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"Smith County Socialists, 1900-1918."

Vicki Betts, *University of Texas at Tyler*



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SOCIALISTS WILL MEET IN TYLER

**WILL HAVE ENCAMPMENT IN
THIS CITY AUGUST 22 TO
27th.**

EXPECT VERY LARGE CROWD

**Preparing to Entertain 20,000 People
From All Over This
Section.**

Smith County Socialists, 1900-1918

by Vicki Betts

Beginning in the 1890s and continuing until World War I, the agriculture-based economy in Smith County had become so difficult that many residents began to consider a radically different way to organize their economy and government. Although Smith County had always been considered conservative, desperate economic times led many to contemplate more radical options to improve their lives. Many turned to socialism.¹

Events leading to the Panic of 1893, caused especially by overbuilding railroads, resulted in bank failures across the country, and Tyler banks were not immune. Bonner & Bonner, City National, and First National banks in Tyler all failed. This financial crisis was compounded by a severe drought in which thousands of small farm owners across the South, including East Texas, lost their property and became tenants. As the economy gradually improved, these farmers planned to buy back their land following what they hoped to be better crop harvests. Instead, farms in Texas, and Smith County specifically, increasingly became tenant operated. In 1880, 38 percent of Texas farmers had been tenants. By 1890, that number had risen to 42 percent, and, by 1900, 53 percent. In Smith County, 72 percent of the farms had either been mortgaged or operated by tenants in 1914. Of the tenants, 92 percent were on a share basis, not cash rental. On the other hand, forty-one farms in the county contained more than 500 acres each. There were 20,700 people directly dependent on tenant farmers and mortgaged farm home owners in Smith County.²

According to a 1915 federal commission that sent investigators to Texas to study the growing problem of landless farmers, the credit system worked on a

harsh credit basis. Cash-poor landowners often needed to buy seed, feed, food and clothing for the year. Some went to banks, but in Smith County most went to credit merchants like Burnett Wadel, Will Caldwell, John V. Hughes, and J. R. Patterson, who sold them what they needed in the spring on short term credit. However, they charged these farmers over 57 percent more for those goods than they would have had they bought in cash. The credit merchant would also put stipulations on the crop: it should be all or nearly all cotton. Neither corn nor other food or feed crops would apply. So the farmer bought his supplies there and planted the cotton. At harvest, the credit merchant could also control the price of the cotton to a certain extent. If the crop year was bad, the farmer went into debt, and his farm might be foreclosed upon. The credit merchant either accumulated land or sold it to an investor or landlord. According to the deal, the farmer would become a tenant and begin paying one-third of his crop, sometimes with a bonus, to the landlord. If the farmer's crop year was good, the credit merchant might convince him to buy a new buggy, and he was in debt again. By 1915, some of the tenants were committed to revolving three year loans, and they had almost no hope of escape other than walking off the farm. Many did. Across Texas almost 60 percent of tenant farmers moved every year. There was no incentive for property improvement which only served to raise the price of the land. The farmers blamed the credit system, and the credit merchants called the farmers ignorant and shiftless.³ By 1910 they would be calling many of them Socialists.

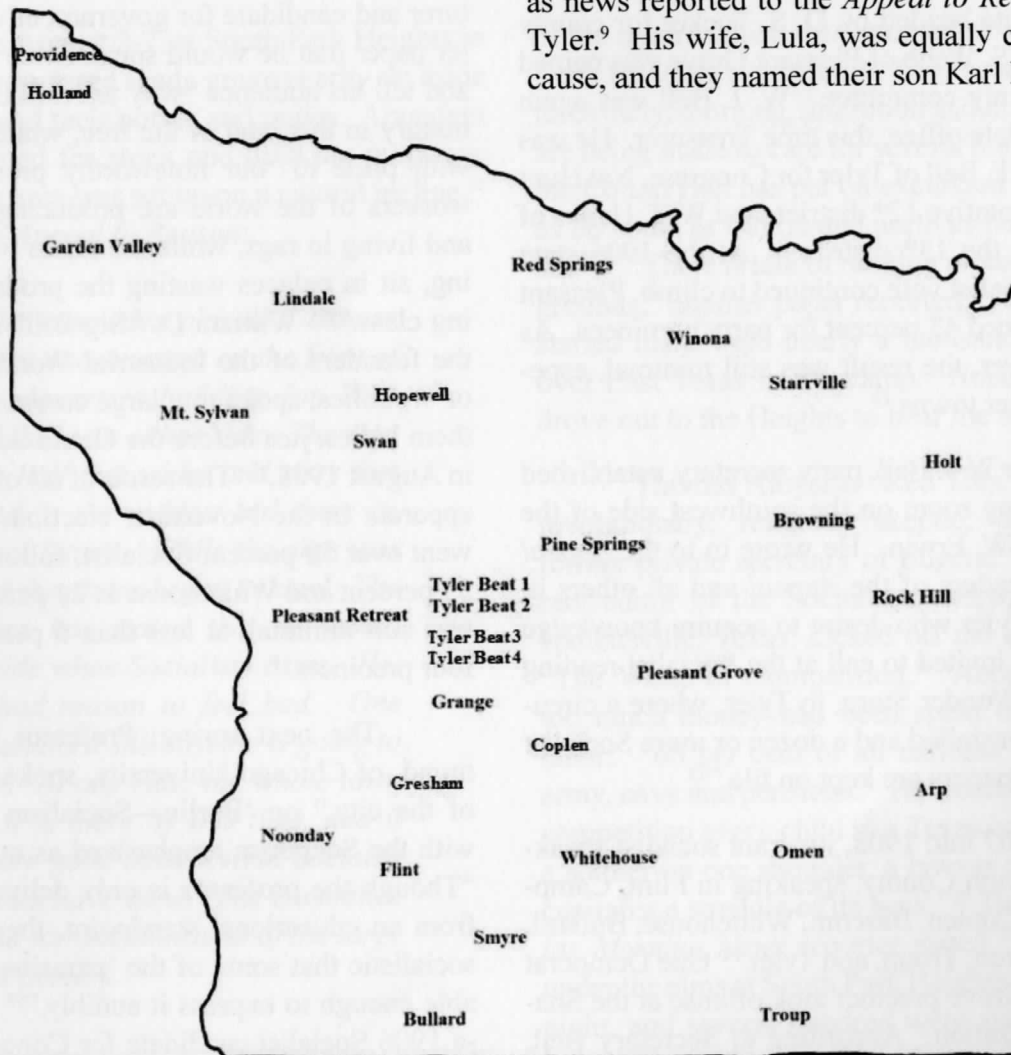
The Texas Socialist Party had been built on the foundation of the former Populist, or People's Party, that urged reforms based on the abandonment of the

gold standard to increase the supply of currency, a move that they thought would bring prosperity. As that party faded, other groups arose to speak for the tenant farmers, including the Farmers' Alliance and the Farmers' Union. The Socialist Labor Party ran its first candidate for governor in 1898. By 1900, they had already received votes in Smith County. The Pleasant Grove precinct, located between Bascom and Sharon Baptist Church southeast of Tyler, recorded almost 8 percent Socialist vote.⁴

National level socialists were always squabbling about theory and power, and by 1901, the Socialist Party of America emerged on top. J. A. Wayland, of the Kansas Socialist newspaper *The Appeal to Reason*, sent a party organizer to Texas in early 1904. Soon, Comrade Pollitt of Swan, Comrade Key of Bullard, and Comrade Smith of Overton were writing in to the paper.⁵

As a means of education and recruitment, the socialists adopted the idea of the old populist encampment, which was based on the religious camp meeting. Farmers would gather in August to hear state and national speakers, to visit, and to have fun. The primary Texas socialist encampment was at Grand Saline. The first one, in 1904, drew nearly 6,000 people, and it continued growing. Resolutions adopted called for "the overthrow of the capitalist system and the substitution therefor of the co-operative commonwealth."⁶

By the fall of 1904, Socialist leadership had become established in Tyler. Nat B. Hunt, a traveling salesman based in town, was nominated for Comptroller of the State of Texas.⁷ In the 1904 election, more county precincts were recording socialist votes, including Pleasant Grove's almost 30 percent.⁸ The next year, a Tyler piano tuner named W. J. Bell was elected state party secretary, and for the next few years all Texas news reported to the *Appeal to Reason* came from Tyler.⁹ His wife, Lula, was equally committed to the cause, and they named their son Karl Marx Bell.¹⁰



Precinct Map 1900 - 1918

W. J. BELL, Scientific Tuner

A workman of acknowledged superiority, as attested by the highest authority, including such experts as Roure, Mickwitz, Sauvlet, Schreiner and Misner. No soliciting done. Leave your order when wanting tuning done, regardless of previous contract. 125 E. Front St. Phone 5-4.

Figure 1: Tyler Daily Courier, March 13, 1905.

