QUESTIONS ANSWERED

No. 1 By Fred Hurst


A REPLY TO A MOST CONSISTENT AND PERSISTENT OPPONENT OF SOCIALISM

THE PROVIDENCE VISITOR (CATHOLIC)

25 Pointed, Pertinent and Pungent Questions are given a direct answer, Lucid, Concise, Comprehensive and Consistent.

WITH KNOWLEDGE FULLY WORTH $15

PRICE 15 CENTS

WRITTEN, PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY FRED HURST

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"The truth will make you free"
But to know the truth you must not merely read, you must study, reread and study, and then "To thine own self be true; and it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to anyone."
Questions and Answers

BEFORE proceeding to answer the 25 questions presented by the Providence Visitor, let me suggest that they are an acknowledgment of the superior science, logic and efficiency of Socialism and Socialists contrasted to capitalism and those who defend it. For it is deemed quite reasonable to expect Socialists to demonstrate the efficiency of Socialism to bring about opulence for all without any possible deviation from exact justice to any. We appreciate their tribute to our capabilities, for well we know and well do they know how ridiculous it would be to ask a Republican, a Democrat or any other defender of capitalism to answer similar questions, inserting "The Capitalist System" in place of "The Co-operative Commonwealth," for well you know and well do they know that capitalism does not and cannot permit equity. 10,000,000 professional man killers in the armies of our Christian (?) nations, and more "young men wanted" for the army and navy is the urgent and continuous appeal of "Uncle Sam." Murder in all degrees from poisoning babies' milk to carnage with butcher knives, and Jesus said: "Thou shalt not kill." Overwork for many and no work for others, poverty and dread of poverty for the great majority, and crime in all its hideous forms increases. This is the fruit of capitalism. This is the fruit of the competitive wage and profit system. This is the fruit of every one for themselves and the devil take the hindmost. This is competition; "competition is war," and "war is hell." "Better to rule in hell than serve in heaven" impels
the selfish to retain the system and their present advantage; but they are incapable of answering questions of human interest. Socialists can answer.

A DEFINITION.

As a basis from which to proceed let us understand what is implied by a "Co-operative Commonwealth."

(A) A political and industrial democracy.

(B) The social ownership and democratic management of sufficient means of production to eliminate waste, secure work for all who desire, with most efficient appliances and under the most favorable conditions obtainable, with an income for each which approximates the social value of their labor product.

OBJECT.

The object of the Co-operative Commonwealth is the development and conservation of human life and human happiness.

To secure all against poverty or the fear of poverty,

"Emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles."

"An association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

FORWARD.

I shall present a consistent answer for every question. But remember that I cannot now foresee exactly conditions as they may exist when Socialists obtain control, hence I cannot with certainty foretell exactly what the people may do at that time. But of one thing be assured, that they will not do or attempt to do anything impossible or ridiculous. The constructive policy of Socialism will impel them to continue each existing factor until it can be supplanted by a better one. Consistency is a cardinal principle with Socialism, and my answers to the twenty-five questions will be consistently germane, brief and comprehensive.
THE QUESTION NO. 1.

"How will the Co-operative Commonwealth determine the income of each worker?"

THE QUESTION REVERSED.

First consider how does capitalism determine the income of each worker now? You cannot answer; you do not know. The question is silly when applied to the competitive wage and profit system. You do know that the income is not determined by the social value of their labor. If it was, the usual farmer would receive a larger income than the useless Harry K. Thaw, and workers who build beautiful homes could live in them, which now they cannot. Today workers compete with each other for a chance to work at any income. Those producing the largest profit for the masters may work some, but the less efficient may starve; they have no legal right to a job, so "Wealth accumulates and men decay."

The larger the masters' profits the smaller portion may the workers buy. That is why we have "overproduction," idle factories, business paralyzed, etc. When workers are paid $30 for producing $70 worth of value, the $40 worth which the workers do not receive is called "surplus value." Can anyone tell how to keep industry moving in the present anarchy of competition and profit with surplus values piling up in the market? You cannot determine how to provide employment for willing workers, and much less can you predetermine their income. It will be different under Socialism.

THE ANSWER.

Socialism prescribes opportunities for all to work, with income to each according to the social value of their labor. Therefore the income of each worker would be the approximate of the social value of their labor product, and could be determined:

(A) By piecework in many departments.
(B) By equitable allotment of work by many time workers.

(C) By mutual agreement among the workers themselves where the foregoing methods would not apply.

REMARKS.

Study the definition of Socialism and note that the management of industry is democratically done by the workers themselves, who elect their own foremen. Consider the joy of mutual security, blended with the Christian spirit of co-operative brotherhood.

All production will be for use, not profit; that will remove the cause of poisoning and adulterating food for the profit; that will settle the question of excessively high prices; that will dispense with the need of a foreign market and battleships.

Under Socialism all goods will be sold for the cost of production. Hence the total income of all the workers will equal the total selling price of all the products. This will do away with surplus values and "overproduction." That will enable the collective workers to own and enjoy the full social value of their labor, and as each product is sold for the labor cost of production, so too the income of each worker will enable them to own and enjoy the full social value of their labor product.

THE QUESTIONS.

No. 2. "Will each worker, skilled or unskilled, receive the same income?"

No. 3. "If all receive the same rate of compensation, will not such a system forever rob the superior workers of a part of their superior ability?"

No. 4. "And will not this conflict with the oft-repeated assertion of Socialists that the workers will receive the full product of their toil?"
APPLIED TO THE PRESENT.

The present competitive wage and profit system does "forever rob the superior worker of a part of their superior ability." It does not pretend to pay them the value of their labor product. They must earn the income paid to them, and in addition also earn a profit for the master, and mark well that if they fail to produce that profit for the master class they are discharged and not permitted to earn a living for themselves.

This fact is inherent in this profit system. It not only does not, but it never can, give "the full product of their toil" to the workers, either skilled or unskilled. It robs them all. Does the editor of the Providence Visitor wish to retain this system which robs all of the workers, because he fears that a few may not obtain exact equity under a better system?

In San Francisco, Cal., two street car systems exist. One is called the "United Railroads," controlling about nine-tenths of the street car trackage of the city. They are reputed to supply poor service and inferior cars. It is capitalized at over $800,000 a mile (double track) and takes out of the city over $4,000,000 a year in profits. They pay their men at the rate of $3 per day of 12 hours. The other system comprising about one-tenth of the city's trackage, is owned and operated by the municipality. It is equipped with the latest and best of everything, including cars built for human comfort, and although its enemies in office increased its cost many thousands of dollars by graft methods, its total cost was $139,000 per mile (double track). It supplies good service and makes a profit. It pays its men $3 per day (minimum) for eight hours, and forbids the men to work more than eight hours in one day. Which is best for the public? Poor service, poor cars, watered stock with $4,000,000 per year profit for the capitalists? Or good service, and good cars with a profit for the public treasury? Which is best for the workers, 25c per hour, 12 hours
per day to make dividends for capitalists? Or 37½¢ per hour, eight hours per day, for social service rendered? And would the editor of the Visitor support the private owned method because of a possibility that the income of each worker may not vary in the exact degree of their varying capabilities? Is capitalism so exact and just?

Under the competitive wage and profit system do public office holders, post office employes, etc., leave their jobs for the freedom and income suited to their capabilities in the competitive struggle? Yes, they do not; such jobs are too good to leave.

Socialism will be a great improvement over any present methods and conditions and here is one important difference. A government job will at all times be there for those who wish it, but those who wish to employ their superior capabilities for what they can get in competition with their fellowman will be at liberty to do so, and if their superior capabilities do not pan out very well they may return to a government job. Today a government job is the best in sight. In the co-operative commonwealth the government job and income will be the least that any need accept.

"Will not such a system forever rob the superior workers of a part of their superior ability?" the editor of the Visitor asks. He would protect those best qualified to protect themselves, "the superior worker," those who need protection least. But he portrays no concern for those of inferior skill, those least able to protect themselves, those who need protection most.

John T. Ryan, professor of ethics and economics in the Catholic Seminary at St. Paul, Minn., said: "Sufficient data have been presented to justify the conclusion that the proportion of adult male wage earners * * * obtaining less than $600 per year is at least 60 per cent. * * * Two million men in the United States do not get a wage sufficient to supply
their normal physical wants. They are on a physical level below that of a well-kept horse or cow.”

The census of 1910 supplies sufficient data to justify the conclusion that not less than 4,000,000 people willing to work were unemployed. Why not show concern for the unfortunate and weak? Our Saviour appealed in behalf of such as they. One worker in 90 in the United States receives more than $601 per year income, while 121,000 people admit an income which averages $31,395.00 each, per year.

Dr. Thomas D. Wood, professor of physical education in the teacher's college of Columbia University, says: “Of the 20,000,000 school children in the country, not less than 75 per cent. need attention today for physical defects which are prejudicial to health, and which are partially or completely remedial. Some have more than one affliction, and in his enumeration of ‘handicapping defects’ he included 5,000,000 suffering malnutrition, in plain English they don’t get enough to eat. Also “10,000,000 have defective teeth, which are interfering with their health, etc.”

Mr. B. C. Rowntree, a famous authority, says that in New York City among the poor, 247 infants in the thousand die, while among families employing servants only .97 infants in the thousand die. “Suffer little children to come unto me.”

Professor Irving Fisher of Yale University said: “Out of some one and one-half million deaths annually in the United States, at least 630,000 are preventable.” That means more than seventeen hundred unnecessary deaths a day, or more than the lives lost on the great Titanic disaster.”

Socialism will cure the foregoing and many other horrible evils of the present competitive wage and profit system. But the editor of the Providence Visitor is not visibly concerned about the anguish, the suffering and needless death of the numerous who are weak and needy, his concern is for those of “superior efficiency.”
WHAT THE QUESTIONS IMPLY.

Communism is not Socialism. Communism would take from each according to their ability, and supply each according to their needs. Question No. 2 is therefore communistic. Jesus and the early Christians were communists and prior to the thirteenth century the Catholic Church defended communism, while at the present time the Jesuits, the Franciscans, Dominicans and other orders of the Catholic Church are conducted on a communistic basis. The individual members of those orders are assured a living. There is no competitive struggle for existence with them.

In the light of such existing orders I suggest that the editor of the Providence Visitor ask of the Catholic Church authorities his question No. 3, i.e., “If all receive the same rate of compensation, will not such a system forever rob the superior workers of a part of their superior ability?” Said editor might also point out to the church fathers that such Christian practice is not compatible with the dog eat dog methods of the competitive wage and profit system of today. Again, as Jesus commanded the communistic life, the editor of the Providence Visitor might justify his crucifixion on the ground that Christianity and communism was robbery.

