A MERICANS like to be shown, to be "cited." They care little for abstract reasoning. But if a thing can be demonstrated as accomplishing certain results, then they are willing to look into it further, and possibly act upon it. It is to afford this demonstration that I am making this argument for Socialism, not from abstract philosophy, the old way which we inherited from Europe, but from concrete reasoning, according to hard-headed American psychology.

I show that while the demand of Socialists—socialized industry—has not been tried, socialization as a principle and method of action has been abundantly tested.

That this principle in operation has always resulted in good for all the people.

That the laws of its operation are as fully known as the laws of electricity, and that new applications are no more dangerous with this economic principle than with steam.

That the trusts themselves have shown their conviction that the time is ripe for an extension of the principle of socialization.

That this extension may be made without increasing our burdens, but rather will make them lighter; that this extension, to cover the socialization of industry, will diffuse rather than concentrate power.

THAT INDUSTRY IS BUSINESS, AND THE PROPOSITION TO SOCIALIZE INDUSTRY IS MERELY A BUSINESS PROPOSITION—BUSINESS FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

Everything after its kind. The socialization to be must come, not out of capitalism, but out of socialization that is.
The Road to Socialism

I.

SOCIALIZATION IN AMERICA

THAT we may the better understand what socialization of industry may and may not mean, it would be well to examine into some things that are already socialized in America. First I shall give an idea of the extent of socialization that prevails, and then show some of the results, and, lastly, methods through which things are socialized. In many cases the figures are official; where they are estimated the figures are always very conservative, the aim being to not overstate facts.

SOCIALIZED LAND.

According to official figures (census report, 1910, page 32), there is public (unappropriated and unreserved) lands in the United States to the amount of 695,401,359 acres, or 36 per cent of the total area of the country. Half of this, however, or 368,011,259 acres, is in Alaska, where it is not favorable for farming. Much of the remainder is also at present unavailable for farming, being listed as agricultural, marshy, hilly and broken, mountainous and arid. The public land is found in twenty-four states of the union, besides Alaska and the Philippines, and in 907 counties in continental United States. The amount of swamp and overflow land belonging to the whole people is 74,541,700 acres, which, when drained, will become excellent agricultural land. The government has irrigation projects, intended to redeem 1,750,000 acres of land, and this, too, will become superb agricultural land in time.

In addition to these public lands, there are 115,000,000 acres of national (public) forests, on which there are pastured horses, cattle, hogs, sheep and goats to the number of 8,897,353, and from which there was cut and sold in 1911 timber aggregating 830,304,000 feet, which brought in a revenue of $2,026,906.
There are in the United States national parks aggregating nearly five and a half million acres.

The total amount of land belonging to the whole people, with the general government as trustee, when one adds to the above the land held for capitals, postoffices, navy yards and other public works, is at present close to one billion acres. The land is valued by the government at $1.25, $2.50 and $5 an acre, an average of $3. This makes the national lands of America worth, as they are, two billion dollars. They are really worth full four billions.

SOCIALIZED SCHOOLS.

Census figures (report, 1911, pages 103-106), gives the school population at 24,239,949. The running school expenses for 1910 were $426,250,434. The number of teachers employed was 523,210. The average cost of the schools per inhabitant was practically an even $5. Estimating a room for every teacher, costing not less than $1,000, the money invested in the public schools of America and their equipment is at least $500,000,000. There are probably not less than half a million acres of ground set apart for school purposes, if one considers the public libraries and other auxiliaries in various sections. This land is worth another half billion dollars.

PUBLIC ROADS AND STREETS.

The mileage of public roads, estimated by the census department (page 179, 1911 report) is 2,199,385 miles. The estimated annual expenses of maintaining these roads is $142,144,191, or $1.55 per inhabitant. The total investment, including a modest price for the land traversed and the cost of maintaining them for ten years, is not less than two billion dollars. A conservative estimate places the number of acres of land in America devoted to roads at 20,000,000. The roads of the United States would encircle the globe nearly one hundred times.

There are in the United States fifty cities with more than 100,000 population each, and 200 with more than 25,000 each, besides over 50,000 towns and villages. The estimated mileage of streets and alleys in these towns is given conservatively at more than four million miles, or sufficient to encircle the globe above 160 times. The land occupied by them, averaging thirty feet wide, is not less than 40,000,000 acres, which, valued at
only $200 an acre, which is very low, for city property, would bring the original investment to more than eight billion dollars. When you consider that thousands of miles of these streets are paved, the total investment in streets and alleys and sidewalks in America cannot run less than twenty billion dollars. There are probably two million miles of sidewalks in the United States.

If there is any feature about this statement that is overstated, it is this about the roads, streets and alleys. It is an estimate, but I believe a fair one. If there should be an overestimate, it is more than made up by municipal cemeteries (a tremendous item), and municipal electric, gas and water plants.

It would be impossible to give an accurate estimate of the average number employed in the public service of caring for streets, alleys, walks and cemeteries in America, but it is very large.

That the streets and alleys should be so much more valuable than the roads of the land emphasizes again the fact that in haphazard building of the machinery of distribution, through individual initiative, the towns and cities have been enormously increased beyond the need, until they have become a heavy burden on the productive labor of America.

WATERWAYS.

The United States owns about 4,000 miles of seacoast, and controls some 32,000 miles of rivers that are navigable for large or small craft. The seacoast includes harbors, lighthouses and various other things. It is impossible to give an accurate estimate of the value of this possession, as it cannot be reckoned entirely with dollars and cents. Thousands are employed in the life saving and harbor service of America in a public capacity.

PANAMA CANAL.

The Panama canal has cost to date (see World Almanac) $296,566,928, and employs an average of 45,000 men, 5,000 of whom are Americans. In constructing that canal the government has engaged in practically every business, from laundry work and baking, to running grocery stores and boarding houses. Its handling of the health question has been the wonder of the age, making a sickly section as healthy as any territory in the country.
THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM.

POSTOFFICE.