In 1906, the Tyler *Daily Courier* announced "Socialists Put out a Ticket—Is a List of Good Men. Well Known and Personally Popular in the County—Expect to Poll a Vote in November." At their convention on East Erwin, Nat Hunt was elected chairman of the meeting, W. J. Bell was secretary, and they selected a full county slate headed by D. S. Tucker for county judge. Seaborn S. Webb of Pleasant Grove was named head of the county committee. W. J. Bell was again nominated for state office, this time Treasurer. He was joined by Dr. B. F. Bell of Tyler for Congress, Nat Hunt for state representative 12th district, and W. T. Hanks of Whitehouse for the 13th district.¹¹ At the 1906 state election, the socialist vote continued to climb. Pleasant Grove alone gained 43 percent for party nominees. As a county, however, the result was still minimal, especially in the larger towns.¹²

That year W. J. Bell, party secretary, established a socialist reading room on the southwest side of the square at 112½ W. Erwin. He wrote in to the *Appeal to Reason*: "Readers of the *Appeal* and all others in the vicinity of Tyler who desire to acquire knowledge of socialism are invited to call at the Socialist reading room, over the Wonder Store, in Tyler, where a circulating library is installed and a dozen or more Socialist and trade union papers are kept on file."¹³

From 1907 into 1908, itinerant socialist speakers blanketed Smith County, speaking in Flint, Campbell's Chapel at Coplen, Bascom, Whitehouse, Bullard, Macedonia, Sharon, Troup, and Tyler.¹⁴ One Democrat in the Pleasant Grove precinct took offense at the Sharon local organization. According to Secretary Bell, he had "repeatedly gone beyond all decency in his maneuvers and recently he harassed our comrade S. S. Webb . . . to the point where patience ceased to be a

virtue and where to remain pacific would be at the cost of self respect and manhood." The Secretary requested contributions to Webb's legal defense fund—he had been charged with assault with intent to kill.¹⁵

In March, J. C. Rhodes of El Paso, socialist lecturer and candidate for governor, advertised in the Tyler paper that he would speak twice at the courthouse and tell his audience "why ten million wage slaves go hungry in this land of the free, while politicians point with pride to 'our noteworthy prosperity'; why the workers of the world are producing fabulous wealth and living in rags, while the idlers who produce nothing, sit in palaces wasting the products of the working class."¹⁶ William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, one of the founders of the Industrial Workers of the World, or Wobblies, spoke to a large crowd in Tyler, many of them ladies, just before the Grand Saline encampment in August 1908.¹⁷ The result of all of this talk became apparent in the November election. Pleasant Grove went over 50 percent Socialist, followed by Coplen at 33 percent and Whitehouse at 24 percent. Tyler's vote was still minimal, at less than 6 percent in any of its four precincts.¹⁸

The next spring, Professor Jerome H. Raymond, of Chicago University, spoke to the "swell set of the city," on 'Berlin—Socialism and Militarism,' with the Socialism emphasized as much as possible." "Though the professor is only delivering his lectures from an educational standpoint, they are so strongly socialistic that some of the 'parasites' felt uncomfortable enough to express it audibly."¹⁹ Laura P. Payne—a 1906 Socialist candidate for Congress years before she could legally vote—came through in May.²⁰ By the summer of 1909, Smith County Socialists were confident enough to sponsor their own "East Texas Encamp-

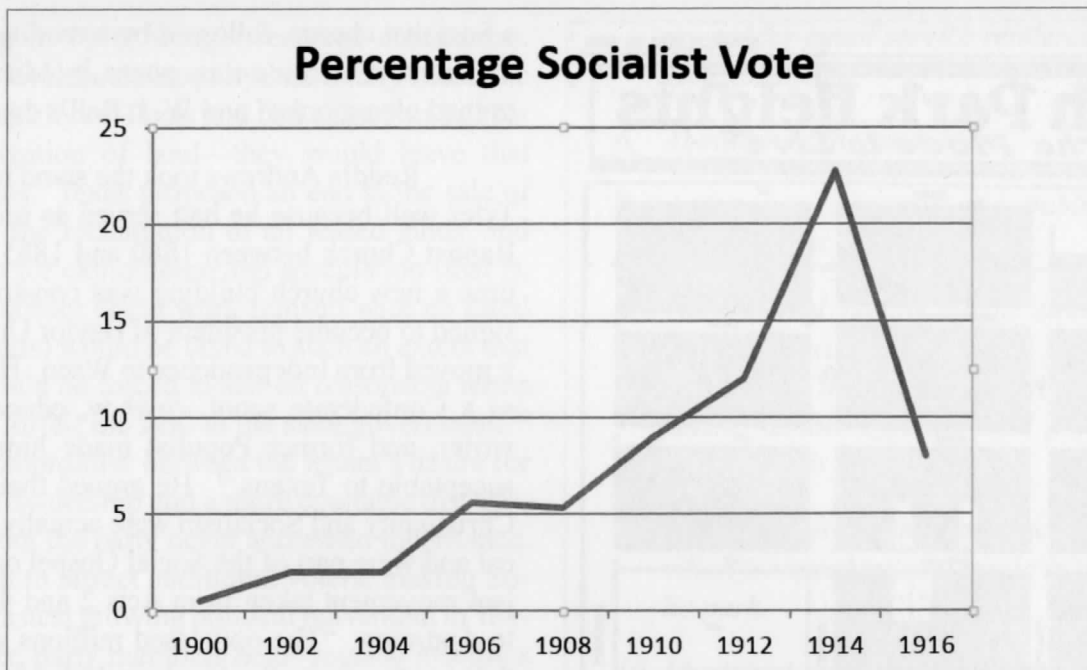


Figure 2: Graph by Vicki Betts

ment,” to be held August 2-7, at South Park Heights in Tyler.²¹ There was a large shady grove nearby set aside for the campers and their horses and mules. Abundant water was provided for stock and drinking purposes, and the speaking area was set up on a natural incline.²² According to the *Appeal to Reason*:

*“Three of the comrades placed a banner advertising the encampment on the front of the state headquarters building [on West Erwin], and those on either side. The sign is six and a half feet wide, and sixty feet long, painted in the reddest red there is, and three foot letters. While the sign was being placed the plutes began to howl. The druggist near has stated that he would commit suicide when Socialism came. He, of course, had reason to feel bad. One greedy old landlord still says he is going to tear it down. At any rate, the whole town knows that it is there by this time, and it has done more good than several Socialist speeches could have done. The committee has arranged for one thousand of the large encampment posters.”*²³

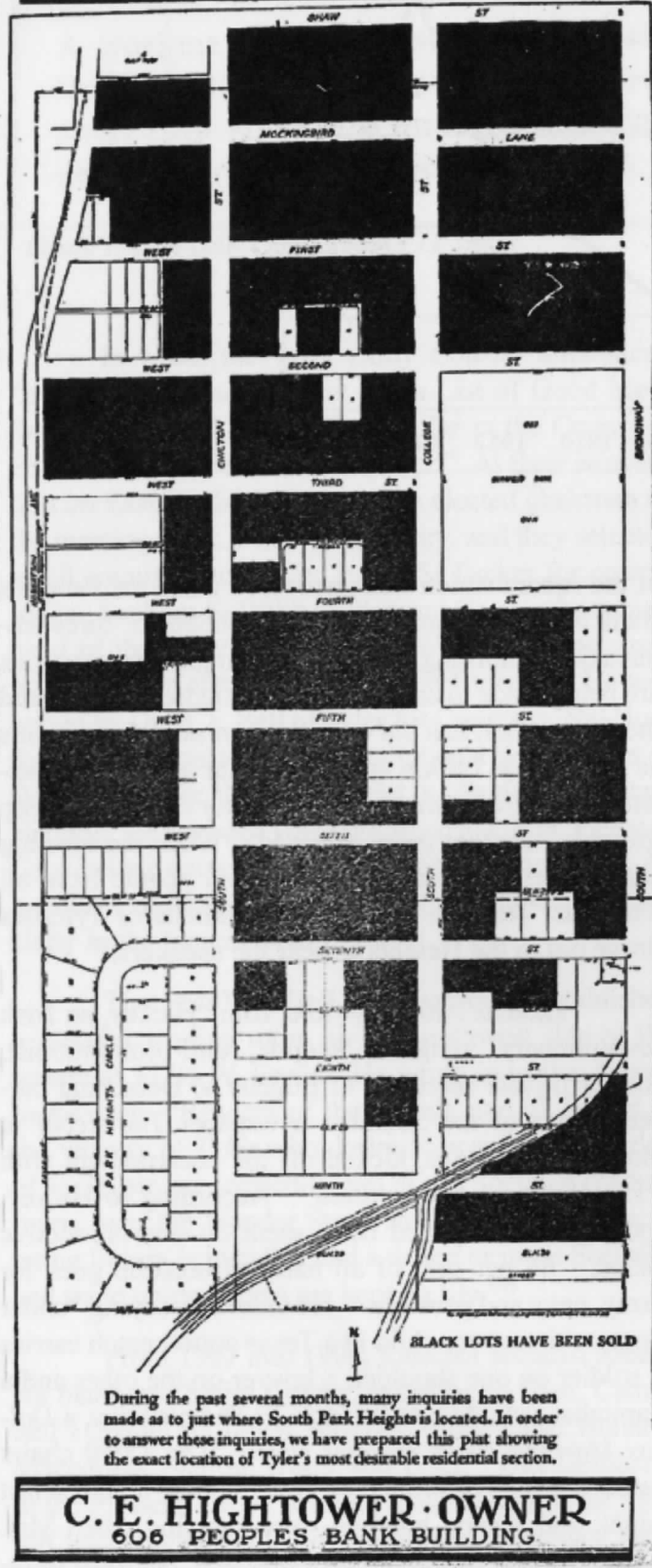
They also ran large streamers across the main streets in Tyler, Troup, and surrounding towns.²⁴ Encampment organizers even had an advertisement painted on the side of a Tyler downtown building on the west side

of the square which was uncovered when the People’s Bank Building expanded.²⁵ They scheduled “three lectures daily, morning, afternoon and night. Preparations are being made to care for several hundred visitors and the Cotton Belt has put on excursion rates from points as far south as Lufkin and north as far as Mount Pleasant.”²⁶ “There is talk of running motor cars to the camp grounds,” another paper reported.²⁷ When the meeting started there were nearly a thousand people from all over East Texas in the camp. Hundreds of Tylerites drove out to the Heights to hear the speakers.²⁸

