeeded with a lightning motion in biting the Belgian in the chin. He bit so deeply that he tore away a piece of flesh with his teeth. The pain the Belgian felt must have been immense, for he let go his hold and ran off screaming with terrible pain.

All that happened in seconds. The blood of the Belgian ran out of my friend's mouth; he was seized by a horrible nausea, an indescribable terror, the taste of the warm blood nearly drove him insane. That young gay, lively fellow of twenty-four had been cheated out of his youth in that night. He used to be the jolliest among us; after that we could never induce him even to smile.

Whilst fighting during the night I came for the first time in touch with the butt-end of a Belgian rifle. I had a hand to hand fight with a Belgian when another one from behind hit me with his rifle on the head with such force that it drove my head into the helmet up to my ears. I experienced a terrific pain all over my head, doubled up, and lost consciencciousness. When I revived I found myself with a bandaged head in a barn among other wounded.

(To be continued.)

STAB WITNESS AGAINST MOONEY HELD PERJURER.

San Francisco.—Frank C. Oxman, star witness for the state in the trial of Thomas J. Mooney, convicted of murder in the preparedness parade bomb explosion, was held to the supreme court on a charge of subordination of perjury. He is accused of trying to induce F. E. Rizall, Grayville, Ill., to testify falsely against Mooney.

It looks as if Eugene V. Debs will be the next president of the U. S. of A. — Like Lincoln he would not wobble around in the big chair.

BUNG BULL AND BLADDER DASH.

Pick up any jingo paper and you may read of hundreds and thousands of citizens petitioning their congressmen and senators to support the president and his conscription measure. Here follows a sample of an appeal for conscription purported to have been sent by Collin county citizens to Representative Rayburn at Washington:

"We beg and plead with you to support the president. We have been trying for one year to raise a volunteer army with absolute failure. If Russia should make peace with Germany we would be compelled to fight for our existence."

After reading each spew like the above the Rebel pause to ask: If these citizens want to fight why do they not enlist without being forced to do so; and we further wonder if their attempt to raise a volunteer army any of these appealing patriots ever offered their services; and again we wonder if any of these are young men who would come between the ages set by the conscription measure.

From our own personal investigations and observations invariably we find that those who howl the loudest for conscription and war are those who are exempt from service themselves.

Oh! Consistency, thou art a jewel.

Budweiser

Invariably—rare flavor, appetizing fragrance and nutritive wholesomeness are sealed in every bottle of Budweiser.

Bottled at the Brewery
ANHEUSER-BUSCH ST. LOUIS

Will be pleased to supply name of nearest dealer on application.

Buy-It-Made-in-Texas

Texans must help Texas by buying goods made in Texas. The time for the conservation of the resources of Texas is here. Do you want to help your home people? Goods made in Texas are as good as any made. You owe it to yourself to help your institutions. Every dollar spent for goods made out of the state is a handicap to home factories. Let us all get together and build up Texas. Texas leads in the U. S. in the production of raw materials in nearly every line. Let us show the world what Texas does for its manufactured goods. Every one likes to follow a winner. Your mite will help make Texas a manufacturing as well as a producing State. Start now. Buy It Made in Texas.

"Texas Pride" Beer

"We Made It So Good
It Made Itself Famous."

IS MADE IN TEXAS
WHO CAN BEAT IT?

Brewed and Bottled by

SAN ANTONIO BREWING ASS'N,
San Antonio, Texas.

HAVE A CASE SENT HOME

No orders accepted or solicited in violation of the Texas liquor laws.

LAND REVOLT IN MISSOURI.

Another great state has lined up in the war against landlord-ism, this time the "show me" state of Missouri.

The men and women of Missouri are enlisting under the leadership of General Frank Walsh who is a sturdy veteran and winner of many terrific battles against the foe of humanity —The landlord.

All patriotic Americans will remember his series of brilliant victories when he was commander in chief of the armies of the Industrial Relations Commission.

His terms of unconditional surrender to Generals Rockefeller, Astor and Morgan have not been accepted as yet but the enemies' trenches are being mined and will shortly be blown sky high. The terms of surrender are vouched in the following terms and were presented to President Wilson and congress by General Walsh.

"The forcing of all unused land into use by making the tax on non-productive land the same as on productive land of the same kind and exempting all improvements."