Communism is a higher ideal and more Christian than Socialism. Communism proposes the common ownership of property, and that the needs of each be supplied from the common store without price, while each contribute according to their ability. But Socialism proposes social ownership only in the socially used means of production, such as land, railroads, factories, mines, etc., to insure work and means of subsistence, while each receives from the common store only what they can pay for, while at the same time Socialism proposes that homes, buildings, automobiles, boats and all other things and devices which are privately needed and used should be privately owned by the family or persons who use them.
The questions presented by the editor of the Providence Visitor portray hostility to Christian ethics, while Socialism teaches economic truths and advocates a political and industrial democracy. It is not concerned with religious beliefs, but it is nowhere hostile to the ethics of Christianity, and would make possible the highest degree of Christian conduct ever attained by men.

THE ANSWER.

Study the definition of Socialism and note that the income of each worker will be determined by the social value of their labor product. Therefore each worker skilled or unskilled will not necessarily receive the same income. Hence it follows that Socialism will not rob the superior workers of a part of their superior ability. And finally in response to question No. 4 I must say that if under Socialism I dig twenty post holes, those post holes are the product of my labor, but I do not wish my income in the form of post holes, hence I do not desire "the full product of my labor." What I desire and what Socialism will give me is the full social value of the post holes in money. In that manner I can exchange the full social value of my labor product for an equal value in goods which I desire.

THE QUESTION.

No. 5. "If each worker should receive the full product of his toil, who will support the vast horde of non-productive workers?"

AN EXPLANATION.

1st. Value is that which renders anything useful or estimable.

2nd. The aggregate of all mental and physical capabilities exerted by a human being when producing a use value of any description is labor.

3rd. All labor applied to create or distribute goods to the consumer is productive labor.
Starting from the foregoing premises question No. 5 appears to me a misnomer, and dealing with the question from that standpoint suggests that many use values under capitalism will not exist in the co-operative commonwealth, and for that reason under Socialism a much larger per cent. of the workers will be employed creating useful things.

The U. S. Census of 1900, the latest complete figures obtainable at this time, show 17,466,757 people engaged in creating useful things, and 11,606,360 engaged in distribution, professional, domestic and personal service, which indicates that 60 per cent. of those working at gainful occupations create material use values, while 40 per cent are occupied with distribution, education, exploitation, etc. Among the latter are following of doubtful social value in the co-operative commonwealth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Commercial travelers</td>
<td>92,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Agents</td>
<td>157,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Wholesale and retail dealers</td>
<td>833,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Salesmen and saleswomen</td>
<td>611,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†Brokers, bankers and officials</td>
<td>147,349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†Clerks, accountants, copyists, etc.</td>
<td>885,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†Lawyers</td>
<td>114,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†Army and Navy</td>
<td>43,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aStewards, servants, waiters, etc.</td>
<td>1,715,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aLaborers not classified</td>
<td>2,629,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saloonkeepers and workers</td>
<td>172,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,562,798</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*) Commercial travelers, hucksters, agents, wholesale and retail dealers will be practically wiped out under Socialism, and the number of salesmen reduced, when instead of fixing up more than one and a quarter million stores like baby houses, waiting two-thirds of their time for trade, and wasting most of the other third in mis-representation, persuasion and cheap talk to make a sale, the actual service can be better supplied by one-quarter of the labor when no humbug display and lying expositions are required.

(†) The conglomerate of interests and owners, busi-
ness establishments and methods, with various credit and installment schemes at home and abroad necessitate brokers, clerks, accountants and collectors galore, and brings on debts, failures, defalcations, swindling and litigation, commercial and industrial wars where lawyers, armies, navies, etc., possess use values, both for the vampire of society and their victims. Without this competitive wage and profit system Socialism will have little need for many of the appendages of the present business system.

(a) Again, the army of personal service of today is out of proportion because wealthy families of two to six persons employ from 10 to 50 waiters, butlers, chauffeurs, footmen, ladies’ maids, cooks, gardeners, poodle dog attendants, hostlers, etc., etc. In the co-operative commonwealth a very large per cent. of the army of personal service may be transferred to the army of useful social service, and more, many of the class for whom they now work may also become useful wealth producers.

From the foregoing it is fair to assume that half of that 7,562,798 people can leave that "vast horde of non-productive workers" and join the army employed to create needful things. That will be a great change for the good, but it only begins the good work.

THE NON-PRODUCTIVE CONSUMERS.

Did you ever consider the horde of non-productive consumers? to wit: "Chicago, Sept. 17, 1913. How much does the Chicago woman spend every year for her clothes? This question was put to Mme. C. H. Phair, president, and other members of the Chicago Dressmakers Club in semi-annual session. After a comparison of estimates, the following schedule resulted:

A few $75,000 each.
About 100 social leaders $50,00 each.
Ten thousand others $5000 each.
Well-dressed club women $4500 each.
The average club woman $2000 to $3000 each,” etc. etc.
The foregoing is just a news item from the Associated Press, and it includes only one city, Chicago.

According to the report of the Commissioner of Labor, $356 was the average yearly wages for adult women of Rhode Island in 1908. At this rate 210 years of her income would nearly buy one of those $75,000 outfits. In 140 years her income would nearly buy a $50,000 outfit, and in 14 years her income would nearly buy a $5,000 outfit.

The census of 1910 show that 12,894 women work in the cotton industries of Rhode Island. So at $359 each per year, their total income in 2 years and 16 weeks would pay the $10,375,000 spent for dress by 10,105 Chicago ladies in one year. This includes only the first three divisions of dress expense referred to in the news item. It does not include the well-dressed club woman at $4,500 each per year, nor the average club woman at $2,000 to $3,000 each per year. It does not state how many there are of them, so we will throw them in for good measure. Then cut the $375,000 from the other figures and leave it Ten Million Dollars even money.

Now Chicago constitutes about 3 per cent. of the United States’ population, so we will multiply the ten million by 33 and the result is $330,000,000 yearly to dress this female scum of society. That amount would pay for a $2000 home and also a $796 automobile for every family in the State of Rhode Island; 117,976 of them, yet that amount is only a drop in the bucket when we consider their male associates and the money spent for summer homes and winter homes, their yachts, palace cars and automobiles, their lavish entertainments and travels abroad.

I consider One Billion Dollars a year a low estimate of the amount wasted by the scum of society, who create no use value for what they waste. If they waste what they do not earn, someone earns what they do not get. But this does not
seem to concern the editor of the Providence Visitor. Neither does he seem concerned about the cotton mill slaves of Rhode Island, where the women slave for an average of $1.18 per day, and the men for an average of $1.53 per day.

**THE ANSWER.**

All workers in the co-operative commonwealth will produce use value. Therefore there will not be “the vast horde of non-productive workers” to support.

Neither will there be a horde of able bodied non-productive consumers such as the present system supports. But the mill workers and all other workers shall receive the full social value of their labor product.

**THE QUESTIONS.**

No. 6. “As the capabilities of the workers will differ under Socialism, just as they now differ in our Socialistic public school system, how and in what way will it be possible to determine the true value of each worker’s toil?”

No. 7. “How much more should a college professor receive than a railway brakeman?”

**APPLIED TO THE PRESENT.**

Can the Editor of the Providence Visitor tell how we determine the capabilities of workers now in the competitive wage and profit system? And explain how “is it possible to determine the true value of each worker’s toil?” Can he explain it? Will he try?

We cannot live without food, clothing and shelter. We cannot live properly without security, leisure and recreation. This being true, those whose produce and distribute food, clothing and shelter, are indispensable, and are of prime and paramount importance to society.

Do we “determine the true value of each worker’s toil” in harmony with the quality and quantity of such product? No, indeed, servants are not yet exalted among men, rather
are they despised menials of scribes and Pharisees who "devour widows' houses," etc. The greatest reward as measured by incomes today is secured by "astute business people" who obtain millions by shrewd business methods, and their abettors also collect many pieces of silver in excess of the income of the average worker.

SIGNIFICANT FIGURES.

Statistics on the income tax show that Rhode Island has 80 people with an income of more than $100,000 per year; 172 people with an income ranging from $50,000 to $100,000 per year, and 829 persons with incomes ranging from $20,000 to $50,000 per year. It is safe to assume that none of those people are paying taxes on more than they receive. It is also safe to assume that much of their income will escape taxation, therefore, I consider the following figures low rather than high:

80 persons, $125,000 each .................................. $10,000,000
172 persons, 80,000 each ............................... 13,760,000
829 persons, 40,000 each ............................... 33,160,000

Total for 1,081 persons .................................. $56,920,000

Average income for each capitalist, $52,654.

The census of 1910 gives the total number of all the wage workers employed in all of the manufacturing industries of Rhode Island as 113,538 and their combined total wages as $55,234,000 per year, average income for each wage worker $487 per year. Study the foregoing figures and note that the income of the capitalist in one year equals the income of the wage earner for 108 years, and that the 1,081 capitalists receive a larger combined income than do the 113,538 wage workers.

Now look into the factory, foundry, brewery and shop where the wage worker drudges 300 days per year; then look at the office, yacht, mountain, shore resort, Europe, etc., where
the "astute business persons" spend their time, and tell me "how and in what way" does the Editor of the Providence Visitor "determine the true value of each worker's toil" and why he would continue a system which gives the producer 1 cent for knowing how and doing the work, and gives the "astute business person" $1.08 for employing a boss to boss the job.

The foregoing figures verify in part the following quotations from an article by Alfred Russell Wallace, L. L. D.:

"Let anyone consider, on the one hand, the lives of the wealthy as portrayed in the society newspapers of the day, with their endless round of pleasure and luxury, their almost inconceivable wastefulness and extravagance, indicated by the cost of female dress and the fact of $5,000 or $10,000 or more being expended on the flowers for a single entertainment. On the other hand, let him contemplate the awful lives of millions of workers, so miserably paid and with such uncertainly of work that many thousands of the women and young girls are driven on the streets as the only means of breaking the monotony of their unceasing labor of life at whatever cost. * * *

"Among the middlemen distributors of the necessaries and luxuries of life, bribery, adulteration and various forms of petty dishonesty are rampant. And higher yet, among the great capitalists, the merchant princes, the captains of industry we find hard taskmasters who drive down wages below the level of bare subsistence, and who support a more gigantic and widespread system of gambling than the world has ever seen."

"When we remember the system of wage-slavery, the distinction of classes, the gross inequality of the law, the overwork of our laboring millions, the immoral luxury and idleness of our upper class thousands, while far more thousands die annually of want of the bare necessaries of life; that millions have their lives shortened by easily preventable causes, while other millions pass their whole lives in continuous and almost inhuman labor in order to provide means for the enjoy-
ments and prenicious luxuries of the rich—we must be amazed
at the fact that there is nevertheless so much real goodness,
real humanity, among us as certainly exists, in spite of all the
degrading influences that I have been compelled here to enum-
erate.”

