THE LAND

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

PRICE TEN CENTS

Rebel Print.
THE LAND

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

Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades All:

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

THE BIBLE, BLACKSTONE AND LAND.

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

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

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

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

"Do not, I beseech you, believe that in my enthusiasm for the renters' cause I allow my imagination to run riot and in the exuberance of rhetoric made a statement that I cannot substantiate. When I say
that God gave the only title to land in giving it into the possession of all. I am backed by Sir William Blackstone, the greatest authority on law that has ever lived who has taken exactly this position. If you will get Sharswood's Blackstone's Commentaries and turn to page 323, Vol. 1, you will read what the great lawgiver says that substantiates my position. Hear him:

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

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

IT. "SHALL NOT BE SOLD FOREVER.'

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

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

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

"As I meditate upon this verse from Leviticus the picture comes over my mind of the great land owners of Texas, who while living in direct violation of the law of God, sit in the amen corner and for a pretense make long prayers.' When we see Col. Slaughter, the great Baptist deacon, with his 600,000 acres of land secured by devious meth-
ods, and find him associated with thousands of other hypocrites that have stolen the domain of Texas from the people. I feel like crying out as did Christ in Matt. 23:25: 'Woe unto ye scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.' (Applause.)

**NO COMFORT FOR APOLOGISTS.**

As we march on through the stately pages of the Good Book we find absolutely no comfort for the upholders of the present system of land tenure. To the grand prophet Isaiah we turn and in Ch. 65:21, verses we read, a burning condemnation of landlordism as it is practiced now with its dividing-up system of the third and fourth of the crop, bonus systems and cash rent. Listen to Isaiah:

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

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

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

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

**NEW TESTAMENT MORE RADICAL THAN SOCIALISTS.**

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

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things that he possessed was his own. But they had all these in common. Neither was there any among them that lacked, for as many of them as were possessors of land or houses sold them, and brought
the price of the things that were sold, and laid them at the Apostle's feet; and DISTRIBUTION was made unto EVERY MAN ACCORDING AS HE HAD NEED." (Acts 4:32-35.)

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

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

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

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

Listen to Gregory:

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

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

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

PREACHERS HAVE LAIN DOWN ON JOB.

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

"If we turn to Ecclesiastes we are told: 'Moreover the profit of
the earth is for all. If we turn to Leviticus 14:34 we read: "When ye came into the land of Canaan which I gave you for a possession." We find the children of Israel speak of the land as: "the possession of our national inheritance." Turn to Deuteronomy 16:20 and read: "that thou mayest live to inherit the land." Again we read: "His seed shall inherit the earth." Turn we now to the Psalms and after reading the glorious twenty-third Psalm, the solemn grandeur of which has moved countless millions, pass on to Psalm 37:9 and hear: "The meek shall inherit the earth." Turn to Leviticus 25:23 and read: "The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine: for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."

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

PHILOSOPHY AND LAND.

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

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

"In another portion of the same chapter he says:

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

THRICE ARMED ARE WE.

"Now, my fellow workers see how we, the protagonists of the Renters Union and the Socialist party, find ourselves armed as we step into the arena to fight the greatest battle of the twentieth century. The battle for the restoration of the land, the gift of God to His children. We are backed by the Prophets, the Apostles, yea, even by the gentle Christ himself. We are backed by Wm. Blackstone, the greatest interpreter of civil law the world has ever known. We are backed by the illustrious Spencer, whom scholars look up to as the greatest
philosopher of modern times. We are backed by the immortal Marx, the greatest political economist of the centuries; the man who is said to possess the first universal mind since Plato. We are backed by Chancellor Kent, whom all lawyers in America look up to as the greatest authority on law who ever lived in our country. Kent declares in his Commentaries that use and occupancy is the only legal title to land. With the voices of the Prophets ringing in our ears why should we falter in the fray? With the words of Christ to encourage us why close our ears to the cries of the miserable and slumber when the trumpet calls us to the battle line? With the scientists, lawgivers, and philosophers of the ages encouraging us why, what fools we would be, what contemptible cowards we would show ourselves to be, if we failed to go forth and say: 'By the God of our fathers the Book is right, the land is mine and shall NOT be sold forever saith the Lord for ye are strangers and sojourners with me. (Tumultuous applause.)

