

SPEECH OF THOMAS M. CAMPBELL,

Opening His Campaign For Governor of Texas, at Athens Today.

Special to the Herald.

Athens, Texas, April 21.—Following is the full text of Hon. Thos. M. Campbell's speech delivered in this city today, opening his campaign for Governor of Texas:

Fellow-Citizens:

I am here today, upon the invitation of the people of Athens and Henderson County, to formally open my campaign for the Democratic nomination for the office of Governor.

With grateful appreciation I accepted that invitation and I must now be permitted to acknowledge the honor you do me by your presence at this time. Since announcing my intention to become a candidate for Governor I have been honored with many invitations to address the people on public questions. I have accepted as many of these invitations as was practicable, and I have taken occasion heretofore to discuss some of the questions which will necessarily enter into the contest now opening before us. With the people I have been free to express my views. I have always spoken candidly, frankly and without any sort of reservation. I shall today, without qualifying any proposition heretofore laid down, and without modifying any doctrine heretofore announced, undertake a faithful discussion of conditions and of issues which I deem most important and which should, in my opinion, receive the attention of the people of Texas in the present campaign.

This is San Jacinto Day, a day made memorable by the triumph of liberty over tyranny on San Jacinto's bloody field. The time is opportune and the day appropriate for beginning over again the fight for Texas. Indeed, no man should seek the high office of Governor of this State without acquainting the people with his position on all governmental questions with which he may have to deal. This he should do in an open and candid way. He should stand face to face with the people. He should make known his plans and policies. This I shall attempt to do. If I am right, if the stand I take meets with the approval of my countrymen, then I have just ground for expecting that my cause will be made their cause. If I am wrong, or if I am actuated by unworthy motives, then I deserve defeat. Upon the soundness of my position as to the needs of my native State I am willing to stand or fall. The good of Texas and the welfare of the people should be the supreme aim of every voter.

Those who would debase popular government in this country and make it the instrument of avarice and greed, who would make our constitution the toy and the plaything of monopoly, our laws the hiding places of trusts and the shield of grafters, and those who would make Texas into a "breeding ground for more millionaires and more paupers" will, with money and with all the arts of machine effrontery and corporate cunning, oppose my candidacy. They will seek and are now seeking to obscure important issues. They will, if they can, divert public attention from every proposition to checkmate their schemes of rapacity and plunder. If they succeed in their efforts to deceive the people and conceal the truth they can elect men of their choice, dominate legislation, control Texas, defy our laws and continue to exploit our people.

Citizenship's Rights and Duties.
The people have the right to elect their public servants without dictation from either the corporations or the political manipulators. It is the duty of the citizen to exercise this right in the interest of good government, and with an intelligent regard for his own interest and for the welfare of all the people.
Every right enjoyed carries with it a corresponding obligation. We should not only perform those duties in the observance of which happy homes are made and maintained, we should not only educate our children and provide for those dependent upon us, but we should study our duty to our government and to our fellow-man. Every good citizen should take an interest in politics. We should perform our political duty that good government may be secured and perpetuated. When the people fail to support good measures and sound governmental policies and when they refuse to uphold men who will enforce them, when they fail to vote their honest convictions, when they neglect to have their will registered at the ballot box, then they cease to rule and popular government is a failure. With us the people constitute the true source of all political power and our theory of government contemplates that every law and every governmental policy should be founded on their authority, formulated in their interest and enforced for their benefit.

If we have good government, if by

just laws prosperity and public happiness is promoted, the voters deserve the credit; if, on the other hand, we have had government, if the law is ignored and crime holds high carnival, if avarice and greed should ride "booted and spurred" over our cherished institutions and freedom perishes from the earth forever, then the blame rests upon those who fail to sound the alarm, as well as upon the voters who fail to exercise their power in the lessons of patriotism. When our forefathers struck from this country the shackles of British tyranny, when they broke the bonds that bound them, freedom, industrial as well as political freedom, was their hope and inspiration. Popular government was their ideal. In the fear of God and to preserve their inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they fought the good fight and laid the foundation for the greatest and freest government that has ever appeared in the combined plans of genius and patriotic statesmanship.

In a few years thereafter, measured by the life of states and nations, Texas, inspired by the same motives, determined to be free, and by valor and privations theretofore unsurpassed in the history of warfare, Texas was freed from Mexican despotism and in due time took her proud place in the sisterhood of states.
Those old heroes, those who fought our first great battles, civil and military, gave to us Imperial Texas, free and independent, with a government of the people, for the people and by the people. Let Texans remember that we are charged with the duty of preserving and transmitting this sacred heritage to our children.