While General Walsh has armies in every state in the Union made up of seasoned veterans and dashing young recruits, not one of whom have been conscripted, he states that the bravest fighting in the great war will be in the states of Texas, California, Oregon and Missouri. He also expects great bloodshed in the landlords' press in Oklahoma.

In each of these states a Verdun like attempt will be made to storm the capitols at Austin, Portland, Sacramento, Oklahoma City and Jefferson City.

General Walsh will lead the assault on Jefferson City in person. The absurd he will use in the form of the constitutional amendments.

The first amendment will free the land that is now held out of use for speculative purposes. It is clear, definite, precise as might be expected from General Walsh.

After reading it and the amendment that follows clip it, memorize and analyze it, paste it over your bed so that you will dream about it all night, see it first thing in the morning and then think about it all day. Here is the land amendment:

THE LAND TAX MEASURE.

Be it enacted by the people of the State of Missouri:

The Constitution shall be and the same is hereby amended by adding the following Section to Article ..... thereof:

No tax shall be imposed in this state upon personal property or upon improvements in or on land, or upon any person or occupation; provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall in any sense apply to taxes upon intoxicating liquors or tobacco or upon the manufacture or sale thereof, or to such licenses as may be necessary to a proper exercise of the police power; and provided, further, that this amendment shall not be construed to prevent the levying of income or inheritance taxes. All public revenue for state and local purposes shall be derived from a tax on the value of land, exclusive of improvements. Mines, franchises and rights of way of all public service utilities operating under public grants shall be deemed to be property in land and the value thereof shall be assessed and taxed accordingly. This amendment shall govern all assessments made after its adoption.

All provisions of this Constitution in conflict herewith are repealed as far as they so conflict.

General Walsh, great strategist that he is, realizes that there is small use of giving a man a farm unless he has the means to work and improve it. The house, implements, fence, stock, seed, provisions etc. Accordingly he is prepared to load his legislative howitzer with financial munitions that will give loans up to $3,000 at three per cent for 21 years. This money shall be loaned only to bona fide settlers for the purpose—let, building a homestead, and making permanent improvements thereon. Here is the second constitutional amendment;

THE LOAN MEASURE.

The second provides for the establishment of a homestead loan fund which will make it possible for citizens of Missouri to borrow money at ow interest rates to build homes. Its form is as follows:

Be it enacted by the people of the State of Missouri:

The Constitution of the State shall be and the same is hereby amended by adding the following Section to Article XIV thereof:

Sec. 13. There is hereby established in the State Treasury a fund to be known as the Homestead Loan Fund.

Said Homestead Loan Fund shall be lent to citizens of Missouri for the following purposes and for no other purposes whatsoever: (1) to purchase homesteads: (2) to erect permanent homesteads on homesteads. Not more than three-fourths of the appraised value of any homestead shall be lent thereon; provided, however, that three-fourths of the appraised value of the improvement may be added to the three-fourths of the appraised value of the land to ascertain the limit of the loan. No loan exceeding three thousand dollars shall be made on one homestead. Every loan shall be secured by note and mortgage or deed of trust constituting a first lien on the homestead, except taxes and special assessments; and the improvements on the homestead shall be kept safely insured against fire and windstorms of the full insurable value thereof, and the policies shall be assigned as additional security for the loan. Every loan made from said fund shall bear interest at three per cent per annum, beginning one year after date of the loan, which interest, together with one-twentieth of the principal shall be paid at the end of the second year and at the end of each year thereafter until the loan is paid in full; provided, however, that if the homestead on which such loan is made shall cease to be used as such by the owner thereof or his family, then the unpaid portion of such loan shall become payable in three equal installments falling due at the dates of the next three installments of the loan as due in the original terms thereof, with interest at six per cent per annum.

It shall be the duty of the Legislature at its first meeting following the ratification of this amendment to enact such legislation as may give full force and effect to the provisions thereof, and of all state and local offices respectively to execute the same under penalty of a forfeiture of their office.

The enactment of these two measures will be in line with the appeals which are being made for people to get on to the land and produce crops as a patriotic move. In times of peace this should be encouraged no less than in war. There is no better time than now for us to begin a policy which will make it easy for people to acquire homes. The program of the Homestead Loan and Land League will do this. Everybody will be for it.