CONDITIONS IN THE LONE STAR STATE.

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

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

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

As a result of these wholesale gifts to sharpers the public domain dwindled and enormous land holdings became the order of the day. Thus we find Mrs. King, who resides in Corpus Christi, owning 1,400,000 acres in Nueces county; it is just 50 miles from her front porch to her back gate: Mr. Waggoner of Ft. Worth owns 800,000 acres in the
Panhandle. Col. Slaughter has title deeds to 600,000 acres. Mr. Taft has 356 sections. Mr. Higginbottom, of Dublin, has 125 rent houses in one pasture in Nolan county. Mr. Swenson has eleven hundred sections in west Texas.

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

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

THE MENACE OF LANDLORDISM.

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

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

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

LANDLORDISM AND MORALITY.

Let us look at this land situation from another angle, while keep...
ing in mind the fact that from 1900 to 1910 there has been an increase in white tenants from 174,991 to 219,106.

During these years when tenantry has been increasing we find that the little fellow who farms on a small scale is actually decreasing in numbers. Those who farm from 20 to 49 acres during the decade of 1900 to 1910 dropped from 99,137 to 98,363. This is in spite of the great increase in population. Thus we see small farm owners decreasing and white tenantry increasing. We also find from the census that negro and non-white tenant farmers have increased 4,276 or from 66,536 in 1900 to 69,812 in 1910. And thus as plain as the noonday sun we learn from the official census record that all kinds of tenants, white, black and brown are steadily increasing while the small home owners are beginning to diminish in numbers.

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

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

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

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

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

LANDLORDISM DESTROYS EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

CHILD LABOR AND LANDLORDISM.

"Turn now to the second point I have just raised, that of child labor. I suppose nine-tenths of you renters who listen to me this afternoon have heard the question asked by the landlord when you were looking for a place; 'How much force have you got?"
You know that if you stood before him with only your clear-eyed bride by your side your chances for the place were slim. But if beside you stood a bowed woman, young in years but old with toil, at whose skirts straggled a number of wide-eyed children, then you stood a first class chance of securing a place for the year because the babies would labor with hoe and cotton sack out in the fields, out under the burning sun, where their infantile ears hear never the music of the school-bell. It is this child labor, my friends, that causes illiteracy and the man in front of me today who will for one moment think of not protesting against this outrageous crime against childhood has a yellow streak up his spine as big as a barber’s pole; is alein in his heart and is not good enough to associate with a mulatto negro. (Prolonged cheers.)

RENTERS UNION THE FIRST STEP.

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

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

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

In the constitution we have provided that men who are not renters can join our ranks. I do not mean that we made the mistake the Farmers Alliance and Farmers Union made in permitting bankers, merchants, etc., in our ranks. All such are barred as well and as
thoroughly as the landlord. The man that exploits his fellow man by renting out as much as one acre of land cannot pass the portals of the Union. However the Renters Union in a broad statesmanlike manner has provided that one who owns his land and uses and occupies it, without exploiting his fellow man, is eligible to membership in the Union.

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

WHAT THE RENTERS UNION CAN DO.

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

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

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

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

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

With the Republican party (since it is not required to hold primaries) the most practical method will be to have a Renters Union delegation appear before the state convention and ask it to pass a resolution against landlordism—which it will be sure not to do. However, it will just now be the most expedient to put the leading party of the South—the Democratic party—on record, and thereby immediately put the land question to the front. Here is the plan as to that party:

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

"The convention was held. It was a magnificent success. 112 delegates responding from 28 counties.
WHAT ABOUT THE COURTS?

"I fancy I hear the question rising to your lips: 'What will the courts do? They will do nothing, my friends, if you show the proper energy and spirit and determination in the fight. Judge Harris, of Austin, the greatest constitutional lawyer in the state and author of 'Harris' Annotated Constitution, in an article written for the Rebel's Land Edition published last New Year's Day, very wisely observes: "'That the courts are always willing to strain a point to the end that their decisions will be in line with popular opinion.'"