The greatness and the possibilities of our State under just laws and good government stagger the most vivid imagination. In area, in climate, in live stock, in mineral resources, in lumber, in fertility of soil, in quantity, quality and variety of products, Texas stands without a rival. We can if we will be the most independent people on the face of the earth, independent in education, agriculture, commerce, manufacture, finance and transportation. If we do not prosper and if in the exercise of our sovereign will we do not assert our power and provide and maintain good government, with proper safeguards, then the fault is ours.

Time For Action Now at Hand.
That the time for action is at hand no student of history will deny. In substance I have said before, and I now repeat, that there is cause for complaint and apprehension in Texas and throughout the country. No thoughtful, patriotic citizen will deny this statement. More than one-half the wealth of our country is owned by a fraction of our people too small for accurate estimate, sometimes stated at less than one per cent. Great fortunes are growing greater, and the poor are growing in numbers. Monopolies and trusts are flourishing everywhere. The railroad trust, the beef trust, the lumber trust, the oil trust, the steel trust, and hundreds of other trusts are preying upon the people of Texas and of the Union, and are thriving under the protection of political trusts with which our country is cursed today. They rob the people and defy our laws. The Railroad free pass is King; overcapitalized and insolvent corporations are bleeding the people. Incompetency and corruption stalk in high places and illegal combinations, organized for plunder, impoverish the people and degrade the State. Corrupt lobbyists infest the Capitols of the States and at Washington. Corporate power is the recipient of governmental advantages not accorded the citizen. With money and favors selfish interests are dominating elections and conventions, shaping legislation, escaping taxation and either under the forms of law or in violation of law they rob labor of its reward, and impoverish the producer and consumer. These conditions appeal to an intelligent and liberty loving people and admonish them "that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Graft.
The corroding influence of graft is eating its way into the affairs of the people. Graft in business, graft in politics, graft in everything, shocks honest men the world over. Hardly a day passes that we are not regaled by the newspapers with an exposure of either the petty grafter or the grand grafter. The grafter is a thief. The hoodler is a thief. These poltinnames were doubtless invented for well appearing gentry who had been trusted and who were caught robbing and stealing. Machine politics is a forerunner of graft. Machine and corporate rule breeds hoodlers and grafters. Honest government will take the grafter and the hoodler from high places and send them to jail along with the petty thief. Until recently we have not heard of graft in official life in Texas. The charge that there is graft going on in Texas is now being freely made and having been made I promise if elected Governor to use all the power and influence of that office to secure an effective investigation. It is but just both to the people and those in authority that such investigation be had. If the charges are found to be true the guilty should not only be driven from office, but should be pun-

ished like all other criminals. If not true, then we would rejoice in the fact that Texas is clean. Texas should be kept clean. If the people control their government, elect their officers and see to it that they perform their duties faithfully, then Texas can always be kept clean. The honest officer is never a grafter, of course. The efficient officer is never a grafter. Therefore efficiency and honesty should be sought and maintained in the public service as the first requisite.

While here, as everywhere, organized corporate power is seeking to fasten its iron hold upon the people's government, while the trusts are forging their merciless shackles upon the industry and energies of the patriotic people of this commonwealth and stifling individual effort, while their unscrupulous and unscrupulous ally, machine politics, is plotting and planning for a government of the corporations, for the corporations and by the corporations, still there are indications that the sleeping giant, the people's power, is again afoot. The whole people of Texas are again manifesting a disposition to take an active and firm hand in public affairs that present evil tendencies may be checked.

My fellow-citizens, in the face of these conditions we are told by that part of the press dominated by the corporations and by those in league with the special privilege class and corporate law-breakers, that there are no issues of commanding importance in this campaign. Indeed many well meaning people have listened to that siren song until they believe and are saying that there are no questions of moment now calling for settlement in this country. If you point out the evils lurking in the way of good government and suggest a remedy you are stigmatized as the patron of an ancient prejudice and as a demagogue.

Democratic Duty and Platform Demands.

Democrats have the right and it is their duty to express their views upon all the questions involving good government, and they can discuss their differences without peril to their standing in their party, and this should be freely and fearlessly done to the end that the integrity of our great party be maintained and that our government, whose foundations are embedded in its unyielding principles of liberty and law, may live to bless freemen forever. The will of Democrats should be written in the platform and those who fail to stand by that announcement of principles should never again hold any public position in an office of trust. If once elected to office and his best intelligence and energies are not put forth in an effort to execute the will of Democrats as thus expressed, he should be exposed and driven from power. When we assault a traitor to our principles we are not warring against our country but seeking to protect it. When we denounce a traitor to our party we are not warring against the party but seeking to save it from those who would betray it into the hands of its enemies. If mistakes are made within the party then Democrats can in safety point out the mistakes of Democrats in office and honest men will mend their ways. There is little hope, however, for the man who breaks faith with the people by willfully violating his pledges or for the man who ignores the explicit instructions of the people. If Democrats seeking Democratic nomination will not agree in advance to carry out your platform demands to the best of their ability, defeat them.