Thomas Aloysius “Red Tom” Hickey, an Irish revolutionary, religious skeptic, anti-prohibitionist, former private secretary of Eugene V. Debs, and current editor of the Socialist newspaper *The Rebel* in Hallettsville, Texas, kicked off the encampment with “The Waste of Competition.” According to Hickey, too much money had been spent on non-productive labor: “66 per cent of all national taxation goes for army, navy and pensions.” He closed by saying “under competition every child in a Texas cotton patch carries a soldier on one shoulder, a lawyer on the other and a capitalist a straddle of its neck.”²⁹ The next day, a *Dallas Morning News* reporter stated “The 1,050 chairs under the elms at South Park Heights were all taken last night, and several hundred were standing when Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis of San Francisco, National organizer of the Socialist women, began her address on the woman question. The lady made a big hit, particularly with the ladies present.” “Her meeting was opened by

South Park Heights

'The Place to Live'



a Socialist chorus, followed by a rendition of 'The Indictment,' a working class poem, by Miss Leola Bell, a trained elocutionist" and W. J. Bell's daughter.³⁰

Reddin Andrews took the stand next. He knew Tyler well because he had served as minister of First Baptist Church between 1880 and 1885 during which time a new church building was constructed. He resigned to become president of Baylor University when it moved from Independence to Waco. His background as a Confederate scout, cowboy, educator, preacher, writer, and former Populist made him familiar and acceptable to Texans.³¹ He argued that the bases for Christianity and Socialism were actually almost identical and were part of the Social Gospel or Bible Socialism movement taken from Acts 2 and 4.³² According to Andrews: "The oppressed millions see the way of deliverance from the harsh and abnormal conditions of poverty and slavery. Socialism derives its life and nourishment from truth, justice and humanity. It advocates, not reform, but revolution; the substitution of a good in the place of a bad thing; the displacement of a competitive, capitalistic government by a co-operative commonwealth."³³ Hickey, Lewis, and Andrews spoke several times during the encampment, along with W. W. Buchanan and W. S. Noble, state organizers, and George A. Brewer, for years on the editorial staff of the *Appeal to Reason*. The attendance the first four days was large, but it became much smaller by the end of the week. It was successful enough, however, to encourage the local party to plan on making the encampment an annual event, so that thousands would hear the message of Socialism who might never hear an itinerant speaker, plus it gave party members an opportunity "to touch elbows and brighten up with enthusiasm and renewed energy which [would] stimulate them to redouble their efforts for Socialism."³⁴

As November of this non-election year rolled in, Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, labor and community organizer, another co-founder of the Wobblies, "the most dangerous woman in America," spoke to a meeting in Troup where, as Comrade Butler reported, "Some of the most prejudiced opponents of the movement there came to her at the close of the meeting and assured her that they were Socialists henceforth and contributed liberally for the expense of the meeting.... God bless Mother Jones; her memory will be enshrined in the hearts of the people long after Taft, Roosevelt and company are forgotten."³⁵

Figure 3: Site of the first and second socialist encampments in Tyler. Tyler Times Telegraph, November 24, 1935.

Spring in 1910 brought renewed enthusiasm. The national level Socialist party had finally heard the rural poor majority of Texas and had ceased to call for the collectivization of land—they would leave that up to the states. Texas proposed an end to the sale of public lands, the reclamation of all leased lands, and any land held for exploitation and speculation (that is, more than a farmer could work himself with no hired hands or tenants) would be taxed to such an extent that the owner would be forced to sell on reasonable terms to tenants or forfeit the land to the state government.³⁶ This was a compromise between the tenant's desire for family-based ownership and a more equitable distribution of land, but the party never addressed inheritance. It was enough to attract additional voters, making Socialism "the fastest growing political movement in Texas."³⁷ In Tyler, party members held "rousing meetings every Sunday. . . . Our backs are up and we are going to bring our cause to the attention of the Tyler people more forcibly than ever."³⁸ They ran a full city ticket in the spring and published their local platform. They started with the party line: "the whole people shall acquire collective ownership of all machinery and other means of production and distribution of the necessities and luxuries of life, and that such production and distribution shall be administered democratically by the people, at cost of production, through the collectivity. . . . In the mean time, while seeking the accomplishment of industrial democracy, it is our purpose to aid in the enactment of such laws and ordinances in state and city as will benefit the working class, and to that end we demand the enactment of the following into ordinances:

1. *Initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.*
2. *Free education of all children up to 21 years of age, with compulsory education.*
3. *Toilet and bathing facilities in each school building.*
4. *A full course of sociology in the public schools, beginning with the primary grades, and instruction in history from textbooks recognizing the materialistics conception and the principle of economic determinism.*
5. *Equal franchise to the sexes and equal*

reward for equal service rendered, regardless of sex.

6. *Abolition of the fee system.*
7. *A free city hospital and public bath house at cost of maintenance.*
8. *The gradual paving of all streets, the creation of a public park in lieu of the horse lot on the public square, and a sufficient number of additional parks and play grounds for children.*
9. *Construction and maintenance of a pavilion for speaking and music in the public park.*
10. *Municipal ownership, construction and operation of all public utilities at cost.*
11. *Compulsory sanitation ordinances for the maintenance of public health, especially the prevention of the breeding of mosquitoes which is easily and cheaply accomplished.*
12. *Repeal or enactment of state legislation that will make possible the enactment of the foregoing into ordinances and insure local self-government.*³⁹

It all made sense enough to the editor of the *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times* that he wrote: "If a man of ordinary sense and sympathies had never heard of a political party and was to meet a republican, a democrat, and a socialist, and each were to explain to him fully the true doctrines of his party we admit he might well lean towards the socialist."⁴⁰

W. J. Bell, no longer state party secretary, began publishing a bi-monthly newsletter called *The Militant* during the summer.⁴¹ Itinerant speakers continued to cycle through Lindale, Winona, Hickory Grove, Tyler, Flint, Bullard, and Troup. T. W. Woodrow spoke to a large audience from the bandstand on the court house square on August 12, and again, the editor of the *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times* was impressed: "Socialism is a live question and people should read up on it before taking a stand. It is not nearly as bad as most people think. In fact socialism is positively democratic. As now modified, socialism stands for man and his

rights to dominate where now property dominates the world."⁴²

The Second East Texas Socialist Encampment came off at South Park Heights August 22-27, 1910. Fred War-

ren, editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, was keynote speaker to a crowd of 4,000, followed by Reddin Andrews, now socialist candidate for governor, Mary O'Riley, "Red Tom" Hickey, Woodrow, and others.⁴³

Smith County voters in November were able to select from a full national, state, and local roster of socialist candidates, including Mrs. Lou Griffin who ran as a candidate for state representative ten years before she would be able to vote for herself.⁴⁴ County-wide the socialist vote was up—Smith County was one of the top ten socialist counties in the state.⁴⁵ This was possibly due to Reddin Andrews being a local resident. Pleasant Grove went over 50 percent again, joined by Coplen, followed by Whitehouse at over 26 percent.⁴⁶ Statewide, Reddin Andrews got over 25,000 votes, and while substantially less than what the Democratic Party received, the 3,000-vote increase was encouraging. Its share of the 1910 vote was nearly a 500 percent increase over 1904. Since 1906 the Texas Socialist Party had more than doubled its gubernatorial total in each election.⁴⁷

The year 1911 was an off-year for state and national elections. W. J. Bell ran for mayor and lost, even though Reddin Andrews spoke on the courthouse square each night the week before the vote.⁴⁸ The Socialist Party had very little success with the middle and upper-class town people who were doing quite well without it. Tyler sponsored no encampment that year.

However, the *Rebel* announced "Local Tyler (Tex.) has opened the campaign of 1912 with a vim." Dr. B. F. Bell had written and was circulating a leaflet which said in part: "We need your help. But we don't need it unless you know that in this philosophy of life there is no place for anyone with a bomb, a firearm, or any instrument of death. Our way is the way of intelligence, peace and progress. Would such a system of life as I have poorly outlined, help you? If so, study it,

THE MILITANT

Published Semi-Monthly by W. J. BELL, Socialist, 110 W. Erwin, Tyler, Tex.

Price: 1 year 25c, 6 months 15c, 3 months 10c.