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

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

THE GREATEST BATTLE OF THE WORLD.

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

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

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

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

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

2. THE RENTERS' UNION.

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

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

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

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

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

AGRICULTURAL EVOLUTION PLAIN HERE.

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

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

I have ridden in buggies over dozens of Texas counties when on a schoolhouse campaign and have had pointed out to me by my drivers, the great cattle trails over which the cowboys drove their mighty herds to Kansas. The cowboy now is as extinct as the dodo so far as
the open country is concerned and a large number of the survivors are washing dishes in Chinese restaurants in Fort Worth.

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

**RENTERS UNKNOWN IN 1860.**

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

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

**ENORMOUS LANDHOLDINGS.**

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

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

"It was even so in Texas. The cattle companies when stealing the public domain employed gun-men more vicious than the western mining corporations ever dreamed of, and indeed some of the thugs were borrowed by the Mine Owners Association, notably Bob Mel-drum, of whom Haywood could tell a wonderful tale. These gun-men were used to scare away the "Nesters" as the bona fide settlers were called who went out into the wilderness to carve out a home for their wives and babies. Hundreds of them refused to leave and were shot like dogs, when the sun went down!

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

TENANTRY INEVITABLE.

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

INCREASING RENTALS.

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

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

WHY THEY WON'T COME DOWN.

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

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

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

On the poorer lands, where production is not half what it is in the rich black land, a corresponding condition obtains, but the land being cheaper in price causes the landlord to ask a smaller bonus
than in the black land belt. In either case the renter finds himself in the same position as the city wage earner. That is, he just receives enough to keep body and soul together and enable him to prepare for the next day's toil.

LAND SPECULATORS IN CLOVER.

The second reason for the inevitable growth of the Renters' Union is found in the fact that owing to the antiquated constitution under which the State of Texas is being ruled and that was drafted originally in the interest of the landlords, it is impossible to place an adaptive purposes. The constitution provides that land shall not be taxed more than 3½c on the $100, and the actual tax is considerably less than half of that sum.

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

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

TENANTS INCREASING.

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

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

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

I will pass over the great broad fact that all the proletariat of all the Nation has all the world to gain by the establishment of the Socialist Republic. My readers will note that I am writing about an
industrial union and not about the general philosophy of Socialism. Let us mass the facts that I have set forth.

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

RENTERS UNION ORGANIZED.

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

The slogan of the convention was LANDLORDISM MUST GO.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fifth, they declared that when the organization was well under way that a committee from the Union should be sent to the political conventions of every party in Texas with a request to place in their platforms a plank demanding an amendment to the constitution that
would enable them to tax the land held for speculative purposes and that would make use and occupancy the title to land. They further pledged themselves to use all honorable methods to destroy the political party, be it Republican, Democrat, Prohibition or Socialist that would not accede to their demands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**HEADQUARTERS ESTABLISHED.**

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

One significant thing may be noticed in connection with this Renters Union: It has been of great value to us in building up the Socialist Party. It has broken down a wall of prejudice that stood between the renters and the Socialist Party. The Democratic Party renters have had the big fact rubbed under their nose that it was the Socialists of Texas that were the most active spirits in coming to their assistance when the difficult work of organization was projected. They are commencing to understand the necessity of using both the
political and economic arm. Their old time leaders are being put to the test and found wanting. Their union is drawing the class line taut. Before the launching of the Renters Union the landlord and tenant would walk arm in arm to the same primary, but now they separate at the union door and the renter is beginning to vote for the interest of himself and his class.

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

The National Platform Analyzed.

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

ABLE-BODIED LIARS.

My Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen: Great and glorious is our beloved Lone Star State. With its 261 thousand square miles of land, it stands out as the largest in the Union, first in agricultural production, the State where king cotton proudly carries aloft his great white banner. The state where we have the strongest and cleanest men, the sweetest and purest women and incidentally the largest collection of able-bodied liars in the civilized world. (Loud laughter and applause.)

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

FRAMED BY REAL DEMOCRATS.