In connection with these amendments is should be noted that there are 14,000,000 acres of tillable land lying idle in Missouri held for speculative purposes; as a result there are 85,000 poverty stricken tenants and 90,000 mortgaged farmers who are struggling to pay an indebtedness of more than $250,000,000, which calls for $25,000,000 annually.

Another result is that while the cost of food stuff is ever climbing higher, The Rebel finds that for the 10 year period from 1900 to 1910 a large part of rural Missouri had an absolute loss of 7,642 farmers. Except for the two great cities St. Louis and Kansas City the state has lost population. The rural districts lost 45,237; the two big cities gained. Thus we see the farmers are drawn to the cities to compete with the workers there and thus by congesting the labor market wages are forced down. Finally out of the 277,000 farmers in the state 175,000 are mortgaged or are tenants.

Need we wonder then if Democracy is the need of the hour that we should cry out to the national administration to let the entente allies fight their own battles when we see our own names ravaged here at home.

General Walsh says, on "this Point".

"The decay of nations' history shows, begins with the decline of agriculture. A large and growing tenantry in a prosperous and fertile state is not to be considered with any emotion short of actual terror by those whose patriotism embraces the material well being of the whole nation."

Now that Missouri is in the battle van let the rest of the other southern states prepare to join the army of emancipation that has not a slacker or conscript in its ranks, but are filled with an almighty determination to free mankind by freeing the soil and thus raise roof trees for the nation.

NONPARTISAN SOCIALISM.

The title of this article will at once be assailed, so let us first all agree as to what Socialism really is.

During the past few months I have, reread everything Marx wrote, so far as I have been able to secure his works, and I think Marx's whole philosophy may be condensed into this phrase:

"Enough public ownership to abolish all unearned incomes."

Political action is implied for how else can we have public ownership. Public ownership is not an end but a means.

Marx favors public ownership of land; of banks and credit; of means of communication and transportation and of schools. Beyond this he has no definite program—and none of us can even now go much farther, though we will probably all agree that war munitions should be wholly a government manufacture.

Unearned incomes came mainly from some monopoly or special privilege, or from inefficient labor, as, for instance, 20 milkmen doing what should be done by four. If milk ought to be retailed at 8 cents, it is quite immaterial whether one lives in Tumwater, where a private monopoly keeps the price at 12 cents—the same is the result under private monopoly.

A fire is as wasteful as a burglar and needless competition is as wasteful of unearned incomes (inefficient labor) but just as monopoly is the cause of basis of unearned incomes.

Agreeing then that Marxian Socialism means simply "Enough public ownership to abolish unearned incomes," we find that a very small minority of American voters are at heart Marxian Socialists.

If only one-half of 1 per cent of those who vote are members of the Socialist party, it is plain that something is wrong with the organization.

If you Mr. Editor, wished to be governor of Texas; I do not mean if you wished to "talk about being governor" but I do suppose your highest ambition, your greatest desire, is to be governor of Texas.

Would you organize a "Hickey party!"

Of course that would be the simplest of all ways to get nominated, and would nearly fall of nomination—but would you get further?

Many people would wish to support you, but they would also wish to have some voice in local politics and so would not join a new party which would have no part in selecting local officials.

Many voters would like you very well but party patriotism is quite as strong as patriotism (and patriotism (and almost as sensible for that matter). These people would not join your new party.

The very result would be what it almost always is with reference to new parties, "Much cry, but little wool." You would be nominated but would get only 5 per cent or 10 per cent of the total vote on election day.

If you really wished, above everything else, to be elected governor of Texas, you would probably organize first a "Hickey league" on a non-partisan basis, that is, you would get all your friends and supporters into a working league.

Next you would try to capture Democratic primaries. This would course be much harder than to get nominated on a "Hickey party" ticket; but being nominated on the Democratic ticket would almost assure your election; where as, being nominated on a "Hickey party" ticket would get you nowhere—except a chance to talk.

To get Socialism means first to get a majority of the voters, as has been done both in Germany and in the United States; for in each nation a great majority of the voters have "enough public ownership to abolish unearned incomes."

In the second place, to get Socialism means to get the administration; the officials high and low.

When we have won a majority of all voters; and have elected all officials we will certainly be in a fair way to get Socialism. The way to get all officials is precisely the way to get one of Special. For example, the governor.

I know of no reason for thinking North Dakota more progressive than is Oklahoma, yet the Nonpartisan league in North Dakota elected every state office, except treasurer, who made the mistake of filing on the ticket of the opposing party; 81 out of 113 members of the house; a good majority of the senators up for election and a majority of the supreme court. That was going some, for a first attempt.