THE VANISHING DIFFERENCE.

The difference in capabilities is more apparent than real,
and much of the real is the result of unequal opportuinty, in-
duced by private ownership of capital. Prior to the art of
printing, the monks and a very few people obtained an edu-
cation. Until recent years most children were put to work
very young, and a person who could read, write and do a
sum in long division or fractions was considered smart by the
“working class” who “looked up” to lawyers, college pro-
fessors, doctors and clergymen as all wise and superior being,
because they were educated. The public school system and
laws against child labor is lifting the average citizen, as edu-
cation lifted the professional class, so the average worker will
soon look into the eye of the professional class without “look-
ing up.”

Education and credulity have been contributory factors
in prolonging the degradation of useful workers and fetish for
people who “live by their wits.” The latter had the edu-
cation; the workers had credulity. Modern methods of type-
setting and printing have broken the monopoly in education.
It is no longer confined even to the school, as useful workers
acquire education and cease to be credulous, much of the
alleged difference will disappear, and the illiterate person will
be the exception. Indeed, the number of educated people who
love soft hands and clean linen is even now overstocking the
market with professional class commodities, and even now
their overage income in salary or fee is often less than the
average craftsman whose trade is well organized and affiliat-
ed with the A. F. of L.
THE ANSWER.

Under the present competitive wage and profit system, two classes shall co-exist, the owning capitalist class, and a dependent wage earning class, both inherent and inevitable in this system regardless of individual capabilities. Don’t forget that point. Owning capital makes one master of those who must work for wages. The master may be a dolt without injury to the business, but the worker shall be capable to keep his job and make the business a success. Avarice, cunning and disloyalty are leading essentials in the struggle for capital. Benovolence, honesty and loyalty are serious handicaps. Under this system the traitor to society is an individual success, while the loyal citizen and good neighbor is an individual failure.

The co-operative commonwealth will enable every child to be born of well nourished parents, who are not overworked, have no poverty and no fear of poverty. Every child will have ample care, food, and all essential things and conditions to give it stamina with education equal to any other child until it reaches maturity.

“As the capabilities of the workers will differ,” but not nearly so much as now, it “will be possible to determine the true value of each worker’s toil.”

1st. Because the capital will be socially owned and democratically managed.

2nd. By piecework in many places.

3d. By equitable allotment for time workers.

4th. By mutual agreement among the workers.

5th. The social value of the labor product will be the measure.

To question No. 7. At the present time the average professor and brakeman both work for the capitalist bosses; both will lose their job if they place the public welfare before their masters’ interests. The professor receives the largest income
because his work of retarding progress in education is of more value to the capitalist than is the work of the brakeman.

In the co-operative commonwealth the college professor and the brakeman will work for society, and their income will be determined by the social value of their labor product.

QUESTIONS NOS. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 AND 13.

"If we are to reduce the working time to four hours per day under Socialism, as Socialists assert, will it not require the services of two million more railway workers to perform the same service that the 1,500,000 railway men now perform? And will not this COST the nation over $1,000,000,000 annually more than the present COST for our transportation?

"And if we reduce the working time in all other industries to a four-hour basis will it not COST twice as much to produce everything?

"Then how about the non-productive workers—i.e., the strictly government officials? Will it not require the service of a million boards of arbitration and two or three million bookkeepers to keep track of the hours, income, skill, etc., etc., of each worker, in order to determine whether the Socialist nation is robbing somebody or paying too much to somebody? And who but the workers, the real producers, will pay all these bills?"

COST UNDER CAPITALISM.

According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, there were 10,936 persons killed on our railroads during the year 1911, and 150,159 persons injured. The commission charges, among other things, that the courts are construing the HOURS OF SERVICE LAW, making it "practically a dead letter."

The following is from an address delivered in New York City by Professor Henry R. Seager, vice-chairman of the Commission of Employers:
"Fourth of July orators delight to point out the various fields in which we excel, but there is one field of which they say very little, and that is that we KILL AND INJURE MORE workingmen on our railroads, in our mines, and in our factories than in any other country in the world.

"On our railroads THREE TIMES AS MANY employes ARE KILLED and FIVE TIMES AS MANY ARE MAIMED each year than on the railroads of the United Kingdom, and the situation in our coal mines in almost as bad, for there each year we average a loss of three and one-third out of every thousand persons employed, whereas in England the average is two, in Germany two and one-half, while in Belgium the average is one.

"The prevention of these accidents is a pressing social problem, but it is not of this that I wish to speak tonight, but of the method we have of caring for the 100,000 workingmen who are maimed, the 20,000 WIDOWS and the 60,000 ORPHANS that are left, as a result of these accidents. Our method of caring for them is neither just nor generous. WE LEAVE THEM TO THE MERCY OF A LAW THAT HAS BEEN DISCREDITED AS OUT OF DATE IN EVERY OTHER CIVILIZED COUNTRY BUT OURS."

John Randolph Haynes, M. D., Special Commissioner on Mining Accidents, of California, said:

"Of all the nations of the earth, America is the most wasteful of the lives of its citizens. Seventy-five thousand of our people are killed each year by accidents, of which number 35,000 are workmen slain while engaged in their daily occupations. If we had to figure the number of the wounded and crippled in industry, we should find that Mr. Mercer, of the Minnesota Employes’ Compensation Commission is not far wrong in claiming that INDUSTRY NOW KILLS and cripples more each year than did bullet and shrapnel in any year of the Civil War."

19
Dr. Hoofinan in his statistics tells us that there is at all times about 1,500,000 persons who are UNNECESSARILY ILL.

Mr. R. E. Bittenhouse, delegate to the National Conservation Congress at Indianapolis in 1912, said:

"In the last analysis the struggle against preventable disease is A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE DOLLAR AND THE DEATH RATE."

Line up for the dollar, you hypocrites and human vampires! Christians stand for man. Line up!

The editor of the Providence Visitor, with capitalistic mind, speaks of cost. Cost in money. He evinces no concern for the cost in human misery, in human life, in human souls. A fisher for money. The vision of the dollar mark obscures the cross. He responds to the jingle of coin, and heeds not that Jesus desired fishers of men. Let humanity suffer. Let them die. To the grave with their bodies. To hell with their souls (if "THE BETTER CLASS" who robbed them of education and material life have not robbed them of their souls also.)

BISHOP SPALDING JARS EPISCOPALIANS AT THEIR NATIONAL CONVENTION IN NEW YORK CITY.

"New York, Oct. 16, 1913.—In an address at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, before an audience composed largely of financiers, their wives and daughters, Wednesday, Bishop Franklin Spencer Spalding, of Utah, a Socialist, demanded the church ally itself with the movement that is making toward industrial democracy.

"Otherwise, he said, the church will not perform its duties. Spalding’s speech was frankly outspoken in advocacy of Socialism, and his hearers were taken completely by surprise.

"The clergyman was presented by Bishop William Lawrence, who, in his opening address, said that it was time for the church to come to the front. He said that the church
should not lag behind the reform movements, but should speak the truth and work for justice.

" 'This convention now on is a capitalistic convention,' exclaimed Bishop Spalding. 'The men who attend it made their money from profit, interest and rent. They care not how they get it as long as they do. Not a particle of feeling have they for the workmen beneath them.

" 'The wealth in this country is created by the laboring classes. Alone, the workers are responsible for every great development that is made. Yet they are suffering untold tortures from poverty. They do not get the wealth. Where does it go? Where does it go?

" 'I'LL TELL YOU WHERE IT GOES,' went on Bishop Spalding, his form shaking with fervor, 'it goes to the owners of the machinery. In this country 74 per cent. of the population own but 4 per cent. of the wealth. That tells you where it goes.

" In this country there are 2,000,000 children working at various industries. These little ones are slaving because of the poor wages of their parents. What do you know of that?

" 'The poor ought to be thrifty,' How often have I heard that! And yet every lay delegate to this convention receives ten times the wages of one workman. How does that sound to you?

" 'I'm not pleading for a little more than a tenth for the worker. The laboring classes don't want charity. They want justice.

" 'Capital owns the tools, and the profits are the first consideration,' asserted the bishop. 'The workers come a poor second. They are a mere side issue.

" 'If the church is supported by profits, the worker knows that it is supported by that which is taken from him.

" 'No,' thundered Spalding, 'he is forming his own reli-
gion away from the capitalistic religion, even as he is forming his own political party away from the capitalistic parties.

"'We ought to accept the truth which the industrial democracy movement is trying to teach the world. We've got to put out of existence the competitive system. The worker must be rewarded on the basis of what he renders. Every child must have a chance for life."

"'I hate this system, my friends,' he said slowly. 'I hate this system which gives to the greedy and takes from the meek. IT IS UNCHRISTIAN AND UNGODLIKE."

"'I hate this system, and it must be ended,' he exclaimed. 'The church must awake, and the church must ally herself with the movement for industrial democracy.'"

"The meeting was the first mass gathering of the convention. Other speakers that followed Bishop Spalding were Dean Walter Sumner, of Chicago, and RATHBONE GARDNER, a lay delegate from Providence, R. I."

"GARDNER in his speech seemed anxious to counteract the effect of Spalding's address."

"GARDNER pointed out that it was possible for a man to touch personally the lives of very few men and women, and added:

"'NO ONE BUT A FOOL INVEIGHS today against the private ownership of property. It furnishes the most impelling motive for individual efforts by which progress is kept up and society sustained. It is entitled to protection, but only so far as such protection is consistent with the rights, safety and best development of humanity."

"The establishment of social justice or industrial righteousness will not come at once, and in the meantime the victims of bad or inadequate laws or of their own weakness and passions are here to be cared for. Institutions for the aid of these victims must be supported by the competent, SUCCESSFUL MEMBERS of society. To administer and support
these institutions by his personal efforts and financial aid is the service in which the Christian layman can best obey the spirit of his Master's commandment to love and serve his neighbor.'

- The foregoing is clipped from the New York Call of Oct. 18th, Bishop Spalding's remarks emphasize once more that Christianity will force its way even into some churches. Study carefully the charges made by Bishop Spalding, and note how promptly and fully those charges were verified in the drivel presented by one of "the competent, successful members of society." A typical capitalistic apologist for the Christian, Mr. Gardner, and remember that none but a fool or a knave charges Socialism with "inveighing against the private ownership of property."

THE ANSWER.

No Socialist organization ever prescribed a 4-hour work day. Consistency will determine such questions. In a co-operative commonwealth it may be a 4-hour day, it may be less, it may be more.

All cost is paid with human life. The cost of every piece of land, every building, every parcel of merchandise, is paid for in labor. Reduce the loss of human life and we reduce the cost.