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

Before entering into an analysis of this platform I desire to point out to you one great fact in connection with it and that is that this platform was framed by men and women who are democrats to the
core and accomplished their work in a thoroughly democratic way. For be it known, I am a democrat from the soles of my feet to the hairs of my head. I am a democrat in all that the term implies. However I would say that I am not one of those Baileyesque democrats of that type that can be determined by lighting a match in their vicinity and then be compelled to call up the fire department because of the presence of kerosene. I am a democrat who realizes that the fathers of our country found that the remedy for political autocracy was political democracy and so do I, as one of the sons believe that the remedy for industrial autocracy is industrial democracy. Thus I am an industrial democrat, a social democrat, a Socialist. (Applause.)

A COMPARISON OF METHODS.

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

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

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

A GREAT DEMAND.

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

"As a measure calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim the Co-operative Commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist
oppression we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SECOND DEMAND.

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

The portion of this plank that deals with grain elevators will appeal to you tillers of the soil who have been caught coming and going, buying and selling, by the Elevator trust, while in the great cities the storage warehouses owned by the great monopolists have been the cause of innumerable sufferings among the masses in these congested centers. For instance, last winter in New York City millions of eggs and multiplied pounds of butter were stored in cold storage plants
controlled by the food trust with the result that they pushed the price up to 65¢ a pound for butter and 50¢ a dozen for eggs. To prevent this wholesale robbery we make this demand.

SOCIALISM AND DROUTH.

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

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

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

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

A FARMER'S PLANK.

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

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

(a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.
(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.
(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.
(d) By the stoppanage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of the mines and oil wells.
(e) By the development of highways and waterway systems.
THE NEXT PLANK IN OUR PLATFORM IS UNQUESTIONABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL. THE PLANK THAT RELATES TO THE SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TOWARD LAND.

“THE COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF LAND WHEREVER PRACTICABLE AND IN CASE WHERE SUCH OWNERSHIP IS IMPRACTICABLE, THE APPROPRIATION BY TAXATION OF THE ANNUAL RENTAL VALUE OF ALL LAND HELD FOR SPECULATION.”

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

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

BANKING AND LAND GRAFT.

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

“THE COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF THE BANKING AND CURRENCY SYSTEM.”

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

The free land that would come to the poverty-stricken tenant through the great tax mentioned in the previous plank in the platform...
plus his ability to secure money at a nominal rate as provided for in
this currency plank would thoroughly destroy the landlord and the in-
terest shark. Then and not until then can he who tills the soil and
earns his daily bread by the sweat of his face live in security under his
own vine and fig tree. (Long continued applause.)

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

CAPITALISM'S GREATEST CRIME.

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

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

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

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

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

We say extend all useful public works. What is a public work? The
Panama canal is a public work. The erection of federal buildings
are public works. The erection of the Roosevelt dam in Arizona is a
public work and so we could carry out the above plank by loaning
money to the states and municipalities without interest and dam up
every stream in America that could be practically turned upon our
drought-stricken farms or upon factory turbines. We could macada-
mize hundreds of thousands of miles of public roads and make them as
easy to travel as the famous roads that led to ancient Rome. We could
drain every acre of swamp land in the United States and turn these
disease-breeding places into arable land that might feed a nation. We
could build temples of art that the ancient Greeks might envy. We could make the desert blossom like a rose and turn this nation of ours into a land that would literally flow with milk and honey. All this and more we could do by the carrying into effect the plank on unem-
ployment in the Socialist party’s platform. (Prolonged cheers.)

HOW TO CONSERVE HUMANITY.

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

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

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

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

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

By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age we safeguard the intellectual and physical well-being of the coming generation.
We put strength into our first demands by forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

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

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

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

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The enactment of further measures for general education and for vocational education is in line with successful Socialist policy in other
nations as is the demand for the further enactment of measures for the conservation of health.

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

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

THE ULTIMATE GOAL.

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

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

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

IN CONCLUSION.

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

As you scan its lines and understand our aims you will know why the Socialist so intensely pushes his campaign of education. He knows
that the adoption of this platform in its entirety would **solve the bread and butter problem** for all time and feed the multitude with the good things of this life even as the Christ fed the multitude with the loaves and fishes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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