Application will be made for entry as Second Class Matter.

Volume I.

TYLER, TEXAS, SEPT. 15, 1910.

No. 5.



"Pursuing its policy of fairness, the Socialist administration suggested a board of arbitration to settle the dif-

Figure 4: (above) *The Militant*, Tyler, TX, September 15, 1910.

Figure 5: (below) *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times*, July 27, 1910.

SOCIALISTS WILL TOTAL

MEET IN

TYLER

WILL HAVE ENCAMPMENT IN THIS CITY AUGUST 22 TO 27th.

EXPECT VERY LARGE CROWD

Preparing to Entertain 20,000 People From All Over This Section.

Following has been handed to the *Courier-Times*:

The socialist party will hold its second annual East Texas encampment at Tyler, Aug. 22-27. It is expected from the elaborate preparations being made that this encampment will concentrate 20,000 people and will be to rival any socialist encampment ever held in this state. Plenty of entertainment of all kinds will be provided and the best speakers of this state and nation will be here to address the multitudes.

Fred P. Warren, whose exposures

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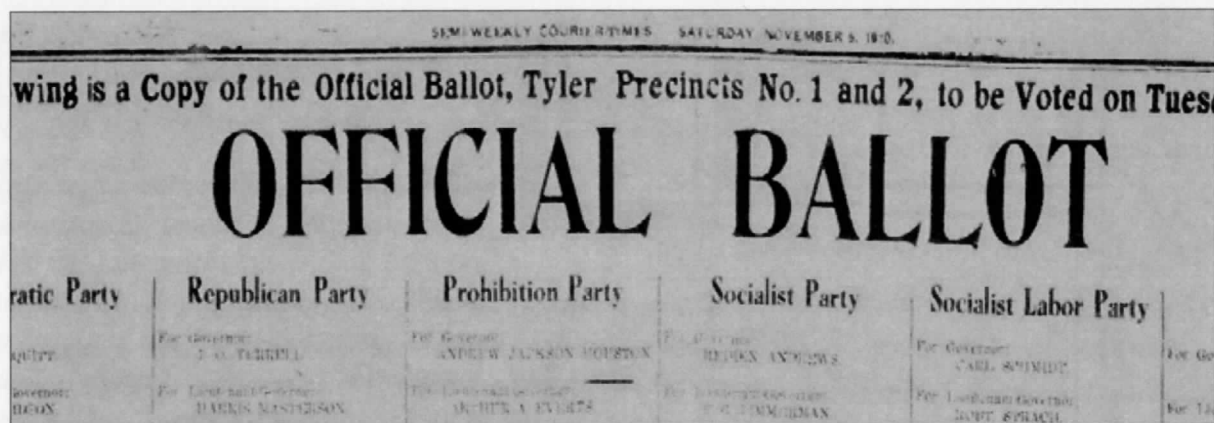


Figure 6: Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times, November 5, 1910.

and vote for it—and you will vote for Socialism. ‘What God gave to any God gave to all.’”⁴⁹

The East Texas Encampment was brought back, managed by Dr. Bell, but moved to Hill’s Park and Natatorium, August 26-31.⁵⁰ That location is approximately 815 South Baxter.⁵¹ Organizers promised “every convenience for camping and for enjoying a week of outing.... All forms of amusement and entertainment are being provided. Speakers of state and national reputation will address the audience daily.”⁵² The *Dallas Morning News* reported large crowds, with campers from a half dozen counties. “Red Tom” Hickey spoke on the Socialist Party’s national platform, followed by Cornelius Foley of Pennsylvania and Dr. Red of Wichita, Kansas. Hickey came back the next morning with “The Solution of the Land Question in the South” and other orators included Dr. J. H. Greer, a Chicago medical professor, and J. A. Currie of San Antonio.⁵³ This was the last East Texas Encampment in Tyler—the next was scheduled for Sulphur Springs.⁵⁴

All of the work paid off. In the 1912 gubernatorial election Reddin Andrews received 25,268 votes statewide, losing to Democrat Oscar B. Colquitt but beating the Republican candidate. In Smith County, again, Pleasant Grove and Coplen went over 50 percent Socialist, but Holland, Bullard, Flint, Grange Hall, Whitehouse and Omen all went over 20 percent.⁵⁵

Socialists continued to hit the land question hard, particularly the “bonus” that some landlords required on top of one-third of the cotton crop, and in the spring of 1914 a newcomer to Democratic

politics took notice. James “Farmer Jim” or “Pa” Ferguson ran in the Democratic primary pledged to protect land renters and sharecroppers with a new law enforcing customary rents and shares, but outlawing the bonus.⁵⁶ That was not enough for Smith County Socialists—many in Overton, Mt. Sylvan, Flint, Lindale, Oak Grove, Garden Valley, Troup, and Swan formed chapters of the Renter’s Union, pushing petitions to amend the state constitution to provide for a tax equal to the full rental value on all lands held for speculation—excepting homestead reservations only—to the end that use and occupancy shall become the sole title to land in Texas.⁵⁷ Again, a full city and county ticket was presented, headed by Seaborn S. Webb, of Pleasant Grove, for county judge.⁵⁸

In November 1914, Democrat James Ferguson won the governor’s seat, wooing back some of the state’s lukewarm Socialists to the party of their fathers, but Socialist E. R. Meitzen still beat the Republican candidate.⁵⁹ While Socialist votes were down somewhat across the state, they hit an all-time high in Smith County at almost twenty-three percent. To what did the party attribute it? The three things that always made Socialism grow: “Agitation, organization and starvation.”⁶⁰

Something happened in 1915 that cracked the party’s upward climb. Perhaps it started with the outbreak of World War I the previous year and President Woodrow Wilson’s preparedness program. The Socialist Party was adamantly pacifist. In 1915 the United States Commission on Industrial Relations came to Dallas to hear testimony on rural unrest and the exploitation of landless farmers which might have intimidated some as well.⁶¹

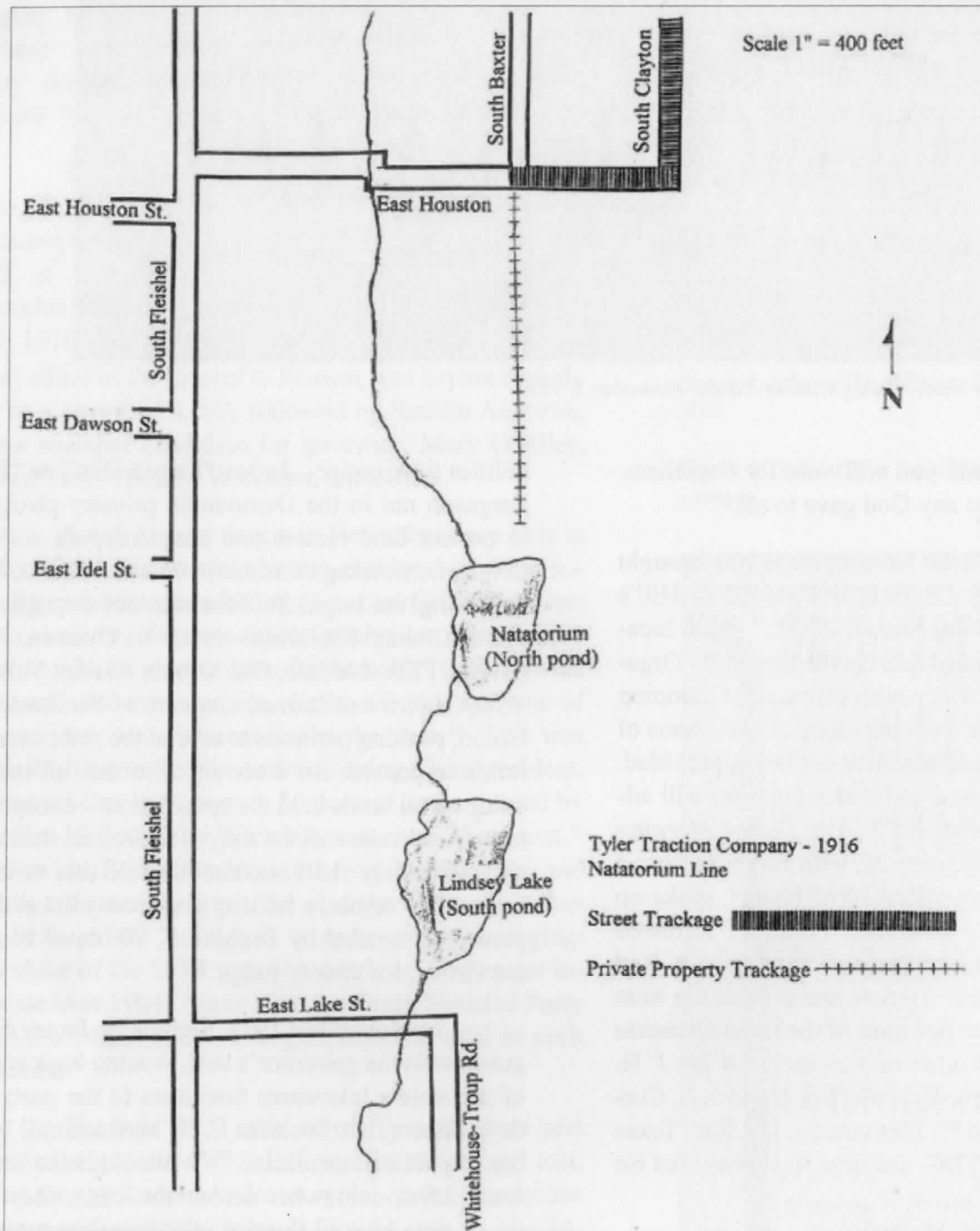


Figure 7: Map showing location of Hill's Natatorium and Tyler Traction Company Line to the Natatorium. Courtesy of James Wilkins. Tyler Traction Company route to Natatorium taken from map of Tyler Street-car Lines by Hal Kleeburg.