The postoffice department covers 59,580 postoffices, and routes that aggregate 447,998 miles. It employs more than 150,000 persons, and expends annually about $230,000,000. The investment in buildings and equipments cannot be less than half a billion dollars.

ARMY AND NAVY.

These are departments that absorb a vast amount of the public wealth, and waste it. However, it is handled in a better way than it could be by individuals. There are enlisted men in the army 112,293, and a reserve force under the Dick military law of 14,752,293, not to speak of state militia and the naval force. The expenditures for the army in 1911 were $95,316,665, and for the navy $127,494,141. While the life of a battleship is short, and while there are no definite statistics available, it is estimated that the government has a plant in the forts, arsenals, equipment, uniforms, ammunition, navy yards and various grades of war vessels of something like ten billion dollars.

LOCAL BUILDINGS.

There are forty-six states, all with state capitols, court buildings, universities and charitable institutions. The average expenditure along these lines will reach at least five million dollars for each state, or an aggregate of about $230,000,000. There are about three thousand counties in the United States, each of which has its courthouse and jail, many of which have county farms and other institutions. At an average cost of $20,000 for these improvements (and that is a modest estimate), the aggregate county wealth would be more than $60,000,000. The fifty cities with more than 100,000 population, the 200 with more than 25,000 each, and the thousands with more than 1,000 all have some form of city improvements, such as libraries, city halls, jails, parks, tools, some elaborate and costly, others simple and cheap, but the value of all these things may very conservatively be estimated at two hundred millions,
TO SUM UP.

The total socialized or public wealth of America, then, stands something like this:

<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, 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</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 is sufficient showing to dissipate the dread some have of common-wealth, and to furnish a basis on which to predicate the coming Co-operative Commonwealth, as well as presenting data sufficient to enable one to judge accurately of the handling and effect of socialized property. It is not accomplishing all it might do, for three reasons:

1st. The socialization in existence is surrounded by antagonistic individual enterprise which partly annuls its good. To illustrate. The schools, being socialized, are good, yet it is possible for there to be graft in the building of school houses, for the reason that the building is let under private contract.

2d. The things socialized are for the most part so used as to benefit the few on account of being only partly socialized. For example: The roads are socialized, but the vehicles running on them are privately owned, which means that those who have vehicles, a comparatively small number, get the chief benefit of them. Socialized vehicles would complete the socialization and make the roads of benefit to all, especially if homes were possible for all.

3d. Private business has seen that the most things socialized so far are non-productive. The roads and streets cost money, but do not bring in an income. If railroads and merchandising, for example, were socialized, they would bring an income that would pay for them, even if large debt was incurred in acquiring them.
A GREAT many suppose that all the land of the earth is owned individually. This is far from the truth. The greater portion, and probably that which contains the finest minerals of the earth's surface, is still in the possession of nations, states and communities.

In Australia 946,892,690 acres out of 1,903,731,840 acres were in 1912 still in possession of the various state governments. The larger portion of Canada, excluding the Arctic region, is yet state property. In South America tremendous regions of land are still in public possession. The federal government of Argentine holds 3,000,000 square miles of pasture and agricultural land, or nearly half of that kind of territory within its boundaries. In China most of the land is held by families as tenants of the state, the state being the owner. The greater portion of India is possessed either by the states or principalities, or held in community ownership by local brotherhoods. A very small portion of Africa is privately owned.

Private land monopoly in Great Britain is more extensive than in any section of the world. The total area of the United Kingdom is approximately 77,000,000 acres, and 40,000,000 of these are owned by 2,500 people. Yet there are public lands in Great Britain, consisting of forests, common land owned by municipalities for public buildings, water works, parks, etc., and land acquired by county councils under a new act permitting municipal ownership of land. England owns, as crown land, under the control of the board of agriculture, 63,000 acres which includes about 100 farms, and rents these for about $300,000 yearly.

In Germany there are great forest areas owned by the state, and in addition nearly every municipality owns large areas of land which it rents to citizens. Many of these cities have no taxation, the rent paying all the expenses of running the city. Frankfort owns one-half of the entire municipal area. Ulm
owns three-fourths of the land upon which it is built. Five towns
in Germany possess from 120 to 240 square yards of land for
each inhabitant. Berlin has 85 square yards of publicly owned land
per head of the population.

In France, Switzerland and Germany there are large comm-
munal pasture lands.

In Russia, the crown, which in that country is the state,
owns vast territories of land. This is, of course, a private mo-
nopoly, yet there are great holdings of communal lands. In Tur-
key, most of the new Albanian state is government property and
is held in perpetuity by the cultivators, who pay small rental to
the state. Australia has promulgated an ordinance which de-
clares that no more land in the northern territory, which now
amounts to 233,000,000 acres, will be sold. All this land will be
worked under leases from the government, all the minerals re-
served to the states, and the rents revisable at fixed periods. No
raise of rent is to be made because of increased value from
public works.

NATIONALIZATION OF FORESTS.

Tremendous forest areas are yet publicly owned and there
is a general move all over the world to preserve these, not only
in order to see that the timber supply is not exhausted, but also
to protect the water sheds and avoid the cessation of rains, which,
it is declared, comes from destroying the forests. Germany has
13,996,000 acres of state forests, and from these Prussia alone
receives an annual revenue of $30,000,000. In Sweden there is
a forest reserve area of 15,000,000 acres held by the state, while
communes and parishes own about 15,000,000 more. The state
derives an income of about $2,500,000 annually from its forests.
Most of the forest land in Switzerland is communally owned,
although the state is now taking oversight of it. No timber can
be cut without the consent of the federal authorities and for
each tree cut down a new one must be planted. In Finland,
14,000,000 acres of dry forest land belongs to the state and
8,000,000 acres of marsh land that is timber bearing. The state,
however, auctions the forests to contractors instead of really
holding them for the people. In the United States there are held
as public forests, 145,000,000 acres. There has been considera-
ble graft in the marketing of the timber on this public land, and
it is sold to individuals and corporations. This, however, will probably be remedied in the future.