Money is but the value form of labor. A tool of commerce, a medium of exchange. Therefore, as Socialism means the conservation of human life, not so many killed, not so many injured, not so many suffering from occupational diseases, not so many half-starved, not so many suffering mental anguish through dread of want, not so many tired and weary, not so many illiterate, etc., the cost, the real cost, will be reduced 90 per cent. at least.

The co-operative commonwealth means the social ownership and democratic management of the means of production. That leaves out the capitalist. The report of the Interstate
Commerce Commission, 1910, says that the year's net profit of the railroads of the United States was $1,039,236,794. This profit under Socialism would not go to the capitalists. It would be used to pay the workers. That would pay in dollars all of the added cost referred to in question No. 8, and leave a few million for good measure. Many other big items could be cited, but this one puts the editor down for the count; and figured from his own beloved dollar standpoint, the same principle applies to question No. 9. Just give the profits to those who do the work.

To question No. 10, the real government in the co-operative commonwealth will reside in the shop, mine, farm, etc., not in Wall street; and the number of representative officials will be greatly reduced, and without coercive or repressive powers they shall function as the administration of the co-operative society. The robbing grafters will go with the robbing capitalist system, the editor of the Providence Visitor is right; the workers will pay all the bills, but they will keep all of the profits also. They pay all now, including the profit to capitalists.

**QUESTION NO. 14.**

"If we are able to produce less than $700 net wealth per worker per year, as the last census shows, and with the best machinery and the best organization to aid us, with an eight and ten-hour workday; how are we to produce two or three thousand dollars per year per worker as the Socialists assert, with a four-hour workday and a great increase in non-productive labor which Socialism will impose?"

"DIVIDING UP" THE $700.

If the editor of the Providence Visitor really believes himself, he should consider the results of our present profit system, which gives 1,081 Rhode Island capitalists an income of $56,920,000. Divide that amount by 524,654, which is the
total population of Rhode Island, and it equals a tax of $108.49 for each man, woman and child. That is going some if actual workers produce only $700.

Divide by 117,976, the total number of families in Rhode Island, and it equals a tax of $483.26 per family. If the actual workers only produce $700 worth, such exploitation is monstrous.

Assuming that 200,000 of our Rhode Island population are actual workers, the capitalists' harvest equals a tax of $284.60 for each worker, one fairly large slice to take from $700.

The foregoing figures do not include the incomes of 8,564 other persons in Rhode Island taxed on incomes ranging from $3,000 up to $20,000 each. At an average of $10,000 each the total would be $85,640,000. To this item add the $56,920,000 and it gives us a total of $142,560,000 as taxed incomes of 9,645 persons in Rhode Island this year.

Now if 200,000 workers produce $700 worth each, the total value would be $140,000,000, which is $2,560,000 less than the amount received by the 9,645 persons who are taxed on their incomes. And so it appears that when the 190,000 common wage workers "get there the cupboard is bare," and so the wage workers get none.

The questions of the Providence Visitor and the competitive wage and profit system compounded constitute a complex problem, which requires Socialistic treatment.

**ANALYZING THE $700 QUANDARY.**

The prices given by the census commissioners are at the farm, factory or mine. They are not the retail prices. So when the United States Geological Survey Society stated in its bulletin for January, 1911, that during 1910 in the State of Indiana 14,834,259 tons of coal were mined at a value of $15,154,686, it gave the price at the mine, which was $1.02 per ton of 2,240 pounds. That $1.02 paid all cost of machinery, wear
and tear and labor, and left a good margin of profit for the mine owner. Socialism would leave out the capitalist owner and add his profit to the income of the miners.

That coal sold in Chicago for $5.50 for 2,000 pounds. So you see $700 worth of coal at the mine was worth at least $3,774.40 in Chicago. Under Socialism that coal could be delivered in Chicago for $1.50 per ton.

It is not the dollars received by the workers which constitute the real income; it is what they can buy with the dollars. Since 1890 retail prices have gone up 60 per cent., which pushed the buying power of your dollar down 37½ per cent.

In the foregoing coal proposition Socialism would boost the buying power of your dollar 439 per cent., and enable you to buy more than five times as much for a dollar. The very best coal in Pennsylvania sells for $2.40 at the mine, which includes a big profit to the mine owner.

A LOCAL WITNESS.

Frederic J. Haskin in the Providence Journal, Feb. 23, 1913, speaking of eliminating the middlemen and its effects, said:

"A picture of what reductions might be made is to be gathered from the statement with reference to market conditions in New York. Farmers sold $17,000,000 worth of eggs in that city last year. When they reached the consumer he paid $28,000,000. The farmers received $1,825,000 for cabbage they sold in Gotham; the consumers bought it for $9,125,000. The price of milk was magnified until the $23,000,000 the farmers got for it amounted to $49,000,000 when the consumers paid for it. Potatoes, which netted the farmers $8,000,000, cost the consumers $60,000,000 and onions jumped from less than $1,000,000 to more than $8,000,000 going from producer to consumer."
According to Mr. Haskin's figures, $700 worth of the farmer's product sold to the consumer for $2,201.78.

Again, in the Providence Journal of Oct. 26, 1913, Mr. Haskin said: "In the days of Washington * * * the producer sold directly to the consumer and got all of the consumers' dollar when he spent it for food; today an extensive and expensive system of distribution has been established, whereby the farmer, according to the experts, gets only 35 cents out of each dollar the consumer spends for food."

The truth of the foregoing statements are obvious, and reveal the fact that the $700 value referred to by the Providence Visitor is $2,100 value where the workers spend their money, and that is the correct place to determine the income of the workers at the present time. The same principle will hold good in the co-operative commonwealth, for the wages of the workers will purchase the full social value of their labor product. Therefore, eliminate the parasites, vampires and baby house, muddle-head "business methods" and place the increase No. 1 at least 100 per cent.

**PARALYZING FARM PRODUCTION.**

Agricultural pursuits employ over one-third of our workers. In a total of 6,361,502 farms in the United States, 839,166 have 19 acres or less, 2,253,542 have 49 acres or less, and 3,691,611 have 99 acres or less; all too small for employment of up-to-date methods and machinery. So antiquated methods and about 20,000,000 horses and mules are employed.

Philip S. Rose, in the September issue of "The American Threshman," said: "It requires almost exactly one-quarter of the products of the farms to maintain the work animals—the horses and mules."

A. M. Simons estimates that the maintenance of needless fences costs more than $1,000,000,000 per year. He also asserts that there is not a single crop in the United States which could not be trebled by a general application of methods al-
ready in use, and sustains his assertion with a volume of facts and figures.

For instance, our average production of lint cotton per acre in 1910 was 170 pounds, while the government experiment stations raise 700 to 1,500 pounds per acre, and of better quality.

In 1911 our average crop of potatoes per acre was 80 bushels; 300 and 400 bushels were common where approved methods prevailed.

One thousand farmers acting under advice from the Department of Agriculture doubled and trebled their ordinary yield, etc., etc.

Frederic J. Haskin in the Providence Journal of Oct. 25, 1913, said: "If the American farmer could do as well as the German farmer in feeding the people, Texas and Oklahoma alone could raise all the foodstuffs needed in the United States.

"The American farmer today has borrowed capital of over $6,000,000,000, and, according to ex-President Taft, faces an annual interest charge of $510,000,000 on this. Counting commissions and renewal charges, he is paying over 8 per cent. interest."

In the Journal of Oct. the 26th, Mr. Haskin said: "The inability of the average farmer to utilize, under his present hampered financial condition, the lessons of progressive agriculture is illustrated by the fact that although there are many thousands of farmers who now grow 30 bushels of wheat where they grew 15 per acre, yet in 1910 the average farmer has grown only 17-10 bushels to the acre more than in the years between 1876 and 1885. Likewise, while there are hundreds of thousands of farmers who have increased their per acre yield of corn from 40 to 80 bushels, yet the average farmer today gets a crop yield only two bushels greater to the acre than he was getting a quarter of a century ago.

"Various methods have been proposed in the past to
remedy the **financial helplessness** of the **average farmer**, as is indicated by his wheat crop of 14 bushels to the acre and his corn crop of 27 bushels.

"But, after all, **what profits knowledge if the means of applying it are wanting?** However impressed he may be with the advantages of scientific agriculture, he stands a small chance of making a success at it when he can save nothing from his farm operations, and when he has no available credit through which to make the improvements that are needed to recast his methods of farming."

The foregoing are but a few drops from the ocean of evidence that the **inherent principles of capitalism are paralyzing production**. Socialism will free labor, land and science from the strangle hold of the money power and increase the product per acre at least 200 per cent. Increase No. 2.

The farm tractor will displace the horse and so save for man what the horse consumes. The tractor, gang plow, etc., will easily enable the worker to cultivate double the number of acres, and we have the land. This is increase No. 3, of 100 per cent.

There are many items which amount to hundreds of millions each; some of them go into the billions, but my case is strong enough without presenting them. Write to The Socialist Party, No. 111 North Market Street, Chicago, Ill., for "Waste of Human Life," 10c, by A. M. Simons, and read his description of how the present farm product of our land can be increased 500 per cent. without increasing the present number of farm workers, and how we are wasting over one hundred billion dollars worth per year in the United States.

Some examples of what has been, and therefore can be, done may prove interesting, and convince you that existing facts and conditions more than justify my premises and conclusions.

The 13th annual report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor, relating the average labor time and cost to produce
with up-to-date methods and machines in use in 1898: The combined gang plow, seeder, and harrow broke the ground, sowed and covered the seed, and pulverized the topsoil all at one operation, in less than 11 minutes to the acre, with two men in attendance.

Following are a few figures showing average labor time and labor cost of farm production, based upon the same report, and actual results obtained:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Product</th>
<th>Labor time in minutes</th>
<th>Labor Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barley, per bushel</td>
<td>5 1/2</td>
<td>$0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn, per bushel</td>
<td>22 1/4</td>
<td>$0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats, per bushel</td>
<td>10 1/4</td>
<td>$0.02 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes, per bushel</td>
<td>10 1/2</td>
<td>$0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, 40 lbs.</td>
<td>14 1/2</td>
<td>$0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet Potatoes, per bushel</td>
<td>60 1/4</td>
<td>$0.07 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat, per bushel</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>$0.03 2-5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The foregoing figures represent the total time and labor cost included in the entire production, from preparing the seed and soil to harvesting the crop.

Suppose the workers could exchange the product of their labor, based upon time worked and equity? Do some thinking.

We have better machinery today than in 1898. The Idaho Harvester will cut, thresh and bag the grain in one operation at an expense of less than $1.00 per acre. Such machines are in use today but the average farmer cannot use them.

The foregoing figures show an increased productive power of 900 per cent. over the antiquated methods seen on our average farm. In the Co-operative Commonwealth every worker will be equipped with as good or better than the best of today. And results will be as good or better than the best of today.