Nevertheless, "Red Tom" Hickey continued to push the Texas party toward the left with the *Rebel*.⁶² This move was apparent in the Tyler platform that year:

1. *City acquires and operates at cost: street railroads, electricity, gas, water, sewer, savings and loan, drug stores, ice factory, coal and wood yard, slaughter house, market, dairy and creamery, jitney service for passengers and freight, bath house, hospital and sanitarium, truck gardens, theatre,*

band and orchestra, children's park and playground.

2. *Employ idle at union wages to extend street car lines; to extend municipal telephone, light, power, gas, water, sewer; to grade and pave streets; to build and equip municipal market, slaughter house, truck garden, dairy, theatre, ice plant, fuel station, sanitarium, bath house, parks, pavilion, summer auditorium, etc.*

3. *City to build cottages to be rented or sold at cost on rental payments without interest to workers.*
4. *Increase number of teachers, increase salaries of teachers, employ teachers for 12 months, with time between terms spent in preparation; hire school physicians and dentists for free exams and treatment, compulsory attendance, extension of manual training, course in Sociology beginning with kindergarten, exclusion of textbooks on history that teach a false patriotism and reverence of the butchers of war, past and present, as heroes and adoption of books recognizing the principle of economic determinism and the real facts of history; discipline or dismissal of instructors that import to pupils an impression that it is right to take up arms and kill in war; free education, supplies and medical attention; free food and clothing for needy students; gym toilet and bathing facilities; application of moving pictures to appropriate studies.*
5. *Equal vote for women.*
6. *No property qualifications for voter in city election.*
7. *Initiative, referendum, and recall of officials.*
8. *Election of all important city positions—eliminate commission government.*
9. *Publication of tax assessed against each piece of property.*
10. *Monthly publication of city finances.*
11. *Creation of office of Public Defender and provision of free legal advice.*
12. *Abolition of fee system.*
13. *Creation of employment bureau.*
14. *Abolition of contract system on city work, or by corporations holding city franchises.*
15. *One day of rest in seven for policemen and all city employees.*
16. *Sick, accident, and disability compensation and old age pensions for city employees.*
17. *No extension of the franchise of any municipal utility.*
18. *Strict regulation of all public utilities in regard to service, rates, safety appliances, equipment and treatment of employees.*
19. *Installation of water filters, compulsory sanitary measures, prevention of breeding of mosquitoes and flies, sanitary inspection and regulations of cars, mercantile establishments, bakeries, dairies, etc.*
20. *Prohibition of child labor and the entering of messenger boys or other minors into houses of prostitution.*
21. *Use by public without charge of school buildings and auditorium.*⁶³

That summer Grand Saline held its last Socialist encampment.⁶⁴

In November 1916, the party again presented a full local and state ticket. J. D. Goodwin ran for county judge and Mrs. Lou Griffin ran for county superintendent of schools.⁶⁵ On the state level the Socialists lost their second place standing back to the Republicans, with some of the former Socialist voters probably supporting "Farmer Jim" Ferguson's reelection. In the county the vote fell from almost 30 percent to 8 percent Socialist, but ever faithful Pleasant Grove continued to go over 58 percent for the party, followed by Coplen.⁶⁶

By mid-1917 the Socialist Party had disappeared from Smith County politics. The United States had entered World War I that spring, and Congress passed the Selective Service Act on May 18. Socialist Party leaders immediately called for resistance. In late May and June, federal authorities arrested more than fifty members of the Farmers' and Laborers' Protective

Association in north central and northwestern Texas, charging them with “seditious conspiracy to prevent conscription.” Three were convicted.⁶⁷ On June 1, Socialist J. P. Miller, a Smith County farmer, was arrested for “opposing the authority of the United States.”⁶⁸ Five men were arrested in Anderson County, and later newspaper articles noted an arrest each in Upshur and Wood County, six arrested in Van Zandt County, and thirty-eight arrested around Emory.⁶⁹ Also, in June 1917, authorities shut down the Texas Socialist newspaper, *The Rebel*, for being seditious. Its editor, “Red Tom” Hickey had turned it almost entirely anti-war and anti-conscription. Hickey was arrested for conspiring to abet draft resistance, although he was never indicted. Socialist newspapers were denied second class postage, and they shut down.⁷⁰ In southeastern Oklahoma that August, three men were killed, 450 people detained, 184 charged, and 150 convicted or pled guilty as part of the Green Corn Rebellion, which was also anti-draft.⁷¹ These charges and arrests, plus patriotism associated with the war, and possibly reaction to the Russian Revolution, effectively shut down the Socialist Party in the Texas area, at least for a while.

Not everyone gave up without a fight. The Socialist Party published a platform and promoted a state level slate in 1918, but it received few votes.⁷² W. J. Bell, the Tyler piano tuner, with his equally Socialist

wife, Lula, moved to Dallas, where they continued to write hot letters to the newspaper.⁷³ They left behind their young son, Karl Marx Bell, in a grave in Liberty Hill Cemetery just east of Tyler.⁷⁴ However, both W. J. Bell and B. F. Bell were both listed as being from Tyler when they ran as Socialists for state comptroller and land commissioner, respectively, in 1930.⁷⁵ B. F. Bell died in Tyler in 1935, but his obituary did not mention his long ties to the Socialist Party.⁷⁶ Nat B. Hunt had moved to Fort Worth by 1918 where he died—his obituary also did not mention his socialism.⁷⁷ In 1916, Reddin Andrews moved to Lawton, Oklahoma, where he died in 1923.⁷⁸ Some of the proposals initially made by the Smith County Socialist Party were quickly adopted by the local establishment—Tyler soon had a park instead of a horse lot around the courthouse; it boasted city owned water and sewer; a city owned bandstand and a city sponsored band. Other proposals came to fruition with the New Deal and the War on Poverty, and some are being discussed even into the next century.

Appendix A is a list of known Smith County Socialists—all of the people who ran for office, or who were poll watchers, or who wrote in to the *Appeal to Reason*, the *Rebel*, or the Tyler newspaper, identifying themselves as Socialists, proud to take a stand for the poor farmers and workers of East Texas.

¹ For regional and statewide studies of Socialism during the Progressive Era, see James R. Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism: Radical Movements in the Southwest, 1895-1943* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978); Kyle G. Wilkison, *Yeoman, Sharecroppers, and Socialists: Plain Folk Protest in Texas, 1870-1914* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008); Peter H. Buckingham, “The Texas Socialist Party,” in *The Texas Left: The Radical Roots of Lone Star Liberalism*, ed. David O’Donald Cullen and Kyle G. Wilkison (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2010), pp. 74-91; James R. Green, “Tenant Farmer Discontent and Socialist Protest in Texas, 1901-1917,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 81 (October 1977): 133-154; Graham Adams, Jr., “Agrarian Discontent in Progressive Texas,” *East Texas Historical Journal* 8 (March 1970): 24-28; Kyle Grant Wilkison, “Texas Reds: The Socialist Party of America in Texas from 1901 to the General Election of 1912,” (master’s thesis, East Texas State University, 1985); Robert William Clark, “Thomas A. Hickey and Socialist Reform in Texas, 1904-1925,” (master’s thesis, Texas Tech University, 1989); Alwyn Barr, “Socialist Party,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/was01>), accessed January 11, 2013.

² *Tyler (TX) Courier-Times*, May 30, 1914, p. 2.

³ Clarence Ousley and Walton Peteet, *Farming Credit in Texas* (Texas: s.n., 1916), pp. 6-7, 9-11, 13, 15, 26-32. See, also, Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 195-203; Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures since 1800* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 185-187.

⁴ Smith County (TX) Election Returns, Elections Administration Office, v. 2, p. 4-5.

⁵ Buckingham, “The Texas Socialist Party,” 76; *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), February 27, 1904, p. 3; March 12, 1904, p. 4; March 19, 1904, p. 3.

⁶ *Fort Worth (TX) Star-Telegram*, July 29, 1904, p. 2; *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 8, 1904, p. 10.

⁷ *Southern Directory Company’s Tyler Texas, City Directory, 1904*, [Marshall, TX]: Southern, 1904, p. 135; *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), October 29, 1904, p. 5.

⁸ Smith County Election Records, v. 2, p. 28.