**NATIONALIZATION OF RAILWAYS.**

The three most important countries in the world that have not collectively owned railroads are Great Britain, the United States and Spain, yet the United States has a publicly owned railroad in Panama, while 14 British colonies have such roads. Among the nations that own railroads are the following:

- Austria-Hungary
- Belgium
- Brazil
- Bulgaria
- Chili
- Columbia
- Costa Rica
- Cuba
- Denmark
- France
- German Empire
- Holland
- Honduras
- Italy
- Japan
- Nicaragua
- Norway
- Panama
- Portugal
- Roumania
- Russia
- Servia
- Siam
- Sweden
- Switzerland
- Turkey

In Panama, New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland the railroads have been built entirely by the state. In other sections both state construction and private contract have prevailed in the construction of the roads. The total cost of construction and equipment of the Australian railroads is given at $765,000,000. The net earnings are $30,000,000. This amount is used annually for the purpose of paying off the debt incurred in building the roads because it is not the intention of the government to make profits. The earnings of the New Zealand railway for 1912 were about $18,000,000. On the state railroads school children travel free, no matter how far the distance, in coming from and going to school. The wages of the 20,000 men employed on the New Zealand railways have been materially increased since the state took possession of them. The net profit of the Prussian steam railroads is about $150,000,000 a year or half the total national revenue. The net profit of the Swedish railways is about five millions, and of the Danish about ten millions.

**NATIONALIZED MINES.**

Coal and other minerals under the surface of the soil are held to be public property to be managed by the state, except in the British possessions and the United States of America. In
most instances the state leases its rights to mine and the mineral rents go into the national receipts. However, numerous mines worked by the state exists in Europe and other parts of the world. These, however, are mostly mines for precious metals, copper, tin, lead and salt. Coal mines are worked by the state in Germany, which owns eleven mines, employing 5,000 men. In Austria, Sweden, Russia, South Australia and New Zealand all the coal mines are nationalized and worked by the state to supply municipal needs, the coal being sold at cost. The South African government owns many diamond, coal and other mines, from which it draws about $3,000,000 in annual rentals. In New Zealand, where all the mines are operated by the state, the hours are uniformly eight, and the price of coal has been lowered about 28 per cent. At the same time pay has been increased and the state clears annually about $2,000,000 from the coal mines.

STATE AND MUNICIPAL INSURANCE.

In Great Britain the government conducts a life insurance business through the postoffice department. However, the old line companies influenced legislation so that the government is forbidden to advertise or call attention to its insurance, and, as a consequence, the insurance is divided. New Zealand has a fire insurance department and also conducts life insurance.

STATE BANKING.

In Australia banking is a government monopoly. As a result it is the only government in the world that is not in debt. The banking system has been in operation for twelve years and during that time the government has not borrowed a penny. Government notes are issued against a gold reserve, but the reserve is only twenty-five per cent of the amount of the notes. They, however, circulate at par. Six of the Australian states possess each a state loan bank which advances capital to farmers and settlers.

OTHER STATE SERVICES.

At Melbourne, brick manufacturers raised the price of brick almost to the prohibitive state and New South Wales started a brick and pottery work, breaking the force of high prices. The Danish government has a state service consisting of eight vessels, twenty-three ferries and ninety-five ice boats. The Aus-
Australian government has four vessels that carry on a steamer coastal trade.

Denmark has given such state encouragement to farm co-operative societies that middlemen have been almost eliminated, with the result that food prices are very much lower than in state adjoining, while the farmer, from being extremely poor fifty years ago, is now in good condition. There are 300,000 farmers that maintain 4,000 co-operative societies. In South Australia all the exported meats and perishable products are dealt with exclusively in the state department. It arranges for space on steamships causing no delay of fruits, and sends it to the world's market at bare cost. The West Australian government runs two state hotels. Even the United States conducts a great many hotels and businesses in the Panama zone.

**GOVERNMENT INTERFERING IN BUSINESS.**

The pure food laws, the work of the interstate commerce commission, the recent purchase of 113,000 acres of land by the United States government in the Ohio headwaters for a forest reserve, the establishment of a parcel post, the government ordering the express companies to lower rates, all these and many other things point to a disposition, even with the United States government, to interfere with what is known as business, both in the way of regulation and also in the transaction of business itself. It is an acknowledgment of a principle that concedes the whole Socialist program as right.

Here are some things the government of the United States has done only recently. While business is privately conducted, it will be chiefly beneficial to individuals and companies, but when the government does the things which it is opening the way to do, it will mean service for the whole people.

It is investigating and giving the press information as to the best methods of bread making.

It deposits money to be reloaned to farmers to move crops. If it would use its own deposits in the postal savings banks, and loan itself at nominal interest, it would look toward the Socialist idea; while if it would use that money, not as loans to individuals, but as capital with which to do business for the whole people, it would prepare to realize all the Socialist asks.
III.
THE PEOPLE GOING INTO BUSINESS

As indicated by the socialization that already exists, there has been a strong tendency toward socialization for many years. In fact, the movement for a republic, and finally the democratizing of that republic, is really a movement toward socialization. The mail service, the roads and other like institutions, which require public or social management and exist not for profits, but for the benefit of all, have become such everyday affairs that people do not realize they are socialistic.

There is a decided tendency toward further socialization manifested today. The movement for manhood suffrage in Europe and for womanhood suffrage in America, the growth of the idea of direct legislation, the demand of the people to be heard in all branches of the government, which has advanced to such an extent that it is already a revolution, are but manifestation of these tendencies.