NEEDLESS WASTE.

The items of waste on farms is stupendous. In 1912 and 1913 millions of bushels of good potatoes rotted on the west-
ern farms because the organized buyers, with allotment of territory and business understanding, rejected all but the most select, and paid only 25 cents per bushel for the latter. During this time such potatoes sold in the centers of population for $1.25 per bushel.

Thousands of tons of wholesome vegetables and fruit rots on the farm because transportation, commission and storage charges cannot be met with profit to the farmer.

In the Providence Sunday Journal of Nov. 16, 1913, Frederic J. Haskin said: "The Department of Agriculture estimates that more than 50 per cent. of all the vegetables, fruits and berries that grow in this country go to waste.

Fifty per cent. of the cost of feed and care for animals to do the work is a needless waste, which should go into marketable products and increase the total more than 15 per cent. The machinery required will involve less money than the horses now used, and cost 75 per cent. less to feed and maintain.

H. M. Cottrell, Agricultural Commissioner, said: "With grain (corn) worth on the farm one and one-half billion dollars, the feed value of the rest of the crop, if fully utilized, is a billion dollars. At least 90 per cent. of the feed value of the stalk is lost under the present system of farm management—a waste with this corn crop alone of nine hundred million dollars yearly. No other business but farming could stand such an enormous loss." Ten per cent.

A SUMMARY.

The following summary of our treatise is a decidedly conservative conclusion of the possible product per capita of farm workers.

The basis given by the editor of the Providence Visitor was $700. We shall increase that amount 20 per cent., based upon the needless waste, etc., which makes it total $840 at the farm.
We have seen that the consumer pays three times the price received by the farmer. We will give away 100 per cent. and only double the farmer’s price, which totals $1680. Next we have seen that the product per acre could easily be trebled by modern methods. This will bring the value up to $5040.

Once more, with modern methods and machines the worker can cultivate more than double the number of acres. This will bring the value of the product to $10,080 in the retail market, where the workers spend their income.

MORE EFFICIENCY.

Consider our efficiency in manufacturing, as shown by the 13th annual report of the United States Commissioner of Labor for 1898. These figures do not include any cost for raw material. They do include all labor cost and time employed in operating the plant in which the goods are made, from the teamer who hauls the coal to the office boy.

ARTICLES MADE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Minutes Worked</th>
<th>Labor Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pair men’s calf shoes, welted, the best $6</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>$0.59 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair men’s grain work shoes, tap sole, $2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair ladies’ kid shoes, welted, the best $5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair ladies’ kid shoes, turned sole, $2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pairs men’s finest cotton stockings, $4</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pairs men’s cotton stockings, $1.50</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 yards 36-inch cotton sheeting, $2.20</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 good house broom, 40c</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 flour bags, 30x30, cloth</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0.11 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 paper bags, 6 1/2 x 8 1/2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.06 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Prince Albert coat</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair men’s trousers, good</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair men’s trousers, cheap</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 men’s vest, good</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 men’s white shirt, plaited linen bosom</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linen-covered collars and cuffs attached</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hardwood bedstead, headboard paneled and carved</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 standard wagon, 2 movable seats, leather dashboard, corduroy trimmings, patent wheels</td>
<td>53 28 8.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INCOME UNDER SOCIALISM.

Make a few deductions from the foregoing figures. For each minute required to manufacture the article add $1\frac{1}{2}$ minutes for raw material and other expenses outside of labor cost (this does not apply on farm products); for instance: One pair men’s $6.00 shoes, labor time 151 minutes, raw material, etc., 227 minutes, hence 151 plus 227 equals 378 minutes, or 6 hours and 8 minutes, as the total value of the shoes. The average wages in Rhode Island are $1.63 per day, hence our average worker can buy a pair of such shoes for 37 hours’ labor. In the co-operative commonwealth the average worker could buy those shoes for 7 hours’ labor or less.

Again, the up-to-date farmer in 1898 produced potatoes at the rate of 57 bushels for 10 hours’ labor. They can do better now. The average wages of shoe workers is $1.65 per day, so when he goes to the grocer and pays a dollar a bushel for these potatoes, or $57.00, he must give 345 hours of his labor time. In the co-operative commonwealth he could buy those potatoes for 15 hours of his labor, or less.

Select other items and figure them out for yourself. "I have found you an argument; I am not obliged to find you an understanding."

The average wages per day in 1910 were for manufacturing industries $1.72, mines and quarries $1.84. Farmers receive less, while trade and transportation average about the same. Figure it out, and remember that if some receive more, others must receive less, for that is the average now.

The income in the co-operative commonwealth will equal the time value of your labor product, employing most approved methods and machines under most favorable conditions, exchanged without waste, graft or profit. So with means now existing such economy will give the workers better food, better clothing, better homes, better furniture, better education, better morals, better health, more security,
more leisure, more culture and a clearer conscience than one can now enjoy on an income of $3000 per year, or $10 per day.

There are larger profits in manufacturing than in farming. The steel trust owns and operates its own iron mines, smelters, coke ovens, coal mines and to a large extent its own railroads, so they have no raw material to buy. Their workers produce the goods from the earth to the finished product. Our capitalist press is boasting of two things just now: First, that the steel trust exported 375,000,000 tons of steel in 1912; second, that the steel trust paid their workers $157,000,000 in 1912. Now suppose they sold that steel for the low figure of $10 per ton; that means that they received $3,750,000,000 for the steel they exported. If they did not sell any steel in the United States, then the workers received $4.20 for each $100 worth of steel they produced. But the trust doubtless sold at home double the quantity sold abroad. In that case the workers received about $1.40 for each $100 worth of steel they produced. In any event, it would appear that the profits in steel are almost large enough to be called stealing.

But manufacturers do adulterate goods, put out lying advertisements, bribe legislators, judges and executives and grind human beings into dividends so fast that they send millions of their workers into premature graves by the torturesome route of overwork, "malnutrition," etc., etc., all without remorse. A loyal citizen such, etc. We know him.

A supple, self-sufficient pharisee,
Who scarcely thought the Lord as good as he,
Crooking the pregnant hinges of the knee,
Give us this day, our daily bread would pray,
Then filch it from poor famished lips away.

Yes, and I suspect that he will falsify about his profits, wages, etc., overstate the cost of raw material and understate the value of the finished product, etc. Our statistician must
rely on him for the figures. We know also that thousands of inventions are never seen because the avaricious manufacturers compel their employes by contract to surrender all inventions to their employers, and many inventions which cannot be hidden by the workers are hidden by the owners. As the Washington Times states, "There are countless numbers of patents, which, if in operation, would much cheapen the articles they could produce, said Chief Clerk Woolard of the Patent Office, but they are intentionally 'shelved' to prevent competition. Concerns operating under old inventions, for which they have expended great sums to erect plants, buy up these new and cheaper methods to prevent competitors from getting hold of them. Then they tuck them away in their safes, never to be used.'" The loss to production because of hidden and suppressed inventions is beyond computation, but 10 per cent. is probably 300 per cent. too low.

In 1909, manufacturing concerns producing more than $1,000,000 of value each per year employ 30 5-10 per cent. of the workers and produce 43 7-10 per cent. of the total product, which is 43 per cent. above the total average, which includes themselves.

Therefore, taking the basis of $700 given by the editor, add the 43 per cent. as rational increase and 10 per cent. on unused invention account, and it gives us $700 plus 53 per cent., equalling $1077 of value at the factory. The price paid by the consumer where the workers spend their income is fully 200 per cent. more than the factory value, but we will call it only 100 per cent., and that gives us $2154.

CONCLUDING WORD.

Before summarizing the final totals consider carefully and separately the figures and evidence given in each item referred to in the foregoing analysis. Note, that my premises and conclusions are never based upon conjecture, but in each instance are sustained by common knowledge and specific evi-
dence. **Note** that I do not rely upon future invention or discovery to effect a saving or increase production, but upon methods and machines long in use with results already well known, and **note** that my evidence and proof will sustain figures and conclusions 50 per cent. higher than those which I have used. Yes, I have given away billions because I want all discrepancies to be against my own case, and *even then.*

**PLACING THE INCOME.**

The following figures were taken from the census of 1900, the latest available and complete on this subject at this time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>10,381,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mines, manufacturing, etc.</td>
<td>7,085,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal and domestic</td>
<td>5,580,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and transportation</td>
<td>4,766,964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional service</td>
<td>1,258,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of workers</strong></td>
<td><strong>29,074,117</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Workers in mines, manufacturing, agriculture, etc., create values and contain 17,466,757 workers.*

**Now read carefully** my answer to Question No. 5 and note that at a low estimate 3,781,400 sharpers, flunkies and barnacles in this system shall join the army of production in the co-operative commonwealth.

We divide this last number by two and place one-half, which is 1,890,700, in the column of agricultural workers and the other half add to those in mines, manufacturing, etc. This will increase the number of agricultural workers to 12,272,465 and those of mines, manufacturing, etc., to 8,976,692.

Next multiply the number of agricultural workers by the average value of their product, $10,080, and it equals $123,706,447,200.

Again multiply the number of workers in mines, manufacturing, etc., by the average value of their product, $2154, and it is $19,335,794,568.

Now add the total value of the products together, which is $143,042,241,768.
Next divide that total by the total number of workers, 29,074,117, and our answer equals $4919 each for every man, woman and child who work at any gainful occupation.

For a workday of four and one-half hours divide by two, and the average will be $2,459.50 each per year, $47.29 each per week of 27 hours, or $1.82 per hour.

AN EXPLANATION.

In the present system 60 per cent. of the workers in gainful occupations create useful things and 40 per cent. are in trade, transportation, domestic, personal and professional. My final conclusions are based upon 73 per cent. creating useful things and 27 per cent. in the other needful occupations.

This change is far below the probable number, which a few illustrations will clearly show. First, study my answer to question No. 5, which gives all sufficient basis for such change; but add to that the labor wasted in two billion dollars’ worth of advertising each year, which could create an equal value in useful things. Consider the present waste in shipping goods from factory to wholesaler and from wholesaler to retailer around the country, and sometimes around the world.

I have seen cloth which was made in the Wanskueck, R. I., mills which was later bought in London, England, and sold at retail in Providence, R. I. I have seen nails which were made in Cleveland, Ohio, and were later bought in Liverpool, England, and finally sold again at retail in Cleveland, Ohio.

Freight can now be hauled for less than one cent per ton per mile, but the anarchy and needless work in competition is wasting the labor of millions in transportation and exchange.