- ⁹ *Tyler (TX) Courier*, September 18, 1897, p. 6; *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), June 3, 1905, p. 3.
- ¹⁰ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), April 16, 1904, p. 3; *Tyler (TX) Courier Times*, October 30, 1915, p. 7; Smith County, Texas, Population Census, 1910.
- ¹¹ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), August 11, 1906, p. 3; August 25, 1906, p. 3.
- ¹² *Tyler (TX) Daily Courier*, July 21, 1906, p. 1; Smith County Election Records, v. 2, p. 45.
- ¹³ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), May 11, 1907, p. 3; *Tyler City Directory*, 1910, p. 248.
- ¹⁴ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), November 2, 1907, p. 3; January 4, 1908, p. 3; February 22, 1908, p. 3; March 7, 1908, p. 3; March 21, 1908, p. 3; April 25, 1908, p. 3; May 9, 1908, p. 3.
- ¹⁵ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), January 4, 1908, p. 3.
- ¹⁶ *Tyler (TX) Daily Courier and Times*, March 12, 1908, p. 1.
- ¹⁷ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 14, 1908, p. 2.
- ¹⁸ Smith County (TX) Election Returns, v. 2, p. 56-58.
- ¹⁹ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), March 27, 1909, p. 3, c. 4.
- ²⁰ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), February 6, 1909, p. 3.
- ²¹ *Tyler (TX) Courier-Times-Telegraph*, November 24, 1935, sect. II, p. 8. South Park Heights in Tyler is generally the Azalea District south of Shaw, including what is now Bergfield Park.
- ²² *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 7, 1909, p. 6. For suggestions on how to manage successful encampments, see *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), May 11, 1907, p. 3.
- ²³ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), July 17, 1909, p. 3.
- ²⁴ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), July 24, 1909, p. 3.
- ²⁵ Photograph in possession of Smith County Historical Society Archives, Tyler, Texas.
- ²⁶ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, July 20, 1909, p. 5.
- ²⁷ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), July 24, 1909, p. 3, c. 4.
- ²⁸ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 4, 1909, p. 5.
- ²⁹ William R. Hunt, "Hickey, Thomas Aloysius," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhi55> (accessed January 12, 2013); *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 5, 1909, p. 7.
- ³⁰ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), August 14, 1909, p. 3, c. 3; *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 5, 1909, p. 7; Smith County, Texas, Population Census, 1900.
- ³¹ *Rebel* (Hallettsville, TX), September 14, 1912, p. 3; Keith L. King, "Andrews, Reddin, Jr.," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fan49> (accessed January 12, 2013).
- ³² Buckingham, "The Texas Socialist Party," 80. Acts 2: 44-45: "All the believers were together and had everything in common. Selling their possessions and goods, they gave to anyone as he had need." Acts 4: 32, 34-35: "All the believers were one in heart and mind. No one claimed that any of his possessions was his own, but they shared everything they had. There were no needy persons among them. For from time to time those who owned lands or houses sold them, brought the money from the sales and put it at the apostles' feet, and it was distributed to anyone as he had need." For the land question: Leviticus 25:23: "Thus saith the Lord, the land shall not be sold forever, for it is mine." For a discussion of socialism and fundamentalist denominations in Texas, see Wilkison, pp. 125-160.
- ³³ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 5, 1909, p. 7.
- ³⁴ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 7, 1909, p. 6; *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 8, 1909, p. 11; *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), August 14, 1909, p. 3.
- ³⁵ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), November 13, 1909, p. 5.
- ³⁶ Buckingham, "The Texas Socialist Party," 82.
- ³⁷ Wilkison, p. 183.
- ³⁸ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), March 26, 1910, p. 3, c. 4.
- ³⁹ *Tyler (TX) Semi-Weekly Courier-Times*, March 23, 1910, p. 7.
- ⁴⁰ *Tyler (TX) Semi-Weekly Courier-Times*, May 21, 1910, p. 2.
- ⁴¹ *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), January 15, 1910, p. 3; July 30, 1910, p. 3; *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, July 11, 1911, p. 8. Issues of *The Militant* (Tyler, TX) for January 15, 1910; September 15, 1910; and May 1, 1911, in possession of the Southwest Collection, Special Collections Library, Texas Tech University.
- ⁴² *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 13, 1910, p. 5.
- ⁴³ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 24, 1910, p. 12; *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, KS), September 3, 1910, p. 3.
- ⁴⁴ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, November 13, 1910, p. 3; *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 14, 1910, p. 11.
- ⁴⁵ *Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide* for 1911 with Map, *The Portal to Texas History*, University of North Texas, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph123781> (accessed January 14, 2013), pp. 66-67.
- ⁴⁶ Smith County Election Records, v. 2, p. 70.
- ⁴⁷ Wilkison, p. 183.
- ⁴⁸ Tyler, Texas, City Council Minutes, v. 3, p. 304; *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, April 4, 1911, p. 9.
- ⁴⁹ *Rebel* (Hallettsville, TX), February 3, 1912, p. 3.
- ⁵⁰ *Rebel* (Hallettsville, TX), August 3, 1912, p. 3; *Troup (TX) Banner*, August 1, 1912, p. 1.
- ⁵¹ Map courtesy of James Wilkins, Tyler, Texas.

- ⁵² *Troup (TX) Banner*, August 1, 1912, p. 1.
- ⁵³ *Rebel* (Hallettsville, TX), September 20, 1913, p. 22.
- ⁵⁴ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, July 19, 1913, p. 4.
- ⁵⁵ Keith L. King, "Andrews, Reddin, Jr., *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fan49> (accessed January 13, 2013); Smith County Election Returns, v. 2, p. 86.
- ⁵⁶ Buckingham, p. 83.
- ⁵⁷ *Rebel* (Hallettsville, TX), September 20, 1913, p. 22; October 4, 1913, p. 1; October 11, 1913, p. 1; October 18, 1913, p. 1; November 8, 1913, p. 1; November 22, 1913, p. 2; November 29, 1913, p. 3; February 21, 1914, p. 3; February 28, 1914, p. 3; March 7, 1914, p. 2; March 28, 1914, p. 4; August 15, 1914, p. 3.
- ⁵⁸ Smith County, Texas, Election Returns, v. 2, p. 104-106; *Tyler (TX) Courier Times*, April 1, 1914, p. 4; *Rebel* (Hallettsville, TX), August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ⁵⁹ "Our Campaigns" <http://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=264407> (accessed January 13, 2013); Smith County, Texas, Election Returns, v. 2, pp. 104-106.
- ⁶⁰ *Rebel* (Hallettsville, TX), December 19, 1914, p. 1.
- ⁶¹ Buckingham, p. 83.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Tyler (TX) Courier Times*, March 2, 1915, p. 7.
- ⁶⁴ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, August 4, 1915, p. 14.
- ⁶⁵ Smith County, Texas, Election Returns, v. 2, pp. 111-116.
- ⁶⁶ "Our Campaigns," <http://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=264408> (accessed January 13, 2013); Smith County, Texas, Election Returns, v. 2, pp. 111-116.
- ⁶⁷ Joe R. Baulch, "Farmers' and Laborers' Protective Association," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vbfb01> (accessed January 13, 2013).
- ⁶⁸ *Tyler (TX) Daily Courier-Times*, June 1, 1917, p. 1.
- ⁶⁹ *Tyler (TX) Daily Courier-Times*, June 1, 1917, p. 8; June 2, 1917, p. 10; June 4, 1917, p. 8; September 20, 1918, p. 1; November 5, 1918, p. 2. Fourteen of the Rains County men were convicted and sentenced to the federal prison in Atlanta for terms ranging from a year and a day to three years. Nine men received less than a year and were kept at the Smith County jail. I have not yet discovered whether J. P. Miller of Smith County was brought to trial or convicted.
- ⁷⁰ Buckingham, pp. 85-86.
- ⁷¹ Nigel Anthony Sellars, "Green Corn Rebellion," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/G/GR022.html> (accessed January 13, 2013).
- ⁷² *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, March 17, 1918, p. 10; "Our Campaigns," <http://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=264409> (accessed January 13, 2013).
- ⁷³ *Fort Worth (TX) Star-Telegram*, December 21, 1921, p. 6; *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, May 7, 1936, p. 2; *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, March 9, 1939, p. 4.
- ⁷⁴ Mary Love Berryman, "Liberty Hill Cemetery, Smith County, TX -- NE-33," <http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/smith/cemetery/libertyhill.txt> (accessed January 13, 2013).
- ⁷⁵ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, September 14, 1930, p. 6.
- ⁷⁶ *Tyler (TX) Courier-Times-Telegraph*, September 22, 1935, p. 1.
- ⁷⁷ *Dallas (TX) Morning News*, November 14, 1918, p. 11.
- ⁷⁸ Keith L. King, "Andrews, Reddin, Jr.," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fan49> (accessed January 13, 2013).