There are further evidences of the extension of the idea of socialized property. The nations are going into business, into work that brings an income. Following are some summaries of what they are doing in business lines which means, of course, partial control of industry, as summarized from many books and government documents:

Switzerland—The cantons are divided into two classes—absolute and representative democracies. The executive authority rests with a federal council of seven members, the president being elected by this number every year. The people may demand a referendum either on laws enacted by the legislature or on their own initiative. The whole political system is based on the commune, which is practically a chartered stock company of a co-operative nature which all persons have a voice in management. Most of the communes own lands and houses. The dividends from the rental of the lands supply free wood in winter, free books to schools and free support of those disabled. The government regulates the business and management of railroads. The expenses of the government are paid with revenues
from rental of public property, from post and telegraph receipts, from interest on the war fund and state monopoly of gunpowder and salt. The cantons tax private capitalists in the way of a tax on unearned increment. Sick people receive free clinical treatment, a daily allowance while disabled and in case of permanent incapacity, from 50 to 60 per cent of the salary they formerly received. Old age pensions prevail.

Germany—Due largely to Socialist agitation, Germany owns its own coal and potash mines, its railroads, postoffices, telegraph and telephone services. Most municipalities care for the poor and insane, look after the sick, run the street railways, public baths and libraries, control markets and other public utilities. Poorhouses are unknown in Germany. Work clans are established for those who cannot find employment. Able-bodied people who won't work are compelled to do so, but the weak are given light employment. Orphans and foundlings are provided with homes where the boys under state supervision are taught trades and girls housework. There is compulsory state insurance against sickness, accident, infirmity and old age. Kitchens are operated for the poor where, in case they are unable to pay the small fee that is expected to pay running expenses, they are given food free. The poor are furnished medical attention free. The state pays the fare of workers from one section to another in order that they may find employment. Insurance against unemployment will soon be provided by the government.

France—The railways belong to the state, though private companies still have a limited interest in them. Education is free and compulsory. Agricultural syndicates, societies and banks advance funds to farmers lacking capital. Schools and colleges teach the best methods of farming. The nation monopolizes tobacco culture, granting the privilege of raising it and buying all the crops. The government advances money on securities furnished by the borrower at barely enough interest to pay expenses.

New Zealand—Equal suffrage for men and women prevails. Citizens may vote by mail and a half holiday is enforced on election day. The government owns all railroads, telegraphs, banks and a central bank of issue. The government furnishes life, accident and fire insurance at cost of maintenance, has
model and experimental farms for each 100,000 population, owns the packing industry, provides village and farm settlements, where the poor may make a living, and operates coal mines. The government requires municipalities to maintain slaughter houses, acts as commission merchant for the farmers, controls cold storage where it furnishes storage at cost, buys estates in or near the cities, divides them up for workmen's homes and advances money to workmen to help them build homes. Annuities are given to the aged poor and they can live at home in their declining years safe from want. The government owns much land, which it does not sell, but leases for five per cent of its value yearly to settlers, lending $350 to each family that wishes to start a farm.

*Australia*—The government owns the railroads and has reduced the rates lower than prevails on any part of the globe. It builds cold storage plants for farmers and co-operative packing societies, which are turned over to them at cost.

State and municipal governments are going into business in various other ways. For example, Finland owns 800 farms, comprising 650,000 acres. Many of them are worked directly by the state and others on joint co-operation between the state and the tenants. Glasgow, Scotland, builds and equips its street cars, employing 500 workmen in its shops. In Italy towns and villages are expressly authorized to open bakeries and supply bread at cost. In Switzerland the liquor business is a public monopoly, having been made so by a referendum vote and is operated so as to decrease drunkenness. Theaters and concert halls are owned and operated at cost by some municipalities in England, France and other European countries.

**Municipal Socialization.**

In the line of municipal socialization the London and Borough councils, England, have built tenements for the accommodation of over 40,000 persons. Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, Birmingham, Plymouth and many other towns have built, and are building, houses for the working class. They are making arrangements to provide cottages for agricultural laborers. In Ireland 42,000 laborer cottages have been built by the state with from half an acre to an acre of land attached, which are rented by the state in order to break private landlord-
ism. In Budapest, Hungary, the municipalities and government have erected 4,000 tenement houses. In Austria various state governments are building houses in town and country, which are either rented at nominal rent or sold on easy terms to the poor. In France, Germany, Austria and Italy almost every municipality owns a theater or opera house. A special bill has been passed by the French parliament authorizing municipalities to conduct butcher shops. In Italy scores of towns and villages run bakeries, supplying bread at cost. In Budapest the crown has a large municipal bakery. In Germany almost every town has a public stall in which meat is sold cheap to the poor. As a result of the municipal competition the price of German beef was cut in half. The West Australian government opened a packing house to cut the prices of meat.

In Sweden and Norway the liquor business is conducted by companies under municipal control. The net profits go to the municipality and the state. In Switzerland the liquor business is a government monopoly resulting in a better quality of spirits, less intoxication, and an annual profit to the state, of about $1,000,000.

In Paris and Vienna the conducting of funerals has been taken over by the cities, with the result that the undertaking cost is reduced fully one-half. Municipal funeral undertaking has become very common in Germany, crematories existing at Mayence, Chimitz, Gera, Leipgiz, Lutice. The cost of cremating is $10 and less.

The Connecticut legislature has granted several cities the right to start and operate municipal ice plants. Williamantic already has such a plant in operation. The private companies endeavored to prevent the establishment of the city plants, but the council came back with a declaration that the delivery of ice by private companies was against their franchises and because the people would not go to them to buy and carry the ice home, their business was knocked galley west. Frederick Cederholm, a Socialist alderman, is leading the fight for municipal ice in Bridgeport. In Schenectady, N. Y., where Socialists ruled, a municipal ice plant was established, but the court issued an injunction stopping the business.
IV.

UNCLE SAM IN BUSINESS

UNCLE SAM has been doing much more than merely serving people with schools, roads, postal systems and similar enterprises. He has at Panama gone into business, doing almost everything from manufacturing ice to running hotels. The following, taken from an official government bulletin of work done at Panama, indicates something of what he is engaging in:

“Laundry—There has been a large increase in this business during the year, 3,581,923 pieces being handled this year as against 2,993,761 pieces the previous year. The revenue this year amounted to $98,303.27 as against $90,797.56 last year. The revenue did not increase correspondingly with the amount of business for the reason that very heavy reductions in prices were made during the first part of the year, laundry being handled at prices 12½ to per cent lower this year than it was last year. The average number of employes served monthly was 7,260.