There are many issues demanding attention. There are many serious problems with which we should deal now and we should not be entrapped into a discussion of false issues, or into questioning having no legitimate place in the domain of party politics. And this reminds me of the effort of the "field marshals" of the corporations and the trusts to use prohibition and local option as a decoy in this campaign.

Prohibition.

On all reputable occasions I have stated that I look upon prohibition as a moral question rather than political, and as having no appropriate place in a contest for political preferment, and I still hold to that view. Even if political and suitable to political discussion, I know of no one urging State prohibition at this time and therefore can see no chance for any such issue and no excuse for its agitation. I am opposed to hugging the prohibition question into this campaign and I am opposed to committing the people of Texas unilaterally for or against State prohibition, or any other policy that they may see proper to consider hereafter in dealing with the liquor question.

Local option is an established policy of our State. I anticipate no effort and would not endorse any proposition to impair the efficiency of the local option laws. No such proposition has been made nor will be seriously made, hence local option is not an issue. I believe that when any county or sub-division thereof adopts local option the law should be enforced. If the laws are not strong enough to give full force and expression to the will of the people as indicated by their ballots, then it is their right to have the laws strengthened.

All men who endorse and are willing to uphold the right of local self government are agreed upon this point, and therefore I see no opportunity for any legitimate issue involving that undisputed right of the people. Now, that no one may suggest that I am seeking to dodge responsibility for my own individual action upon this question in the past, I will say that I voted for the proposed constitutional amendment in 1887, and have always voted for local option in my home county. This question has no appropriate place in this campaign. It is not an issue and the Democrats of Texas should not permit selfish interests to wedge it into this campaign. The scheme should deceive no one. They have been un-

dering in their efforts to enkindle into flame the passions of the people over prohibition for the sole purpose of securing appropriate and all important issues. I will not be drawn from my purpose to discuss questions now pressing for attention.

Issues and Policies.

I believe in a public policy and in a system of laws that will apply facilitate business progress and promote a wholesome development of our resources. Our agricultural and commercial interests, our mineral and manufacturing possibilities, our live stock interests and other varied industrial enterprises should be given ample opportunities for legitimate progress and prosperity. Nepotism should be effectually prohibited by law. The freedom of the press should be maintained that the truth may always be published without risk.

The unfortunate insane now suffering in county jails should be provided for by additions to the asylums, and provision should be made in advance so that this inhuman spectacle will never again be witnessed in Texas.
The people want a blanket primary election law; it is right and they should have it. In the freedom and purity of the ballot lies the hope of good government and every safeguard that gives greater security to the elective franchise and limits the opportunities of the political manipulator should meet with universal support. The "machine" must surrender to the people. They mean business in Texas and if I mistake not they will enforce reforms that will redound to the good of Texas and furnish an example to the entire country. The ballot of a patriot though falling as gently as the snowflake from the heavens carries consternation into the ranks of the enemies of honest government and its force and integrity should be guarded and protected.

The Texas National Guard, the State's "Militia," should be suitably maintained and provision therefor should be made in all respects in keeping with public interest and the dignity of the State.

Uphold the Constitution.

Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are the inalienable rights of man for the preservation and protection of which constitutional government was wrung from tyranny and established in Texas.

Our constitution is the foundation upon which our governmental structure stands, and in the faithful observance of its terms rests the liberty of the citizen and the blessings of popular government. Trample upon its mandates and free government will soon become a reminiscence. So that its terms may remain inviolate every man who takes office in Texas swears that he will support the constitution. If I am honored by election to the office of Governor the constitution shall be observed and obeyed. If you want a Governor who will shut his eyes to violation of the constitution either by public officers or organized plunderers, then don't vote for me. No legislative scheme of doubtful propriety or about which hangs even a doubt of its constitutionality will ever be fastened upon the people either by my approval or by my silence.

Enforce the Laws.