Appendix A

Smith County Socialists

1900 - 1917

Taken from Candidate Lists and Letters to Socialist Newspapers

Allen, W. J.¹
 Andrews, Reddin (Tyler)²
 Armstrong, H. B.³
 Ashcraft, W. S. (Tyler)⁴
 Bailey, J. J. (Bullard)⁵
 Bates, "Comrade" (Overton)⁶
 Beddingfield, J. T. (Tyler)⁷
 Bell, Dr. B. F. (Tyler/Whitehouse)⁸
 Bell, J. C.⁹

Bell, Leola (Tyler)¹⁰
 Bell, Lula (Tyler)¹¹
 Bell, W. J. (Tyler)¹²
 Bell, W. R.¹³
 Black, "Bro."¹⁴
 Bolder, Tom (Omen)¹⁵
 Bowie, W.¹⁶
 Brawner, J. J.¹⁷
 Bright, J. L. (Mt. Sylvan)¹⁸

Broughton, H. P.¹⁹
 Broughton, S. P. (Tyler)²⁰
 Bryant, B. T. (Omen)²¹
 Buie, M. (Overton)²²
 Bumpass, George D. (Tyler)²³
 Burgoon, E. E.²⁴
 Burk, Alex (Tyler)²⁵
 Burrow, Jeff T. (Omen)²⁶
 Butler, "Comrade"²⁷

Butler, W. O.²⁸
 Carithers, J. S. (Tyler)²⁹
 Carlton, Mrs. E. W.³⁰
 Casey, W. M. (Flint)³¹
 Childress, Molly (Garden Valley)³²
 Cline, D. A. (Mt. Sylvan)³³
 Collins, C. C.³⁴
 Dozier, D. F. (Tyler)³⁵
 Dunn, A. S.³⁶
 Dunn, J. W.³⁷
 Edwards, George C. (Tyler)³⁸
 Flournoy, A.³⁹
 Flowers, W. H. (Flint)⁴⁰
 Fortner, Tom H. (Winona)⁴¹
 Fowler, T. E.⁴²
 French, J. N. (Tyler)⁴³
 Frizzell, "Comrade" (Tyler)⁴⁴
 Frizzell, M. M.⁴⁵
 Goodwin, J. D.⁴⁶
 Griffin, "Comrade" (Flint)⁴⁷
 Griffin, Ed⁴⁸
 Griffin, G. M.⁴⁹
 Griffin, Mrs. Lou⁵⁰
 Griffin, R. E. (or K. E.)⁵¹
 Hammond, J. D.⁵²
 Hanks, W. T. (Whitehouse)⁵³
 Harmon, J. T. (Tyler)⁵⁴
 Harmon, Moses J.⁵⁵
 Herring, James K. (Garden Valley)⁵⁶
 Hicks, D. H.⁵⁷
 Hicks, E. F. (Lindale)⁵⁸
 Hill, J. H.⁵⁹
 Hill, Sam⁶⁰
 Holcomb, G. W.⁶¹
 Hunt, Nat B. (Tyler)⁶²
 Jacobs, Hyman (Tyler)⁶³
 Johnson, J. C.⁶⁴
 Jones, J. C.⁶⁵
 Jones, J. J.⁶⁶
 Kay, R. M. (Winona)⁶⁷
 Keller, K. S. (or R. S.) (Pl Grove)⁶⁸
 Key, Julius L. (Bullard)⁶⁹
 King, J. B.⁷⁰
 Lanier, D. C.⁷¹
 Lewis, W. M. (Troup)⁷²
 Malone, "Comrade" (Mt. Sylvan)⁷³
 Malone, George⁷⁴
 McCarty, Mrs. J. D.⁷⁵
 McFarland, "Comrade"⁷⁶
 McFarland, W. B.⁷⁷
 McFarland, W. M.⁷⁸
 Messer, Frank⁷⁹
 Metcalf, C. M.⁸⁰
 Miller, "Comrade"⁸¹
 Miller, J. P.⁸²
 Miller, Joe S.⁸³
 Montgomery, T. C.⁸⁴
 Morris, M. S. (or H. S.)⁸⁵
 Musselwhite, Reuben W. (Arp)⁸⁶
 Myers, J. L.⁸⁷
 Nelson, James T.⁸⁸
 Nicholson, M. H. (Tyler)⁸⁹
 Nicholson, M. L.⁹⁰
 Nicholson, W. L.⁹¹
 Noble, W. S. (Tyler)⁹²
 Peevy, "Comrade" (Troup)⁹³
 Pettit, P. A.⁹⁴
 Pollitt, "Comrade" (Troup)⁹⁵
 Ramsey, C. H.⁹⁶
 Ramsey, H. P.⁹⁷
 Ramsey, P. H.⁹⁸
 Raney, P. H. (Tyler)⁹⁹
 Reece, Loren (Tyler)¹⁰⁰
 Riley, S. W. (Lindale)¹⁰¹
 Riley, Rev. W. S. (Lindale)¹⁰²
 Rosson, Carl¹⁰³
 Shelton, Buck¹⁰⁴
 Slaven, I. C.¹⁰⁵
 Smith, J. L.¹⁰⁶
 Smith, John H. (Overton)¹⁰⁷
 Snodgrass, J. L. (Tyler)¹⁰⁸
 Speer (or Spier), G. W.¹⁰⁹
 Spivey, Edward F. (Flint)¹¹⁰
 Stamps, L. L.¹¹¹
 Stamps, Tom E.¹¹²
 Terry, "Comrade" (Tyler)¹¹³
 Terry, J. M.¹¹⁴
 Tucker, D. A.¹¹⁵
 Tucker, D. S.¹¹⁶
 Walker, C. E.¹¹⁷
 Wallace, John E. (Winona)¹¹⁸
 Warren, Frank D.¹¹⁹
 Webb, Seaborn S.¹²⁰
 Webb, W. E. (Troup)¹²¹
 Web, W. T.¹²²
 Webster, J. J.¹²³
 Westberry, C. J. (Lindale)¹²⁴
 Wilson, L. J.¹²⁵
 York, A. J.¹²⁶
 Young, Hattie¹²⁷

¹ *Tyler Daily Courier*, July 21, 1906, p. 1.

² *Appeal to Reason*, June 4, 1910, p. 3 (and many others).

³ *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times*, July 27, 1910.

⁴ *Appeal to Reason*, April 20, 1907, p. 3.

⁵ *Appeal to Reason*, March 16, 1907, p. 3.

⁶ *Appeal to Reason*, January 20, 1906, p. 4.

⁷ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.

⁸ *Appeal to Reason*, August 11, 1906, p. 3 (and many others).

⁹ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Dallas Morning News*, August 5, 1909, p. 7.

¹¹ *Appeal to Reason*, April 26, 1904.

¹² *Rebel*, June 13, 1914, p. 3.

¹³ *Rebel*, October 11, 1913, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Rebel*, March 28, 1914, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.

¹⁶ Smith County Commissioners Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.

¹⁷ Smith County Commissioners Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.

¹⁸ *Rebel*, April 11, 1914, p. 2; *Rebel*, October 3, 1914, p. 2.

¹⁹ Smith County Commissioners Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.

²⁰ *Tyler Weekly Courier-Times*, February 10, 1911, p. 5; *Rebel*, August 5, 1916.

²¹ Smith County Commissioners Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367; *Rebel*, December 12, 1914, p. 4.

- ²² *Appeal to Reason*, June 22, 1907, p. 3.
- ²³ *Appeal to Reason*, May 4, 1907, p. 3.
- ²⁴ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ²⁵ *Appeal to Reason*, March 26, 1910, p. 3, c. 4.
- ²⁶ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ²⁷ *Appeal to Reason*, November 13, 1909, p. 5, c. 4.
- ²⁸ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ²⁹ *Appeal to Reason*, November 2, 1907, p. 3.
- ³⁰ *Rebel*, January 8, 1916, p. 3.
- ³¹ *Rebel*, November 22, 1913, p. 2.
- ³² *Appeal to Reason*, February 24, 1912, p. 4.
- ³³ *Rebel*, June 14, 1913, p. 2; November 8, 1913, p. 1.
- ³⁴ *Rebel*, October 4, 1913, p. 1; October 11, 1913, p. 1.
- ³⁵ *Tyler Courier-Times*, April 1, 1914, p. 4, c. 2.
- ³⁶ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ³⁷ *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times*, July 27, 1910.
- ³⁸ *Rebel*, June 13, 1914, p. 3.
- ³⁹ *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times*, July 27, 1910.
- ⁴⁰ *Rebel*, December 9, 1911, p. 3, c. 5.
- ⁴¹ *Rebel*, April 6, 1912, p. 2, c. 6.
- ⁴² *Rebel*, January 8, 1916, p. 3.
- ⁴³ *Rebel*, April 6, 1912, p. 3, c. 1.
- ⁴⁴ *Appeal to Reason*, June 27, 1907, p. 3.
- ⁴⁵ *Appeal to Reason*, April 17, 1909, p. 6, c. 1.
- ⁴⁶ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁴⁷ *Appeal to Reason*, October 12, 1907, p. 3.
- ⁴⁸ Smith County Commissioner's Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.
- ⁴⁹ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ⁵⁰ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2; August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁵¹ *Rebel*, November 14, 1914, p. 2.
- ⁵² Smith County Commissioner's Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.
- ⁵³ *Appeal to Reason*, August 11, 1906, p. 3.
- ⁵⁴ *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times*, March 23, 1910; July 27, 1910.
- ⁵⁵ *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times*, July 27, 1910; *Rebel*, September 14, 1912, p. 4, c. 6.
- ⁵⁶ *Appeal to Reason*, April 27, 1907, p. 3; *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ⁵⁷ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁵⁸ *Rebel*, December 19, 1914, p. 1.
- ⁵⁹ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2; August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁶⁰ Smith County Commissioners Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.
- ⁶¹ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁶² *Appeal to Reason*, October 1, 1904, p. 3 (and many others).
- ⁶³ *Appeal to Reason*, June 15, 1907.
- ⁶⁴ *Rebel*, October 18, 1913, p. 1.
- ⁶⁵ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2; August 1, 1914, p. 2; March 6, 1915, p. 3; August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁶⁶ *Tyler Daily Courier*, July 21, 1906, p. 1.
- ⁶⁷ *Appeal to Reason*, August 10, 1912, p. 3.
- ⁶⁸ *Appeal to Reason*, May 18, 1907, p. 3; *Rebel*, July 15, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁶⁹ *Appeal to Reason*, April 6, 1907, p. 3; April 20, 1907, p. 3.
- ⁷⁰ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2; August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁷¹ *Rebel*, November 18, 1911, p. 3.
- ⁷² *Rebel*, August 15, 1914, p. 3.
- ⁷³ *Appeal to Reason*, December 7, 1907, p. 3.
- ⁷⁴ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁷⁵ *Rebel*, December 19, 1914, p. 1.
- ⁷⁶ *Appeal to Reason*, March 13, 1909, p. 4, c. 6.