“In the year there were 16,638 barrels of flour used, and there were produced 5,236,474 loaves of bread, 557,557 rolls, and 91,581 pounds of cake. The total value of the product was $221,352.06. The value of the product did not increase correspondingly with the increase in volume of business for the reason that reductions in prices were made.

“Coffee Roasting—During the year 330,490 pounds of coffee were roasted, producing 270,047½ pounds of roaster coffee. The value of the product was $60,543.86. Although there were heavy advances in the price of coffee during the year, we were enabled to sell this article at the same price that we did the previous year.

“Ice Manufacture—Thirty-three thousand two hundred and sixty-seven tons of ice were produced during the year. The value of the product was $206,188.01. The additional tank installed during last year increased capacity sufficiently to meet all demands made on us for ice. The total output for the year averaged about 90 tons per day, and our present capacity is about 100 tons per day, first-class ice,
"Ice Cream Manufacture—Dring the year we moved the ice cream plant into a new building erected for its use. We are now able to turn out more ice cream than ever before. The quality of the ice cream is improved and cost of manufacture reduced. During the year we manufactured 110,208 gallons of cream, as against 91,321 gallons for the previous year. The value of the product was $99,318.80 for the present year, as against $62,379.93 for the previous year. The demand for the product grows steadily, and it is thought that the next year will show a still larger increase.

"Automatic Weighing and Packing Department—During the year the following goods were packed by this department. . . . It will be observed that 1,448,815 pounds more goods were packed this year than during the previous year. The cost of packing amounts to about $1.90 per ton, and the system presents great advantages in the rapid and cheap handling of supplies over the counters as well as eliminating waste on account of over-weights.

"Cold Storage Plant—Ice storage room No. 4 was converted into a cooler for the storage of meat, the ice being moved to the storage room on the second story, as indicated in my last annual report, making an additional 12,114 cubic feet storage for meat in this room. Cooler No. 7, for the storage of fresh milk and cream, was installed, the capacity being 3,422 cubic feet. Cooler No. 9, for the storage of eggs, capacity 3,414 cubic feet, and Cooler No. 10, for the storage of cheese, capacity 6,355 cubic feet, were installed, bringing our total refrigerated storage space up to 193,230 cubic feet. Additional storage space was necessary to take care of the large increase in our importations already mentioned, and also to provide a more economical and safe method of handling refrigerated supplies. During the year we installed in the cold storage plant a complete butter printing outfit, and it is now in full operation. We print daily about 1,400 pounds of butter at a considerable saving in price and improvement in quality.

"Laboratory and Experimental Kitchen—During the year a complete laboratory and experimental kitchen where we test all food products both as to quality and weight of package. We manufacture here extract of lemon, extract of vanilla, bay rum, and other similar products. This branch has proved very useful
in providing assurance that the quality of goods that we receive is always up to the highest standard, and its manufacturing feature effects considerable economy.”

All this merely illustrates that Uncle Sam can do and has done things. It shows that he can do things satisfactory, from promoting public health to digging one of the biggest ditches the world has ever known, accompanied with the management of all sorts of business in order to promote the work. It may serve as an example of what can be done, a precedent for action in the future. But it was not accomplished for the good of the whole people, but only because commerce needed the canal, and the corporations were not big enough to dig it. Their inadequacy, however, and Uncle Sam’s adequacy, were meant merely to serve the private owners of transportation. Uncle Sam dug the ditch at their bidding; now he will turn it over to be used by them, instead of keeping it to be used by his own ships for the benefit of the whole American people. The possibilities of social work and social management are clearly shown, but there is lacking further socialization in order to make it effective for the public good. The trust system has gone to the lengths the Panama enterprise has done, in that it has made industry a social work, so immeasurably superior to the old individualistic plan that there will never be a return to the old; but it lacks social management for the benefit of all instead of for the enrichment of the few owners. It is this lack which is pressing to the front the demand for further socialization.

The United States as among the last of the countries to adopt a parcel post. It has proved so successful already it is lowering its own rates and compels the express companies, both through competition and by direct orders, to reduce their rates.

Only recently has the United States adopted postal savings banks. At first they were tried in a small way. Since then the number of banks had been increased manyfold, and the deposits have run into the hundreds of millions. It is now possible to deposit money by mail. All that is lacking to make the postal savings banks available for great service to the people is an order forbidding the redeposit of deposits in private banks, making them available for use by the government, up to a safe banking margin, in doing business for the people without profits.
UNCLE SAM DOES OTHER THINGS

THE WORK OF IRRIGATION.

GILSON GARDNER writes as follows about the United States reclamation service in the Technical World Magazine for June, 1913:

"Fifteen thousand families, worth on an average perhaps $3,000 apiece.

A producing plant owned and operated by these families with a total value of approximately $83,000,000.

An annual product which last year amounted to $18,000,000, and which will increase yearly.

Economic independence for approximately 75,000 persons.

These are the economic results of the government’s reclamation work. There are other interesting results, but the most interesting thing about the affair is its unique character as an experiment in paternalism.

The government has constructed irrigation works costing approximately $75,000,000, and bringing under water 1,160,000 acres of what before was arid, useless land. The government wants settlers for this land, and, in order to encourage settlers, offers lands in farm units of 20, 40 and 80 acres at the actual cost of the work of reclamation. In order to make the proposition still more attractive the settler is permitted to enter and begin cultivation on the payment of a nominal sum ranging from $3 to $9 an acre, the other payments being distributed over a period of ten years. No interest is charged on the deferred payments.

THE TRUSTS SHOWING THE WAY.