In Oklahoma the Socialist party polled 50,000 out of a total of 250,000 votes cast for state officials. Of course the North Dakota Nonpartisan league program is not Socialism, but there is no reason why a Socialist nonpartisan league in Oklahoma or North Dakota should not receive quite as many votes as did the farmers' league in North Dakota for the great majority of American voters are Marxian Socialists.

Old age pensions from the unearned incomes of speculators is distinctly a Socialistic measure, for it would lessen "unearned" and increase "earned" incomes. I am confident that a nonpartisan league, with old age pensions from speculators' unearned incomes as its parafount issue would be quite as popular as the North Dakota program. Such a league, having as members say 25 per cent of the voters and holding an early primary, within-the-league election, by which to increase the one strongest candidate for every office, would give Texas or almost any state, an administration of radical officials.

Suppose an early election precisely as was held in Texas, the Socialist party and also by the North Dakota Nonpartisan league, that is a within-the league election and then suppose that the men and women so elected had filed on the ticket of the dominant party — every state in the union would have had a Socialist administration, for we have long had a Socialist majority of the voters.

The prohibition party with its separate ticket is a joke, having about one-third the vote the Socialist party polled.

There are probably many more Socialists than Prohibitionists in the United States; for I find very few who are not in favor of "enough public ownership to abolish unearned incomes," while there are multitudes of voters who are not Prohibitionists.

The Prohibition party had, at the last election, some 250,000 voters behind it; while the nonpartisan Prohibition league must have nearly 10,000,000 voters behind it.

The Socialist party had only 750,000 voters behind it; while Socialism, if presented in a nonpartisan way, has 12,000,000 to 14,000,000 voters behind it.

Party Socialists say that there is no comparison between Socialism, which is revolutionary, and sumptuary measure. But the fact remains that all that is needed to secure either Socialism or prohibition, is: First, a majority of voters, and second, the administration officials, legislative, executive and judicial.

As a matter of fact Socialism being more fundamental should be more clearly nonpartisan.

Years ago Prohibition party advocates held that "You can be a Prohibitionist and vote with the whisky-soaked Republican or Democratic parties."

(Concluded next week.)

CHIEF ENGINEER HAS GAINED 9 POUNDS.

Almost Lost Hope Of Getting Well—After Taking Tanlac Feels Better Than He Has In 25 Years.

"Tanlac to my mind is the greatest and grandest medicine in the world," said O. H. Mahaffey, Chief Engineer of the Life & Casualty Building, Nashville, Tenn.

"I have taken eight bottles," he continued, "and have actually gained forty pounds in weight and feel stronger and better than I have in twenty-five years.

"For two years, I have suffered with the worst kind of stomach trouble and indigestion, and fell off in weight from 210 pounds to 162. I am now back at 202, which is almost as much as I weighed before I was sick. About six weeks ago I got awful bad off and called on the doctor, and he told me I had an ulcer of the stomach and if I was not careful it might turn into cancer. He gave me some medicine. I didn't seem to get any better and was afraid to eat anything except a little oatmeal and sweet milk, but in spite of everything I could do, I just kept going down hill, and got weaker and weaker every day. I got so disheartened one day I told my employer it looked like I would have to throw up my job. I was trying to hold on though as long as I could for I had a family to support, and I made up my mind that just as long as I could drag myself around I would stick it out.

"One day my wife told me what she had read in the papers, and what the neighbors were saying about Tanlac, and begged me to try it. She had read about a man who had taken it, who described my case exactly, and he was getting lots better, but I had tried all kinds of medicines, so I didn't have much hope of it doing me much good. Besides my doctor had already told me I would have to be operated on in order to get relief. Something just told me though, it might help me and I decided to try it.

"After I had taken it a day or two I got so hungry, I just simply had to eat, and I did eat, and you can believe me or not, nothing seemed to hurt me a particle. My wife said to me, 'Tanlac must be helping you,' and I said, 'I guess it is from the way I am eating.'

"It wasn't long before those awful pains in my stomach and the small of my back began to leave. Then I noticed I began to sleep better. The medicine seemed to take hold quicker than anything I ever saw, and helped me right up. I am telling all my friends about Tanlac, and hope everybody will hear about it."

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