In the Providence Sunday Journal of Nov. 16, 1913, Frederic J. Haskin said: “The Department of Agriculture estimates that more than 50 per cent. of all the vegetables, fruits and berries that grow in this country go to waste, sim-
ply because they are produced in communities where marketing facilities are inadequate. * * *

"As has been said, fully one-half of the vegetables and fruits grown in this country go to waste. And yet, the canning industry, as represented by the commercial factory, now preserves an enormous quantity of food. * * *

"Home canning undoubtedly may be used to reduce the cost of living in the family. Even those who are accustomed to use canned goods in the winter do not realize that they sometimes pay a good price for transportation on goods shipped from distant sections of the country, when in their own neighborhood in the summer months a surplus of the same product goes to waste.

"The Department of Agriculture, in impressing this point on the farmers, took for example a can of tomatoes bought in the winter time in a certain town in Colorado for 15 cents. This can of tomatoes was put up in Maryland. The people of the town where it was purchased live in an irrigated district where there is always a surplus of tomatoes in the summer. Yet they paid a high price for canned tomatoes, transported from distant Maryland, when they might have put up a similar can during the summer season in their own town that they could have sold at a profit in their own grocery stores for five cents."

The observing see the evidence of wasted labor on every hand. Labor, which could be freed by Socialism, and used to increase the useful things with which to sustain, enrich and expand human life and human happiness.

**A COMMON ERROR.**

Statisticians of the capitalist school who desire to minimize or hide the real value of the workers' product deduct the total value of raw material from the value of the finished product, and present the balance as the real value produced by the workers involved. That answer is seldom correct.
To illustrate, the 7,085,992 given in the census of 1900 as workers in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits include workers in mines and quarries........... 563,866
In moulders, iron and steel workers................... 290,611
In wire works.............................................. 18,487
In blacksmiths ............................................. 226,477
In machinists ............................................... 283,145
In saw and planing mills .................................. 161,624

Also workers in oil wells, brick and tile makers, fish and oystermen, leather curriers and tanners, charcoal, coke and lime makers, paper and pulp mills, etc., which total nearly two million workers. **Study these industries and you will readily see that they are producers of raw material.**

The miner digs the ore, the ore is raw material for the smelters, so we **charge for raw material No. 1.** The finished product of the smelting mill is raw material for the moulders, iron workers, wire workers, etc. **Charges for raw material No. 2.** The finished product of the moulders, iron workers, wire workers, etc., is raw material for the machinists, blacksmiths et al. **Charge for raw material No. 3.** The finished product of the blacksmith and machinist is often raw material for the building trades et al. **Charge for raw material No. 4.**

So the same material is charged up as raw material several times and the final total is deducted from the value of the finished product, as a means of determining the value produced by these same workers who produced the raw material, and therefore the value, which is wrongfully deducted.

Nothing should be deducted from the final value of the product as raw material except for material produced **outside of a group under consideration,** and brought in as product of other workers. And the first cost upon its entry as raw material is the only time it should be charged up against a group or division of workers under consideration, and only that one amount deducted.
This correction of method puts (keeps) several billion dollars in the column of value produced. But I give the editor of the Providence Visitor the benefit of any cupidity or unsophistication injected and answer his questions from his own premises.

**ANOTHER ANGLE.**

I answered Question No. 14 in previous letters, and in so doing I accepted as a basis the figure imposed by the Providence Visitor, namely, $700. The following figures and conclusions are based upon the United States official census of 1910, with consistent deductions where the census does not supply the needed data.

The census of 1910 show the following value of farm products:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Value (in dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General crops</td>
<td>$5,487,161,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals sold</td>
<td>1,833,175,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy products</td>
<td>596,413,463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>306,688,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowl</td>
<td>202,506,272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool</td>
<td>65,472,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey</td>
<td>5,992,083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohair</td>
<td>901,597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$8,498,311,413</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frederick J. Haskin and other authorities put the amount at nine and a half billion, so I may have overlooked some items, but certainly have not placed them high.

The 1910 census of occupations have not been published at this date, December, 1913. The total population does, however, show an increase over 1900 in the rural population of 11 per cent. Add 11 per cent. to the number of agricultural workers of 1900 and it gives 11,523,758. These figures are probably high, as 563,000 workers in mines and quarries are not classed in the agricultural division in 1910, as they were in 1900.

Divide the value of the product by the number of workers and we find the average value product per worker at the
farm is $738; add 20 per cent. for waste, a low estimate, as previously shown, and it equals $885 at the farm. As already shown, with up-to-date methods the land will yield three times the present crop per acre, which equals $2655 at the farm. With up-to-date machinery and methods each worker can cultivate double the number of acres, which equals a product of $5310 at the farm. The product sells for double that price at retail. Hence at the point where the workers spend their money the per capita value of farm workers' product could easily equal $10,620.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.

The census of 1910 shows value of products in manufacturing as $8,529,261,000 by 7,405,313 workers, which equals an average value of $1151.77 per worker. To this add the 53 per cent. for tangible increase of efficiency and loss by unused patents as previously and fully shown, and it equals a value of $1762.20 at the factory. It sells for double that amount at retail, where the workers spend their money, which is $3524.40 per worker in manufacturing industries.

MINES AND QUARRIES.

The census of 1910 show values in product of mines and quarries of $1,255,370,163, and the number of workers 1,139,980, which shows a value at the mine of $1101.22 per worker. Double this to get the value at retail and it equals a value of $2202.44 per worker. The Director of the Census explains that, "Owing to the fact that a certain number of mines ** were engaged in development work only ** the figures for value of products ** relate to a smaller number of enterprises than the figures for persons engaged in industries, expenses, etc." This fact and the fact that I make no claim on efficiency or waste, keeps my figures at the lowest reasonable point.

Because the census of 1910 does not yet give the number
employed in all gainful occupations, it is fair to assume that the number of workers have increased at the same rate as population, 21 per cent., or 35,179,670 workers, all told.

Study "An Explanation" in my previous letter, also my answer to Question No. 5. Hold the same ratio for 1910 as in my figures for 1900, as follows:

42 per cent. agriculture, or 14,637,684
31 per cent. mines and manufacturing, or 11,042,472
27 per cent. trade, transportation, professional and personal, or 9,499,514

Total 35,179,670

Now multiply the number of agricultural workers by average value which they can create, and the total is $155,452,303,080. Multiply the number of workers in mines and manufacturing by the average value which they can create, and the total is $36,970,640,964.

Now add those two totals together and divide the aggregate by the aggregate of all workers, which is 35,179,670, and it shows $5469.71 per year for each man, woman and child engaged in any kind of gainful occupation.

For a workday of 4½ hours divide by 2, and the average will be $2734.85 each per year, $52.59 per week of 27 hours, $8.76 per day of 4½ hours, or $1.95 per hour.

This is not the conclusion of a dream, but of conservative deductions made from known resources and experience with machines and methods already applied and results achieved.

If my premises, deductions or conclusions are false, the errors should be exposed. If they are true, it is time to put the capitalist system on the shelf.

**QUESTION NO. 15 AND 16.**

"How are you Socialists going to get possession of all the land, railroads, manufacturing plants, business blocks,
banks, church and school property, machinery, etc? Will you Socialists confiscate or purchase all capital now used in production and exchange?

**WHO OWNS THEM NOW?**

Our present taxation on land, buildings, personal property and incomes is a negation of the assumption that the State recognizes absolute ownership by individuals today.

All property and men are creatures of the State. The individual right to the control and use of property is conditioned by the State, and the individual shall conform to those prescribed conditions or forfeit the right to such property. This condition prevails today.

* The Providence Journal of Nov. 13, 1913, quotes the United States Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson, as follows:

"The largest corporation engaged in the production of copper in the Michigan district was organized in 1870 under the laws of the State of Michigan, that the face value of its capital stock is $2,500,000. The shares are $25 each. They were purchased at $12 each, so that the actual investment is $1,250,000.

"From that time until one year ago—the last fiscal report that we had, a period of 42 years—that corporation declared in dividends $121,000,000 and made reinvestments out of its earnings of $75,000,000. Nearly $200,000,000 of actual net profits in a period of 42 years on an investment of $1,250,000, and they not only protest against meeting committees of their workmen, but refuse to accept the good offices of the Department of Labor in negotiating the difficulty.

"They say their property is their own; that they have the right to do with it as they please. Maybe they have, but those who take that position have a false conception of the titles to property."

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TITLES LAW CREATED.

"The Secretary said every title was law created and law protected, and that, deprived of those laws, the property involved would be at the mercy of the first strong and cunning man who desired it.

" 'Law had created those titles,' he continued, "not primarily for the welfare of the man to whom it conveys it, but for the welfare of the community. Society has conceived, whether rightfully or wrongfully, that the best method of promoting the welfare of society is to convey titles to individuals in real estate and personal effects. It does it, however, not for the welfare of the individual but for the welfare of the great mass of the people. If any individual or corporation takes the ground that the property is his own, that he has the right to do with it as he pleases and fails to take into consideration the fact that the title has only been conveyed to him as a trustee for the welfare of society, then he is creating a condition that will cause society to modify or change these titles to property, as it has a perfect right to do whenever, in its judgment, it deems it for the welfare of society to do it.'"

AGAIN, WHO OWNS IT NOW?

Mr. Wilson here expounds the rules of property rights and titles today, just as they exist here under capitalism. Read, re-read, and study his words.

From whom do the corporations obtain their franchise? From whom do we obtain permits to build? From whom do we obtain our auto license? To whom shall we report each birth, each marriage, and each death? In other words, whose subjects are we? Subjects of the State, to be sure.

The "Dick" Military Bill now in force enables the government to command any male citizen of the United States of good physique to serve in the army to put down insurrection, repel invasion, or go abroad to fight in Mexico or other places, and refusal by anyone to respond subjects them to court mar-
tial under regular army rules, by which they can be shot to
death for desertion. **Is it not superfluous to ask who owns you?**

Yes, society may command your property, your brains
or your life for the social good. We have learned to suppress
the physical brute; it now becomes us for the public good to
suppress the educated, the refined, the cultured brutes who
now plunder society and with sanctimonious airs murder
thousands in cold blood, where the physical brutes murder
one—and I use the term "murder" advisedly.

When working men lecture to strikers, even though they
counsel patience and warn against violence, and under such
conditions the police did later unlawfully attack the people and
did cause riot, in which someone was killed, the aforesaid
speaker, although not present at the riot, was arrested and
tried for murder, as being an accessory thereto. The capital-
ists have always persecuted leaders of the workers in that
manner.

When the same capitalists strike for a bigger income by
raising prices or cutting wages, so that the workers are for
self-preservation compelled to strike, then the capitalists
employ thugs and gunmen armed with murderous weapons,
who make a business of starting trouble to "get the leaders"
of the strike. The capitalists in office, or their hirelings, use
the police to unlawfully browbeat and manhandle the workers
to create riot as a pretext to arrest the leaders and apply
brutal, inhuman treatment and drastic measures to coerce the
attenuated strikers back to work.