"Why has the government gone into this business of building dams, and systems of canals? The government does not even get interest on its capital. Nothing is charged for the lands themselves and the government will get back, after the land in the rain belt? The United States census shows that the ten-year period, only what it spent.

"Was the purpose to increase the output of this country’s
agricultural products? Why not cultivate some of the neglected area of lands which could have been, but were not cultivated in 1910 was 396,281,000 acres, or 45 per cent of the total farm area of 873,729,000 acres.

"Much land is held by private parties for speculative purposes. If this land were reduced to cultivation the products would be so much greater in value than the paltry $18,000,000 from these irrigated farms that the latter would look like a kitchen garden.

"There was an occasional reference to the desirability of giving settlers an opportunity to secure homes, but no greater emphasis was laid on this argument. The government does not assist city folks to secure homes and it might be difficult to explain this partiality for the man who makes his living from the ground. To have told the truth would not have done at all. For the truth was this: Half a dozen railroads with extensive mileage in the semi-arid states conceived the idea that their prosperity would be enhanced, if arid lands along their rights of way were rendered fertile. Settlers and products of the farm feed money into railroads. If the government would do the engineering work using the capital which had accumulated from the sale of public lands in the states, new towns would spring up along their lines, worthless real estate would become valuable and the revenues of the roads would be much larger. SO EACH LINE CHIPPED IN $5,000 AND A $25,000 LOBBY DID THE TRICK.

"But see the precedent they have set. For the first time since we were a nation, the government has begun to do for some what the Socialists say the government ought to do for everybody. It conducts community works at cost. It supplies the workingman with the tools for his occupation—not the plow and the rake, but the more important social tools—the ditches, dams, laterals, reservoirs, head gates, and power plants, which are required for irrigation farming. These to the farmer are what the boat is to the fisherman. It does not set up cotton mills and invite workers to come in and buy the mills at cost out of the products manufactured. Yet the government is doing exactly this service for people who are settling on irrigation farms.

"The material results are readily summed up. There are 31 projects constructed or in progress. There are 13 practically
complete. A canal system, tributary to reservoir, has been created which will water 1,160,000 acres of fertilized land. Water has been applied to 1,500,000 acres. On these 15,000 have been settled by families. As a result of such settlement a population of 75,000 people has come together in the irrigation communities. The total amount of money used by the government is $75,000,000. From an engineering point of view the workers have been entirely free from criticism. No scandal or suggestion of graft has arisen in connection with the expenditure of this large sum. The service never has been charged with furnishing jobs for political reasons to useless employes. Two disbursing officers and one clerk have been prosecuted for dishonesty. The stolen mone—the total did not reach $4,000—was reimbursed to the government by the bonding companies who had insured the employes. The service has been three times investigated; once by a board of army officers, and twice by senate committees. The findings in each case were, except in certain small details, or in matters where there was room for honest difference in judgment, that the service was without reproach.

"On many of the projects it will not be long before the farmers will use electric power for cooking, heating their houses, and running trolley lines, as well as for pumping water and lighting. On some projects they are already doing so.

"Here every community will own and operate its chief public utility. These utilities are worth from one to $15,000,000 apiece. Each utility will have producing capacity equal to its own value yearly, and yet these enterprises will not be managed by the wizards of high finance, who are presumed to know so much more than the common people, but by the common people themselves. The dwellers on each project are, or soon will be, organized into what are know as 'water users associations.' These associations are models of corporate democracy. They are incorporated and issue stock, but no peron can hold more stock than he owns land and, as his ownership of land is limited to what he cultivates and is never in excess of 160 acres, there is no chance for a few persons to corral the stock and dominate the corporation. The majority rules.

"Drawn together by community interest the settlers meet in the water users building (one project has a $75,000 hall) and decide questions of policy and administration.
"The advantage of community action is quickly learned and the result is seen in the formation of co-operative associations for marketing crops and for storing and transporting of both fruit and vegetables."

THE WEAK PALCE IN THE "PROJECT."

That Mr. Gardner is right in saying that this most desirable and well executed work was not for the benefit of the whole people, but for the good of a few capitalists, is proved by the testimony of J. J. Hill, of the Northern Pacific railroad, before the interstate commerce commission:

"Three railroads subscribed $5,000 each and hired a fellow from California named Maxwell, a rapid typewriter, to educate the people about reclamation. After three or four years two other roads came in, and before long we had the movement started."

The reclamation works were built and well built. Then, because the railroads that had promoted it, wished to get the use of the lands, all sorts of subterfuges were put forward by government agents to discourage the settlers and induce them to give up their land. One man on the ground sums it up briefly as follows:

"The government through its project engineers has collected for water before it had water to deliver and has taken all the money in sight. Most of us have run our limit at the local banks. Many have proved up and got a loan on claim at twelve per cent interest. Still they demand more money when there is no money to get. I understand many other projects are in just as bad a fix."

The work was well named a "project." It was a project of the railroads to get the government to do work ostensibly for small capitalists and then enable the big fellows to step in and gobble it all.

The efficiency of Uncle Sam has been proved, at the demand of the trusts. It remains to make that efficiency tell for the good of all, to the intent that the trusts may be ruled out of it. This argues for further socialization, not less of it. The people must learn to use Uncle Sam for their good just as the trusts have used him in the past for their good."
VI.

HOW SOCIALIZATION WORKS

In the examples and instances cited in previous chapters we have data from which to figure the actual result of socialization. While they do not cover the specific thing which Socialists wish to socialize—that is, the machinery of production and distribution that is socially used—they do afford means from which we may safely judge the result of socialization. And the time has gone by when the people are going to shy at words and suggestions merely through timidity. They have the means at hand for judging the principle. They have been applying it more and more for many years. They have learned to do things for themselves, and they are going to consider how they may do other things for themselves.