Obedience to the constitution and laws is the first element of good citizenship. A rigid enforcement of all the laws is essential to the social well-being and demanded as the only safeguard of life, liberty and prosperity. All laws can be enforced and should be enforced fearlessly, impartially and without respect to persons. The high and the low, the trust magnate and the crap shooter should all come under the law and answer for their crimes. All officers charged with the enforcement of the law should be selected with a view to their especial fitness for such positions and then they should be held to strict accountability for the manner in which their duties are performed. To say that the laws cannot be enforced is to admit that we are not capable of self government. If a law is wholesome enforce it in the interest of society. If a law is unwholesome and oppressive then repeal it and it will be as if it should be, the more speedily repealed. That our law-abiding citizenship is growing impatient and restless at the law's delays and the uncertainty of punishment for crime cannot be denied. That there is just ground for such discontent must be conceded. There is too much machinery in our criminal trials, too much literature and too many refinements in the court's charge to the jury, and too many loopholes through which criminals may escape. Too many corners around which they may dodge and defeat the law. Especially is this true of trials of murder cases. To illustrate, a life has been taken, the slayer is indicted by the grand jury, his case is called for trial, every good citizen who is exempt from jury service under the multitude of exemptions, claims his exemption and those having excuses which address themselves to the court's discretion are all unjustly excused, and then a jury is "pannelled in the usual way to try the case. The witnesses are called and in what are known as bad cases witnesses whose testimony could be heard in twenty minutes are sometimes kept upon the witness stand for days, the trial drags along, resolving itself into a game of points. Finally the testimony is closed, the argument to the court and the jury is concluded, the judge reads his charge, and here the most intelligent citizen is often made to wonder how any man is ever convicted and punished for crime, how it is possible for any juror not schooled in the technicalities of our Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure to ever measure the guilt or innocence of the accused by the complex rules and the spun distinctions now required to be given the jury as the law of the case. It is no wonder that so many

juries either disagree or return verdicts of not guilty. They can't overcome these obstacles in the way of justice. It is no wonder that so many cases are reversed by the higher court and that human life is regarded as too cheap in Texas. The trial courts are not always at fault, the jurors are not always to blame, the main fault is in the system. Men charged with crime should have the full benefit of a fair and impartial trial. They should be tested by the simplest rules of common sense and justice. They should be tried upon the law and the facts, and not by tangled and technical rules which are not always understood and correctly applied even by the lawyers and judges themselves.

Now then, I would suggest the following remedies:
1st. Enact a law further limiting jury exemptions and defining and limiting the causes for which the trial judge may, in the exercise of his discretion, grant excuses to men drawn for jury service.

2nd. Prescribe by statute a common sense form of charge for the jury, in every criminal case of the grade of felony. Let such charge embrace only the nature of the accusation and a copy of the Statutes applicable to the offense charged and to the facts of the case. Such form for instructions to juries in criminal cases would expedite trials, furnish ample protection to the innocent, discourage the practice of appealing everything, and prevent probably more than half the reversals and new trials, all of which is helping to defeat justice and entailing a tremendous expense upon the counties and the State.

Trial of Civil Actions.

As in criminal cases probably more than half the civil suits tried and appealed are reversed and remanded on account of errors in the court's charge to the jury. This is unjust to those who are forced to invoke the aid of the courts of justice to redress wrongs and to secure their rights. Those who seek this remedy for wrongs suffered and injuries sustained should not be thus delayed or loaded with intolerable burdens in the way of costs. It also results in unnecessary burdens upon the tax payers. The expense incurred by the counties for juries in second trials, and in some cases are tried more than twice, is something enormous, and looking to a remedy I would urge, and if elected Governor I will recommend to the legislature the enactment of a law requiring trial judges to prepare their instructions to the higher courts of many appeal cases with which the dockets of those courts are now unnecessarily burdened. Delays and heavy costs to litigants, to the counties and to the State would be saved.

Expenditures and Business Methods.
All expenditures of the people's money should be restricted to the absolute necessities of the government, honestly, efficiently and economically administered. This should not be taken as an idle marshaling of words but as the affirmation of a sound governmental principle to be faithfully kept and enforced by those who are entrusted with power and charged with the duties of public office. Those seeking public office should give this pledge and keep the faith.
A wise and capable administration of public affairs, the efficient management and care of our eleemosynary and other State institutions, demand not only wholesome policies but the faithful application of sound business principles. Efficiency, honesty and fitness for the position should be of controlling importance in making appointments to places in the public service. Business methods and less political intrigue furnish the true safeguard against excessive taxation, the only effective check against extravagance, waste, graft and corruption, and furnish the only escape from embarrassing deficiencies and bankruptcy. Give the people's government a chance to do business in a business way.

Department of Agriculture and Horticulture.

I favor the creation and maintenance by the State of a distinct Agricultural and Horticultural Department, to be devoted exclusively to those growing interests. Such a department wisely and efficiently administered is essential to the intelligent promotion and progressive development of these, the most important factors in our State's growth and prosperity. This can be accomplished without additional expense to the people by abolishing such useless expenses in other directions as would be dictated by Democratic policies and same business methods.