Those capitalists are murderers of the most brutal and
cowardly kind. It is murder by proxy. It is murder for
money. It is murder to subdue. It is murder to enslave and
exploit. There is no question about such people being acces-
sories to the murder.

**PRIVATE "PROPERTY."**

Land, buildings, churches, and all things and devices re-
quired for individual or family use is "property" which should be, and in the co-operative commonwealth will be, owned by the individuals or family who use them.

"CAPITAL."

Machinery, buildings, and all things and devices used in production and exchange, is "capital." In the co-operative commonwealth we shall socially own and democratically manage sufficient land and capital to insure work for every willing worker at wages equal to the social value of their labor product.

A GOOD START.

We now have collective ownership of government, legislative, judicial, and executive, with drafting and taxing power, creation and issue of money, army and navy, police and fire department, highways and waterways, schools and postoffice system, right of eminent domain, etc. The "Appeal to Reason" of Nov. 2, 1912, published the following summary:

"Last week I printed a list of the principal things in America that are socialized, placing the valuation of them, largely from census figures, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public lands</td>
<td>$4,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>1,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads, streets and sidewalks, including cemeteries and utilities</td>
<td>20,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postoffice equipment</td>
<td>500,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama canal when completed</td>
<td>300,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army and navy investment</td>
<td>10,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State, county and municipal buildings</td>
<td>500,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$36,300,000,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows an actual investment greater than that of any single industry in the country, including farming. More people are employed in the various public works, including street and sidewalk building and repairs, than in any other single industry. This should be impressive enough to dissipate the
fear of an extension of the principle of socialization to include the industries. It also affords an opportunity to study the actual effect of socialization, not from theory, but from experience."

If the editor of the Visitor will carefully study all of the foregoing features, and then appreciate the means by which we acquired social ownership of so much, and next consider if possible the potency inherent in that paragraph headed "a good start." How, by judicious, consistent and constructive use of such powers, we may, without injustice or confusion, acquire all of the needful natural resources and means of production and exchange to usher in and operate the co-operative commonwealth.

I clip the following figures from the "Party Builder," Nov. 1, 1913:

Q. What can you tell me about the abnormal concentration of wealth?

A. According to the Labor Clarion (San Francisco), August 29, 1913, article by Richard Canerly on "We Must Regulate Great Fortunes," "there are in the United States about 18,000,000 families. The privately owned wealth of the nation is estimated at $115,000,000,000. Two families have $500,000,000 each; four families have $192,000,000 each; eight families are rated at $96,000,000; twenty-eight at $48,000,000; ninety-five at $24,000,000; 285 at $12,000,000; 770 at $6,000,000; 1,925 at $3,000,000; 4,620 at $1,500,000. In those groups are 7,737 families with a total wealth of $26,905,000,000. Next come 10,500 families with $750,000; 23,000 with $375,000; 48,000 with $187,500 and 100,000 with an average of $93,750."

THE PARASITES' HARVEST.

"In Pearson's Magazine for November, 1913, page 636, is given the following table of incomes, derived from statistics gathered by the United States Treasury:"

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Twenty people in the United States have incomes of $10,000,000 and over; 100 have incomes of $1,000,000 to $10,000,000; 500 have incomes of $500,000 to $1,000,000; 2,000 have incomes of $100,000 to $500,000; 10,000 have incomes of $50,000 to $100,000; 21,000 have incomes of $30,000 to $50,000; 75,000 have incomes of $20,000 to $30,000; 100,000 have incomes of $10,000 to $20,000; 200,000 have incomes of $5,000 to $10,000.

EXTENT OF POVERTY.

"Q. How many people in the United States are there who are constantly at or below the poverty line?

"A. Robert Hunter, in his book, "Poverty," estimates the number at 10,000,000. Arthur James Todd, Ph. D., Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, in a recent series of articles on the subject, asserts that there are "from 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 people in the United States almost constantly down at the poverty line, many of them constantly below it." Further, he states that, although "it may shock our national vanity, it is true, nevertheless, that from 10 to 20 per cent. of our fellow Americans are in real distress; 20 to 30 per cent are living constantly below a physical efficiency minimum, and that even a higher percentage do not receive an income sufficient to maintain either economic or social efficiency."

Other authorities claim that the above estimate is, if anything, conservative.—The Party Builder.

The foregoing portrays the congestion of "capital." How the owners receive superfluous incomes, and how those who do the work, the creators of the capital and incomes, live in poverty and squallor.

Those needlessly cruel and un-Christian conditions do not seem to ruffle the mental serenity of the editor of the "Providence Visitor." His aspersions are reserved for the defenders of equity. The millions ask for bread; would our editor
give them a stone? or is he, like Cane, "not my brother's keeper." If he can study the above figures without remorse, I admonish him to study Jesus in His words of the 7th chapter of Matthew: "For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes." 29th verse.

KNOWN BY THEIR FRUITS.

"Beware of false prophets who come among you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruits."

"A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit."

"Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."

The foregoing words of Jesus go straight to the mark, and the fruit of our present system is brutally un-Christian and immoral; it shall therefore be hewn down and cast out, and a system reared in its stead suited to the ethics of Jesus and a brotherhood of man, and the gates of hell and the editor of the Providence Visitor shall not prevail against it.

OUR DUTY.

If we attend to our duty as good, loyal citizens, and use our powers and possessions in a just and judicious manner, we can easily acquire social ownership of all sufficient primal resources and means of production and exchange, to eliminate waste, exploitation, and graft, and insure opulence for all, without confusion, hardship or injustice, and all in fulfillment of the requirements of the soul (the preamble) of our United States Constitution, which reads:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and
our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the
United States of America.''

**HOW TO GET IT, NO. 1.**

In each case where a franchise is granted, the term of
years and other conditions should be so ordered that the plant
or system must be maintained in the highest condition of
efficiency until the expiration of the franchise, when it must
revert to the public without cost. This plan is merely a mat-
ter of equitable agreement, and the public have both the right
and the power to enforce it.

In the Providence Journal of Nov. 29th, 1913, Frederic
J. Haskin says:

"If the Government ever decides to establish a postal
telegraph, it will have the telegraph companies in a rather
tight place, for they have not only agreed that the Govern-
ment shall have the right to acquisition, but have admitted the
binding force of that agreement. It all comes about as a re-
sult of a law passed in 1866 by Congress, in which it was set
forth that the telegraph companies could have the privilege of
extending their lines over the public domain, along post and
military roads and over navigable streams, with the right to
pre-empt certain lands and building materials, to the extent
of 40 acres for every 15 miles of line, under three conditions:
first, that the Postmaster General should have the right to fix
the Government rates for the use of these lines; second, that
the Government should have the right of purchase after five
years, and third, that no telegraph company should be per-
mitt ed to exercise these rights until after it had first signed a
written acceptance of the obligations and restrictions of the
act.

"Practically every company then doing business signed
the required agreement, and afterward David A. Wells, on
behalf of the Western Union Telegraph Company, declared to
Congress that the United States undoubtedly is the possessor
of the right, outside of the right of eminent domain, to acquire the property of the telegraph companies. Later, Congress passed another act reaffirming the right of the Government to take over control of the telegraph companies whenever it should see fit.’’

Such legislative acts are nothing new. Every railroad franchise granted in England since 1844 is conditional upon the right of the Government to take the property on conditions fixed by law in 1844.

HOW TO GET IT, NO. 2.

By right of eminent domain, the public can take any person’s holdings. By right of eminent domain, we gave the Grand Trunk a right of way, and condemned all property needed by the railroad company. By the same public power, and for the same public good, we could condemn the same, or a different route, for a public owned railroad, or on the same principle we could condemn the New Haven Railroad, and pay for it out of the income which now goes for high finance or profit.

What apples to the railroad would apply to the Standard Oil property, which, by the way, was referred to in the New York Call of Nov. 22, 1913, as follows:

‘‘On an authorized capital of $100,000,000 the Standard Oil Company has just declared a dividend of 111 per cent., as compared with 52 per cent. last year. That is, the various components of the combination once known as the Standard Oil Company, which, as everyone knows, was ‘dissolved’ about two years ago.

‘‘This $111,000,000, or practically all of it, went to people, most of whom know absolutely nothing of the technical work of producing and distributing oil. And of the few who do know, practically none took any actual part in the work. Millions of this enormous dividend have been distributed among minors as yet incapable of work of any kind, loafers
who have never worked and never intend to, and people who hardly know where the money they get comes from. Mrs. Flagler, hopelessly insane in the asylum, gets her rake-off also, though she has probably not the faintest conception even of the existence of such a thing as a Standard Oil Company in her shattered brain.

"That $111,000,000 dividend extracted from oil is, every dollar of it, due to the labor of hired men who did the actual work of producing and distributing the oil. Their portion consisted of wages and 'salaries,' for the vast majority of them barely enough to subsist upon."

I clip the following from the Providence Journal of Nov. 16:

"The dividend statement of the big international thread-manufacturing concern of J. & P. Coats, Limited, one of whose subsidiaries is the Conant Thread Company of Pawtucket, shows profits of about £100,000 more for the year ended June 30, 1913, than for the previous year.

"For the last seven years the dividend has never fallen below 30 per cent. on the ordinary capital, and for the last five it has been, as already mentioned, including bonus, as much as 35 per cent. This means a distribution of £1,575,000 per annum to the ordinary, coming after £150,000 to the preference and £600,000 to the preferred ordinary—a total of £2,325,000 in dividends, in addition to large sums allowed for depreciation, and, in each of the last two years, £500,000 put to reserve.

"The reserve is now brought up to the large sum of £5,500,000, and, besides this, there are a dividend reserve fund of £2,100,000 a marine and fire insurance fund of £600,000, and a suspense account of £129,300; furthermore, the amount of undivided profit brought into the current year is upward of £600,000—some £50,000 less than in 1912, but still a very substantial amount, which, in a sense, is also reserve."
"By Associated Press" news, the Providence Journal of Sept. 18 tells of 20 men who hold 171 directorates and control nine railroad systems.

The New York Call of Nov. 17 shows that the Traction Trust of New York City got $88,353,613 profit in 1912.

I clip the following from "The Pitchfork":

"A LITTLE LESSON IN TRUSTS.

"Herbert Knox Smith, commissioner of corporations, has been delving into the history of the Tobacco Trust. Here are some of his findings:

"In 1890 the trust had $25,000,000 'capital.' In 1908 this 'capital' had grown to $316,000,000.

"A part of this 'capital' is listed under the head of 'good will'—$148,000,000. Whose 'good will' is not stated, but certainly not that of tobacco growers or tobacco users.

"In 1885 one part of the trust, the Duke Sons Company, was worth the modest sum of $250,000. By the mere process of joining the trust it swelled to $7,500,000, and, later, was treated to a further dose of $22,000,000 in 'securities.' Yes, and 'earns' 19 per cent. on that.