It is the scientific method to find the working of a principle in actual experience, and then to make application of that principle to further uses. Let us consider what socialization, as already outlined in the world's experience, has done. The matters mentioned reveal that the whole people have an actual social investment many times greater than that of any single industry operated individually, not excepting farming. This should be impressive enough to dissipate all fear of further investment of the same nature. Generally speaking, this social investment has resulted in good for all. Some of its specific effects may be outlined as follows:

DIFFUSION AND CONCENTRATION.

One great objection urged to socialization is that it would concentrate power into the hands of a few, and so become a threat against democracy. If you will notice the schools, the roads, the streets (which are the largest factors in socialized life at present) you will see they are managed from small units—the school district, the road district, the city and village. They represent diffused rather than concentrated power. While the so-called public lands are under direction of the federal government, still there is a great deal of land socialized that is managed by small local units—such as parks, cemeteries, streets,
court yards, school yards, etc. It shows that it is possible for the city, the county, the township to socialize land, so as to relieve unemployment and landlordism in its locality without waiting for federal action. The postoffice represents concentration, yet even there is local self-government. Civil service rules are already beginning to break the power of the president, exercised through appointment, and when this is extended, as Socialists propose it shall be extended, to include election of postmasters and all officials, with the universal right of recall, it will be seen that the so-called threat of centralization under Socialism falls to pieces.

**SOCIALIZATION FOR SERVICE.**

Socialization is for service, not for profits. The schools, the roads, the streets, the postoffices are for the use and convenience of all, not for the making of money for a few. There is no profit connected with socialized things anywhere. Under the present system there may be graft in private contracts for building school houses or paving streets, but this graft is due to the individual plan rather than the socialized plan. The features that are socialized and not fully for service are the army and navy. They have served to defend the country in need, but it is now recognized that there is no danger of foreign invasion and that now their mission is to serve the masters rather than the people. This, however, is possible only because the masters rule politically. Under political and industrial democracy an army might be useful in building roads, draining swamps and doing other public service, and a navy in carrying the commerce of the people at cost. The public lands are not useful to the people merely because they are not used. There is sufficient even yet to set every idle man in the land at work, if put to use.

**SOCIALIZATION MEANS OPPORTUNITY.**

Anything that is socialized anyone may use, without paying profit. It is so with the schools, the streets, the parks. Your possession is sure, and the right of every individual is unquestioned. You may use the streets as you please and no one may force you from them. There is absolute freedom under socialization. You do not have to buy a place to walk or hire a teacher in order to educate your children, or lay by a park in order to
go there and enjoy it. Co-operation has done for all what only a few can do if they work as individuals.

SOCIALIZATION MEANS ADVANCEMENT.

There is a great decrease in illiteracy since the public schools superceded the private schools of other days. There is a tremendous increase in the output of books and papers since the postoffice department was socialized and mail is carried at cost. Except for the public road we would still be a succession of small isolated communities, with tolls charged at intervals for not only use but also for profits to the private owners. It is the public streets and sidewalks alone which enable you to go where you please in the cities and towns without charge or hindrance, instead of subject to fines for trespassing on private grounds if you offend by saying something the owner of the street does not like. We have today instances where free speech is denied in towns that are owned by corporations. It may be set down as an axiom that what is owned by the individual is for him alone and what is owned by the whole people is for all. Therefore, the greater the public wealth the greater the liberty of all.

SOCIALIZATION IS PERMANENT.

Social wealth is not dissipated. Sometimes private holdings are sold and dissipated, but it is not so with public wealth. You do not buy or sell or divide or lose your right in the courthouse or the park. It is the surest property in the world, because everybody else is helping you to retain your interest in it. If you move to another city, you at once have an interest in the roads, schools and postoffice there. You do not have to lay by in order that your children may be sure of such interest. The common-wealth frees you from worry that they will be dispossessed; it is not so with private wealth.

As indicated by what has preceded this, the democratizing of government, begun a century and a half ago and recently receiving added impulse, is a development of the socializing idea, and almost every advance made since has been along the line of socialization. The work of industry has now become social in nature; that is, no man can any longer live in solitude, he works with others; it follows then that a more perfect social organiza-
tion, which shall the better conserve the interests of all, and make the social work mutually beneficial, is not only due, but is also imperative. This is the reason for the world-wide agitation of Socialism at this time. It has not come merely because a few wished to bring it about, but because it was logical it should come. By another line of reasoning we have thus come to the logic that Socialism advances in explaining itself according to deductive methods. The tendency is not to less socialization but to more; and that which we have already shows the path before to be both safe and pleasant.

SOCIALIZATION HAS LIMITATIONS.

There is just as truly limitation in socialization as there is in the tract of ground you may buy individually. By this I mean that collective ownership of the roads does not mean collective ownership of toothbrushes, and collective ownership of court-houses doesn't give the public a right to say what church you shall join. There is the same limitation to the Socialist proposition for the socialization of the machinery of production and distribution. It does not mean community of women and could not do so except on the assumption that women were the property of men. It does not mean an ending of private property, any more than the collective ownership of the postoffice means that you may not buy a stamp as your personal belonging. It does not mean that you cannot be a Catholic, a Methodist, an atheist or a Mohammedan, any more than collective ownership of the roads deprives you of your right to individual views. Because we have tried collective ownership of roads, streets, schools and other things, it does not follow that the particular thing we now wish socialized—that is, the big industries—has ever been "tried," though the operation of the principle in one line gives a good criterion as to how it will work in another.
VII.

FEELING AFTER SOCIALIZATION

VARIOUS METHODS OF HOLDING LANDS.

While in Europe a great deal of land is held by municipalities and the states, it must be remembered, that this is a heritage from the feudal system. Under the feudal system land was held by a few individuals and those who used it were not renters, but were feuds or slaves of the land, being sold with it. When the feudal system was broken up many of the cities assumed control of portions of the land. The land has not been held under the Socialist idea of socialized land because it has been used as a means of making profits for the city. It has, in spite of this, been of advantage in furnishing employment to the idle, and in some places of completely ending taxation for the maintenance of public schools and government.