Employment of State Convicts.

Those who are convicted of crime and condemned to serve at hard labor or their offense should be required to work, of course, and they should be made self-sustaining. They should receive suitable care and humane treatment. Enlightened civilization and every consideration of humanity demands this much.
The object of the law in punishing law-breakers by confinement at hard labor is two fold, first, to suppress crime, and second, to reform the offender. They should not be used to enrich individuals or corporations. The present system of leasing and otherwise employing convicts in competition with the farmers and wage

earners of Texas should be abolished. I believe that they can be profitably employed upon the public roads and I favor legislation to that end. The need of better public roads is becoming more important and it is idle to say that our statesmanship is unequal to the task of providing an effective system of working public roads with convict labor. Good roads enhance the value of farms, make life in the country more attractive and increase the trade of the towns and cities. Those confined within the walls should be employed in the manufacture of goods in competition with the trusts. They should never be used to drive free labor from the mines, the factories, and farms of Texas. It should be the policy of our State to take them out of competition with the free and honest toiler who loves the law and obeys it.

Public Health.

The health of the people and the physical well-being is a question of tremendous import. Measures of protection against disease, and all just measures having for its object the promotion of the science of medicine and surgery and the protection of the public against incompetency, should receive suitable legislation and executive sanction. Provision should also be made for relieving our border counties from the heavy expense incident to maintaining and enforcing quarantine at State lines. The people of these counties should not have laid upon them so much of this burden. All the people are benefitted and a just policy would more properly distribute the expense. A case of yellow fever in Newton County, in Grayson County, in Webb, El Paso, Bowie or any other border county, is just as important to all Texas as a case of yellow fever in Travis County. A danger threatening the entire State should be the concern of all the people.

Farmers' Union.

Co-operation in legitimate pursuits is praiseworthy and should receive commendation. As I understand the Farmers' Union, it is founded in the broadest principles of patriotism and fraternity. It has for its objects co-operation and educational principles looking to the protection of the farmer, the promotion of agricultural interests and the welfare of all the people. Indeed the farmers constitute the great reserve force in every emergency. They supported the strong right arm of the Inositol Hogs when he wrote the Railroad Commission law and the Stock and Bond law. The Grange and the Alliance did much good. The Farmers' Union has, by battling with the organized speculators and other "profit takers" saved millions of dollars to the toilers on the farm, and is destined to save many more. They materially aided in securing the passage of the tax reform measure enacted by the last legislature, known as the Love, Williams and Kennedy bills, and if the Union should fail in everything else its membership deserves the gratitude of the people of Texas for the part it took in establishing that principle of taxation in this State. I do not understand that the Farmers' Union is a political organization. It has no political platform, nominates no candidates for office, but the members are free to act on all public questions. They owe a duty to their government which it is believed they will always perform as they see it, notwithstanding the solicitude of certain political and corporation self-appointed advisers who seem alarmed lest they get into politics. The Farmers' Union has a worthy mission to perform, and every good man and woman should bid them God speed. The farmer demands a fair deal and good government, and he is right.

Capital and the Unions.

The respective obligations of the employer and employe should curtail no right incident to the broadest independence and freedom. There should be no conflict between capital and labor. These two important factors in the world's economy should move in harmony, each representing the rights of the other and both having due regard for the general welfare.

In promoting legitimate business enterprises capital may advance and when within the law that right cannot be denied. When workmen lawfully organize for the sake of labor's dignity and to promote the interest of those who toil, such organization is fair in its inception and purpose. It is loosely charged sometimes that labor organizations, the Farmers' Union and other agricultural associations are trusts. In no sense can this be true. A trust in its very nature is unlawful. Its purposes are contrary to law, contrary to the general good and antagonistic to the principles of free government. Its original and inherent intent is to destroy competition, to establish monopoly and to extinguish individual ambition and effort. Without such purpose the trust would not be created as there would be no reason for its existence. It is per se unlawful and contrary to public policy. Not so with Labor and Farmers' Unions, and other agricultural associations. Their purposes are for the moral and intellectual development and the material prosperity of its members and all mankind. Self preservation and the general uplifting of mankind are inherent in these organizations.

It is true that there may have been isolated cases where members of Labor Unions and even local divisions of such organizations have departed from the law and the principles of the institution itself, and have transgressed the law of the land, still such cases arise not from any vice in the principles of the organization, but from those imperfections which nature attaches to every human concern, and it no more proves the impolicy or unlawfulness of such organizations than the commission of sin by a professor of religion and a member of the church would show that the teachings of Holy Writ are false.