- ⁷⁷ Smith County Commissioners Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.
- ⁷⁸ *Tyler Daily Courier*, July 21, 1906, p. 1.
- ⁷⁹ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁸⁰ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁸¹ *Appeal to Reason*, June 6, 1908, p. 3.
- ⁸² *Appeal to Reason*, April 2, 1910, p. 4, c. 5.
- ⁸³ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ⁸⁴ *Tyler Daily Courier*, July 21, 1906, p. 1.
- ⁸⁵ *Rebel*, October 11, 1913, p. 1.
- ⁸⁶ *Appeal to Reason*, April 6, 1907, p. 3.
- ⁸⁷ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ⁸⁸ *Tyler Daily Courier*, July 21, 1906, p. 1.
- ⁸⁹ *Rebel*, January 31, 1914, p. 4.
- ⁹⁰ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ⁹¹ Smith County Commissioners Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.
- ⁹² *Rebel*, June 13, 1914, p. 3.
- ⁹³ *Appeal to Reason*, January 2, 1909, p. 3.
- ⁹⁴ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ⁹⁵ *Appeal to Reason*, February 27, 1904, p. 3.
- ⁹⁶ *Rebel*, June 14, 1913, p. 3.
- ⁹⁷ *Rebel*, November 25, 1911, p. 3.
- ⁹⁸ *Rebel*, February 3, 1912, p. 3; April 25, 1914, p. 1; March 11, 1916, p. 3.
- ⁹⁹ *Appeal to Reason*, November 13, 1909, p. 5, c. 5.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Appeal to Reason*, June 15, 1907, p. 7.
- ¹⁰¹ *Rebel*, February 28, 1914, p. 3.
- ¹⁰² *Rebel*, February 21, 1913, p. 3.
- ¹⁰³ *Rebel*, January 8, 1916, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁴ Smith County Commissioner's Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Appeal to Reason*, September 14, 1907, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Appeal to Reason*, October 22, 1904.
- ¹⁰⁹ Smith County Commissioner's Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367; *Rebel*, March 22, 1913, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁰ *Appeal to Reason*, June 8, 1907, p. 3.
- ¹¹¹ *Rebel*, October 18, 1913, p. 1.
- ¹¹² Smith County Commissioner's Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.
- ¹¹³ *Appeal to Reason*, April 4, 1908, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁴ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁵ *Rebel*, April 13, 1912, p. 2.
- ¹¹⁶ *Appeal to Reason*, June 8, 1907, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁷ Smith County Commissioners Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.
- ¹¹⁸ *Appeal to Reason*, December 1, 1906, p. 4; *Rebel*, July 15, 1911, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁹ *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier-Times*, July 27, 1910; August 10, 1910; *Appeal to Reason*, August 13, 1910, p. 3, c. 5; September 3, 1910, p. 3, c. 4.
- ¹²⁰ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ¹²¹ *Appeal to Reason*, September 5, 1910, p. 3; *Rebel*, November 30, 1912, p. 3.
- ¹²² *Rebel*, January 8, 1916, p. 3.
- ¹²³ Smith County Commissioners Court Minutes, v. 7, p. 367.
- ¹²⁴ *Rebel*, February 28, 1914, p. 3.
- ¹²⁵ *Rebel*, August 5, 1916, p. 4.
- ¹²⁶ *Rebel*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ¹²⁷ *Rebel*, March 23, 1912, p. 3.

Appendix B Election Returns 1900 - 1918

	Tyler #1	Tyler #2	Tyler #3	Tyler #4	Whitehouse	Omen	Troup	Smyre	Coplen	Bullard	Noonday	Grange Hall	Flint	Pl. Retreat	Mt. Sylvan	G. Valley
1900																
Soc. Vote	5	n/a	n/a	n/a	15	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	1
% Soc.	0.75%				6.60%	0%	0%	0%		0%	0%		0%	0%	0%	0%
1902																
Soc. vote	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	11	13	0	0	n/a	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0
% Soc.	0%				7.40%	9.40%	0%	0%		0%	0%		0%	0%	0%	0%
1904																
Soc. Vote	2	12	5	1	7	12	2	n/a	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
% Soc.	1%	3.80%	1.60%	0.40%	5.20%	8.60%	0.90%		8.10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%
1906																
Soc. Vote	7	16	7	4	6	9	1	n/a	3	7	0	0	7	0	7	5
% Soc.	7.90%	9.90%	4.60%	2.70%	12.90%	12.90%	0.90%		18.70%	12.70%	0%	0%	13.50%	0%	8%	8.50%
1908																
Soc. Vote	7	14	6	11	22	9	1	n/a	8	9	0	2	12	0	6	15
% Soc.	3.40%	5.40%	2.50%	3.80%	24%	9.80%	0.50%		33%	11.20%	0%	4%	16.70%	0%	4.60%	12%
1910																
Soc. Vote	13	23	12	9	22	4	8	n/a	17	5	1	8	10	4	6	13
% Soc.	13.40%	12.80%	8.30%	5.70%	26.50%	6.80%	6.60%		60.70%	10.40%	1.10%	24.20%	15.20%	6%	7.80%	14.80%
1912																
Soc. Vote	24	29	25	14	35	19	12	n/a	19	20	3	8	33	4	0	22
% Soc.	13%	11%	9%	5.20%	35%	24%	6.40%		51%	20%	5%	20%	32%	6%	0%	19%
1914																
Soc. Vote	32	65	25	19	78	42	39	n/a	33	26	24	14	31	3	19	43
% Soc.	14.90%	18.70%	10%	7.30%	48.70%	37.80%	18.20%		73%	27.40%	29.60%	26.40%	40.80%	4.50%	16%	28.50%
1916																
Soc. Vote	14	25	9	10	17	23	7	n/a	7	16	1	3	7	4	8	14
% Soc.	6.50%	8.10%	3.30%	3.10%	12.70%	21.90%	3.20%		36.80%	20.50%	1%	6.40%	11.50%	4.90%	6.70%	11.40%
1918																
Soc. Vote	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Providence	Holland	Lindale	Hopewell	Swan	Red Springs	Pine Springs	Winona	Starrville	Holt	Browning	Rock Hill	Pl. Grove	Arp	Friendship	Gresham	Total
n/a	n/a	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	n/a	n/a	n/a	24
		0%	0%		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	7.90%				0.40%
n/a	n/a	0	n/a	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	39	0	n/a	n/a	67
		0%		1.70%	0%	0%	0.90%	0%	0%	0%	0%	49.40%	0%			2%
n/a	1	0	n/a	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	n/a	23	0	n/a	n/a	89
	3.70%	0%		0.70%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%		29.50%	0%			2%
n/a	0	2	n/a	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	23	3	n/a	n/a	108
	0%	0.90%		0%	3.60%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		43%	3.70%			5.60%
n/a	4	2	n/a	2	4	4	1	0	0	0	n/a	31	1	n/a	n/a	171
	16.70%	0.70%		0.90%	5.20%	5.20%	0.70%	0%	0%	0%		52.60%	0.70%			5.30%
n/a	2	1	n/a	1	0	4	1	1	0	1	n/a	33	1	n/a	n/a	213
	15.40%	0.50%		0.90%	0%	12%	1.10%	1.90%	0%	1.40%		50.80%	1%			9%
n/a	8	26	6	n/a	6	6	10	1	3	2	n/a	44	7	n/a	n/a	386
	28.60%	8.70%	5.10%		13.30%	12.80%	7%	1%	1.80%	2%		62%	6.40%			11.80%
25	n/a	58	n/a	13	66	6	13	15	7	12	n/a	72	16	5	25	856
62.50%		16.30%		12.40%	64.10%	10.20%	10.80%	20.50%	6%	12.80%		66.70%	13.60%	17.20%	59.50%	22.80%
11	n/a	13	n/a	1	8	3	3	1	0	0	n/a	44	5	1	5	260
33.30%		4.20%		1%	13.50%	4.30%	2.30%	1.40%	0%	0%		58.70%	3.50%	3.30%	17.90%	8%
0	n/a	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0