The land held as public in other sections of Europe and of America is not held under the idea of land socialization, because in most cases it is simply held out of use. Some of the forests are leased to individuals so that they can make a profit out of the sale of the timber.

There have been various devices other than the individual ownership of the land in various ages and in many places. It will be remembered that Joseph in Egypt, after he had provided for feeding the people during the famine, sold the food at such tremendously high prices that all the land, as well as the improvements, went into the hands of the Pharoah. The loose thinking have called this state Socialism. It was anything but that. Instead of being the ownership of the means of life by the whole people it was the ownership by the ruler. It was, therefore, state capitalism, and reduced the whole people to a position of slavery, a condition which enabled the rulers to build useless temples and pyramids with the cheap labor that followed.

The Hebrew land holdings, as outlined in Leviticus, was quite different from private ownership. While each family had its allotment of land, this land could not be forfeited even through sale, because during the year of Jubilee it reverted back to the
original owner. The express commandment was: "The land is mine, saith the Lord, 'it shall not be sold forever.'"

THE SOCIALIST WAY.

Socialism, however, coming after machinery was developed, provides for the co-operative use of this machinery, without the holding of the wealth produced by it in common. It does not mean that all the tools of production shall be co-operatively owned, but only such as are co-operatively used. It is evident that an individual can use a hoe, or a hammer, or saw, or a thousand other things. These things could be individually owned under Socialism, and it follows also that land that could be individually farmed, without employing someone else and thus exploiting him of his product, could be individually held and operated even under Socialism.

Socialized farming provides a means whereby the great farm machinery that has recently been developed may be used in such a way as to benefit all instead of a few owners of large tracts of land. This machinery cannot be operated by one individual. If an owner hires men to do the work he necessarily exploits them. Under Socialism this machinery would be used under government direction, each man employed getting his full social product. The product would be easier and greater than with the use of small machinery, and to enable it to be successful it would necessitate the collective ownership of the land that was so operated. This would not be divided land. One man would not be assigned to a few acres and another to another tract, but it would be operated in a body, as a syndicate farm is today, except that the profit system would be at an end.

We have arrived at the time when there are vast tracts of land which can be provided for use only through co-operative effort. Swamps may be drained and irrigation secured, not through individual work, but through large enterprises. If this is done by syndicates it will means an exploitation of the farmer that will be much greater than at present. Even the small farmer will find himself unable to compete with the big machinery and he will be reduced to practical slavery. If the work is done, on the other hand, by the government or the whole people, then the land so redeemed should be held by the government and worked by it for the benefit of all. That is socialized farming.
THE USE OF SOCIALIZED THINGS.

The advantage which would come of the use of things that are already socialized, is that, even without socializing anything else, it would make it possible for the people to help themselves. As it is now, the city worker is dependent on the owners of the machine for a job. If the factories close down he is helpless. Should he demand higher wages and even secure them, it is possible for those who control the machines, because they also control the markets, to so raise the price of things he must have that all that has been gained is nullified. On the other hand, the farmer, though nominally working for himself, sells in a market controlled by other men, and buys in the same market. As a result, he is deprived of all he makes except a scant living. Access to the land would break the power of unemployment for the city worker as the winning of strikes could not do; and, without anything laid by, the only way in which he can gain access to the land, unless he pays a high rental, is through being employed on socialized land.

The use of this socialized land would be made possible if it was ruled that money deposited in the (socialized) postal savings banks, instead of being redeposited in private banks, shall be used for the conduct of public, remunerative business, up to a safe banking margin. And why should it be redeposited in private banks, after having been entrusted to the government, instead of being used by that government to aid the whole citizenship of the government?

Of course, this is only a beginning. But it is a beginning. Followed up until it led to the socialization of all those means of production and distribution that are socially used, it would affect a complete social revolution, yet in a peaceable way. To accomplish the work fully it would require at length a rewriting of the laws to make them conform to the new ideas that are already beginning to be received by thinkers of all parties and all shades of belief. For this reason political action is absolutely essential, by those who, having studied the laws of socialization change which practically all admit is due, are prepared to do it with the least possible friction and in the most complete and scientific manner.
That Which Lies Before

The special thing which Socialists wish to socialize is, the machinery of production and distribution that is socially used; and they wish to do this so thoroughly that it will not only be socially owned but also democratically administered.

We hold that the very fact that industry has become a socialized work in which many toil together proves that the time is ripe for it to be socially owned and operated.

We hold that this further socialization is not a new thing, but merely a continuation of a work that began centuries ago and was especially manifested during the fight for popular or social government in the eighteenth century.

We hold that while socialized industry managed by and for the whole people has never been tried, socialization in other lines has been sufficiently tested to demonstrate the following principles which will apply to the further socialization we ask:

Socialization does not mean a dividing up, but a uniting of interests. Socialization, after it is accomplished, prevents a dissipation or loss of property.

Socialization necessarily leads to an end of profits, including rent and interest. Even if profits are taken, because they would belong to the whole people, they would be in effect annulled.

Socialization of some special thing such as the machinery of production and distribution does not mean the socialization of other things. Therefore, private property would exist to a larger extent than now under this socialization we ask, from the fact that socialization always leads to diffusion of the things socialized.

Socialization of industry would necessarily mean employment for all, because he who owns and also manages, the whole people owning would find themselves jobs as they could not in any other way.

Socialization of industry would mean that everyone would receive his full social product, since profit-taking would disappear.

The socialization of industry does not involve an expenditure beyond the ability of the people to meet it quickly. The very profits which are now turned into private hands would under socialization in ten years pay for every industry.

The management of socialized industry does not involve great power in the hands of anybody. If it were entirely a delegated or representative management it might, but socialization proposes an industrial democracy which keeps power in the hands of the people. Moreover, as already shown by example, socialization may be effective in small as well as in large units. Just as schools and roads are now managed by a community, so might industrial plants be managed by communities where they are found. The land as a basis of this diffused power is found everywhere and may be managed in communities as to break the power of unemployment and landlordism locally.
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