"Now, what profits do you think this little measly Duke proposition of $250,000 has 'earned' in 23 years? Oh, a matter of $39,000,000, or 15,500 per cent.!

"Really, gentlemen of high finance, how long do you expect the American public to stand this game of watered stock, industrial monopoly, rising cost of living, and commercialized politics."

"Don't you imagine the worm will turn, sometime?—Wichita (Kan.) Beacon."

"Commercialized politics." I wish the workers would appreciate the force of that term, commercialized politics. Repeat it again and again, until you fully realize the significance of commercialized politics. The working class may have wealth, security, leisure, education, and recreation when the
working class politics are commercialized by and for the working class. With the powers of legislation, of the judiciary, and the executive all within our reach.

Awake, ye toilers; seize the reins
Of this great team of state,
And overthrow our brigand guides
Now, ere it be too late.

And by the right of eminent domain, make the trust public property.

**HOW TO GET IT, NO. 3.**

The army of unemployed is growing larger, and must grow larger, because science and invention displace labor and increase the (surplus value) margin of profit in the product, which the workers cannot repurchase. Because the army of unemployed must increase, the point of irritation, and therefore agitation, will be on the question of unemployed.

The Socialist Party Platforms of 1848 and 1912 contain a demand for employment by the public of the unemployed. That means revolution. It will mark the beginning of the end of capitalism. The capitalists understand this, and therefore will oppose it. Three states are now agitating for state employment for the unemployed.

When the Government employs the surplus workers with modern machines and methods, they will be able to sell cheaper than the capitalists. Therefore that product will sell and displace just so much of the product of private production. Hence, more workers will be displaced, and government employment will be extended more and more until the capitalist will be out of business and the public will have control of production and exchange.

Under such conditions capitalists, factories, etc., must suspend operation, but taxes and insurance will continue; therefore such capital will soon be for sale cheap; but under such
circumstances none will buy. So the capitalists will soon permit them to be auctioned off for nonpayment of taxes; even then there will be none to bid them in except the state; hence you see we can easily acquire the capital by the same competitive method so much beloved by the capitalistic friends of the Providence Visitor, so even they have no moral grounds for complaint.

This method will operate as silently and smoothly as the methods now employed by the trusts in putting the little business man out of business, and the little business man will be looking for a job about the time the scheme of work for the unemployed gets into working order, and they will thank the Socialists for preparing a place for them.

These methods require no change of national constitution. All we require is working class interpretation for the good of the working class. The right and power of the public to apply such methods is not new, and was well expressed by Frederic J. Haskin in discussing the extension of the parcels post system in the Providence Journal of Nov. 23. He said:

"It is a safe prediction that the Postmaster General is not going to let any tender consideration for the express companies stand in the way of extending the parcel post system. He feels that the two transportation systems are fair competitors, and that the only issue is to be the survival of the fittest. If the express companies can render a service to the people more cheaply or more expeditiously than the parcel post, Postmaster General Burleson will be glad to have them do so. What he wants, is not primarily the aggrandizement of the postal service in the line of handling the package delivery business of the people, but rather, that they shall have their parcels transported as cheaply, as expeditiously and as efficiently as that service can be rendered. He would ask nothing in the way of a Government monopoly of the parcel carrying business, except as that monopoly can be gained by
rendering the people a more efficient service than any other agency can. Postmaster General Burleson says:

"'We simply extend it just as far as they will support it, just as far as their needs call for its extension. We are going to move step by step, never over-reaching our selves, nor yet so slowly as to fail to improve the service and extend it just as rapidly as conditions will allow.'"

Everyone except perhaps the editor of the Providence Visitor is familiar with these facts and principles.

**GETTING THE MONEY.**

How could we get money to start public industry, etc.? is a common question. For a start we could put a heavy graduated tax on inheritance and incomes exceeding $3000. Tax all land to its full rental value, and in equity increase the tax income from corporatiosns and other big holders of capital and property. Hundreds of millions would come to the public treasury from these sources. We now spend over $800,000 per day on the Army and Navy. We could better spend most of that stupendous sum to organize the army of construction and industry.

We could open government banks. The bankers do most of their business on borrowed money. They are now doing business with over $750,000,000 loaned to them by the United States Government for one per cent. interest per year. The bankers of the United States owe their depositors over $17,000,000,000 at the present time. Look at the statements issued by the banks and you will find that their own capital stock represents only from two to ten per cent. of their total assets or liabilities. So you see the bankers get their riches on the interest and profits of what they owe. And did you ever notice how prosperous the bankers are?

"'The management of the First National Bank is a sort of happy family,'" said Mr. George F. Baker before the Pujo Committee Jan. 9, 1913, and the following facts, also admitted,
suggest that the family have ample cause to be happy: The bank was organized in 1863 with a capital of $500,000, and during that time, 49 years, its total profits have been more than $80,000,000, which is $1,612,244 for each year, and equals over 18,500 per cent., all told, or 378 per cent. for each year.

This is an instance of one very prosperous bank, and there is nothing to prevent the government from opening a few hundred or a few thousand banks, for you know our government is supreme. The banks do business by permission, and on conditions imposed by our United States Congress. That is why the bankers keep a lobby at Washington, D. C., and take such an interest in our finance legislation. Don’t forget that their power is law made.

Our United States Constitution says, Article 1, Section 8: “Congress shall have power to coin money and regulate the value thereof.”

Our United States Congress is the sole source of all United States money.

Our Congress gives and prescribes the condition and legal tender limitations of all our gold, silver, nickel, copper or paper coinage.

Whoever controls our Congress controls our money. Fix those points in your mind. The bankers now control our Congress; so our government loans them our money for one per cent.

Our Congress has as much right and power to use our money for the employment of labor, as it has to loan our money to bankers.

And if given ample power, the Socialists in Congress, as in all other offices, will labor to “promote the general welfare” and “provide for the common defence.”

We can open government banks with government money and for each dollar of government money involved the de-
posits will surely equal five, and that will be getting money in just the way that bankers get it now.

Thomas W. Lawson declares that all of the capital stock of corporations in the United States is based upon $20,000,000 worth of actual value, and the balance of the stock he declares to be based upon fraud, "water."

We need not buy much of the capitalists' property; we can easier supplant them as the parcel post is supplanting the express companies, as the trust supplants the little business man. But where we need to employ the right of eminent domain and take their property "for the public welfare" we can squeeze the water out of their stock and pay them the honest value and no more.

The profits now made by the trusts would pay for their stock, water and all, in a very short time. Those profits would pay for the honest value of those stocks in from three months to three years. The question is not, Can we get it? but, Do you want it?

**QUESTION NO. 17.**

"Will the man who invents a machine worth millions to society be paid a life income (a new form of royalty), or how will he be rewarded?

How do we reward inventors now? How do the owners reward the inventors in their employ and who are never heard of, lucky to retain a steady job? Not one person in a hundred can control their own invention. The real inventors live and die in poverty, while their despoilers also hold up the public for extortionate profits and make inventions a curse rather than a cure for the burdens of society.

The co-operative commonwealth will justly reward and free the inventor. It will also free the inventions and thus make them a blessing to society at large.

When no person is protected in a monopoly right to use the best methods and machines, when every new and better
method becomes the property of any and all who desire to use it, the power of production will advance with great rapidity and the average income of the workers will increase in the same degree.

QUESTION NO. 18 AND 19.

"Is it not true that of the 1,500,000,000 people on earth no two are alike? One man is a success, the other is a failure; one industrious, the other a spendthrift. Will the industrious, sober and thrifty man be willing to divide and help support the lazy man, the drunkard and the spendthrift?"

No, indeed, the industrious, sober and thrifty man will not be willing to divide and help support the lazy man, the drunkard and the spendthrift much longer; they are getting wise and tired of that. That is a great stimulus to the growth of Socialism, and it will grow in the same degree that the industrious tire of supporting the drones. That is why the "masters" and their hirelings are squealing. They tremble lest they may be compelled to earn an honest living.

QUESTION BUNCH NO. 18 TO 26.

"What will you Socialists do with the farming lands and with the five million owners of these lands? Will you divide the tract into five, ten or fifty-acre tracts and parcel it out to each farmer, and will each farmer be compelled to account to the State for what he raises? Will the intelligent farmer receive the same income as the ignorant farmer? Will an account be kept of what each farmer produces and the quality? If so, will it not require an army of experts and bookkeepers to see that each farmer receives full reward of his toil? Or will you Socialists farm the lands in large tracts with Socialist farm bosses and Socialist farm hands? And which will you be, a farm boss or a farm hand?"

First, we propose Socialism to abolish exploitation, eliminate waste, insure work for all, with reward for each accord-
ing to their merit. Surely there is nothing in this proposition to suggest such a bunch of silly questions. It suggests an answer to his last question first, for it suggests the elimination of those who now farm the farmers, a lot of professional grafters who "live by their wits" plus other peoples' labor. And they just naturally cannot but despise Socialism, which will secure each worker in the full social value of their labor; for that will interfere with "their business" of getting something for nothing.

No Socialist platform ever proposed to interfere with the farmer who farms the soil and does not exploit his fellow man. Socialists propose to work land in large tracts in the most approved methods and with the most efficient machinery, and the "boss" will be elected or discharged by the "farm hands" and all receive reward according to the social value of their labor, which will impel "the hands" to select the most efficient organizers to administer the affairs of the co-operative society.

If a farmer can earn more on his individual farm, then the individual earns on the co-operative farm, he may stick to it. But there will always be a place for him to co-operate when his individual enterprise collapses, as it will for want of efficiency. If he is willing to live on less on his individual farm, that will be his own concern.

Utility and the social good will determine the conduct of the Socialist state in all departments. Socialists are not responsible for what other people call Socialism, but we are always pleased to answer questions. Will the Providence Visitor present another list of questions, some hard ones?
FRED HURST

State Secretary S. P. of R. I..................1903 to 1913
National Committeeman S. P. of R. I..............1913
Executive Committeeman S. P. of R. I...............1914
National Lyceum Lecturer .........................1913
New England Lyceum Lecturer ....................1914

FEATURE SUBJECTS.

The Socialist Movement.
Science of History and Socialism.
Socialism, and How to Get It.
Money; Its Source, Use and Power.
Christianity and Socialism.
NOTICE

Under heavy face and double column headings the Providence Visitor published the questions answered in this book, and accompanied them with instructions to its readers to carry the questions in their pockets for convenient reference. It further admonished its readers to ask the Socialist “Soapboxers” to answer them. The tenor and language of their instructions was obviously suggestive that the Socialists would not be able to present a consistent reply, it therefore cast aspersions upon the logic of the Socialist movement. For this we forgive them, “they know not what they do.”