Wasting Human Life

BY A. M. SIMONS

Published by the Socialist Party of the United States,—and for sale by the National Office, 111 North Market Street., Chicago, Illinois

Price - - - 10 cents
Wasting Human Life

Of the people who live in the United States, three-fourths regularly receive less than enough to keep them as good physical animals.

We waste each year natural resources, mechanical power and human skill and energy sufficient to fully supply the needs of every human being in this country.

In these two facts is the heaviest indictment against present society. Not because there is hunger and cold and ignorance do the Socialists indict capitalism. These things have always been, and an indictment cannot run against the world from its foundation.

We indict capitalism for the misery of today because that misery is unnecessary, and because misery is maintained that capitalists may profit. Unavoidable suffering is a misfortune. The continuance of suffering unnecessarily is a crime.

The indictment against the capitalist class is not because of its riotous living, its steam yachts, butterfly balls, or its senseless debaucheries at Newport or along the Great White Way. These things indicate only brainlessness and heartlessness, things almost inseparable from an idle, useless class of parasites.

Socialism rests its indictment upon the proudest boast of the capitalist class.

That class makes its plea for existence on the ground of its efficiency in the management of industry. It has strutted through its little part on the stage of history in the character of the wise and careful manager of industry and organizer of production. Its special pleaders like W. H. Mallock, write books and deliver lectures to prove that the marvelous managerial brains of the
capitalists, when applied to the tasks of directing and organizing industry have created all the fabulous wealth that this class absorbs.

WHEN KINGS AND NOBLES FELL.

So once in feudal times did kings and nobles plead as a reason for their existence that they protected those whom they plundered. Their castle walls and fine forged armor, their tournaments and Fields of the Cloth of Gold were justified as a reward for the protection their class gave to peasants, craftsmen and merchants. The preachers and special pleaders and retainers of that time spoke eloquently to the subject classes of the necessity of the protection furnished by the rulers. Then there came a time when the peasants and craftsmen and merchants discovered that their greatest need for protection was not against the occasional raids of foreign soldiers, or the depredations of outlaw robbers, but against the plundering, blundering thieves who dwelt behind castle walls, wore armor and wasted in riotous living the substance they took from the toilers. Shortly after feudalism fell.

Today the capitalist class is unconsciously writing its own indictment every time it pleads its efficiency as a reason for existence. Labor needs to get rid of the capitalist class in order that it may organize and manage industry. Labor is suffering more because of the mismanagement, incompetence and wastefulness of this class who would have us believe that history has especially designed it for the task of management than from greed, corruption and dishonesty.

A study of classified wage statistics shows that half of the adult males working in the industrial sections of the United States receive less than $600 per year; three-quarters are paid less than $750 annually, and less than one-tenth earn $1,000 a year. Half of the women fall below $400 a year, while nearly nine-tenths receive less than $750. These figures are not accurate, however, since they are all gross figures—including unemployment. They should be reduced by, perhaps, 20 per cent, varying with the year, the location and the industry.—From “Wages in the U. S.,” by Scott Nearing, of the University of Pennsylvania.
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

WASTE IS MURDER.

Whoever speaks of waste today talks of murder; of the driving of human beings into the outer darkness of cold and starvation and sickness and misery. This is true, because three-fourths of our population are pleading for the things that are wasted. So long as a single person lacks the essentials of life, whoever or whatever wastes things essential to life is guilty of murder.

When competition ruled, it is now generally agreed that waste was great. But we are told that the one virtue of the trust is that it brought economy in production. Compared with competitive chaos, the economy of the trustification of industry is great. Compared with co-operative possibilities it is a veritable spendthrift of natural resources and human energies.

The monstrous size of the trusts has caused them to dominate our imagination until we think they fill all industry. We imagine that in some way the whole competitive waste has been abolished. In no field save transportation has trustification gone further than in manufacturing. It has gone so far that according to the census of 1910, those firms producing an average of over $1,000,000 each, per year, although but 1 per cent of the total number of firms, produced 44 per cent of all manufactured products. They did this only because of their greater efficiency and in so doing they only emphasized the tremendous waste of the laborers in the little firms.

LOSS FROM EQUIPMENT.

There were 93,349 establishments with an average annual product of less than $5,000. These factories were too small to own effective machines, secure the most efficient skill or utilize the mechanical and human energies with the least waste. In these little wasteful establishments, 142,430 wage earners produced an average annual product of $1,561 each. The two million wage earners in the establishments with an average annual product of over $1,000,000 each produced $4,491. Had the workers in the smaller establishments worked with the same efficiency they would have produced three times as much. There were all told 4,599,360 workers in establishments with less than $1,000,000 product. Some of these were doubtless adequately equipped. Some of them were probably producing as much as
in the larger establishments, but the fact that there is a steady declining rate of production from the larger to the smaller shows that as a whole the smaller the industry, the greater the waste.

Had each of these 4,599,360 workers produced as much as each of the two million workers employed in the largest establishments they would have produced a little over $19,000,000,000 worth of product in 1909 instead of which they produced only $11,600,000,000 out of a total of $20,600,000,000. In other words, had they been working with as efficient instruments as those in the larger factories the total manufactured product would have been increased by something over $7,000,000,000.

Someone may raise the objection that I am including the "cost of raw material" in the calculation. This does not affect the use of the figures for comparison, unless it would tend to conceal the inefficiency of the small industry, since the great trusts, in steel and oil and sugar control the whole process of production from raw material to finished product.

I am going to keep every estimate throughout this discussion down within bounds which the most scrupulous critic cannot find grounds to attack; therefore, I am going to estimate that other things remaining equal, the inefficient management and machinery of the smaller factories reduced our annual income by only $3,000,000,000.

FACTORIES STAND IDLE.

Whether large or small, well or ill equipped what factories already exist, are never utilized to their full capacity. When the panic of 1907 swept across the country even the steel trust, the most economically managed of any large industry in the world reduced its output to a little over 40 per cent of its capac-

"One in every ten persons who die in New York is buried at public expense in Potter's Field."

"It would seem fair to estimate that certainly not less than 14 per cent of the people in prosperous times, and probably not less than 20 per cent in bad times, are in distress."

"Not less than 10,000,000 persons in the United States are in poverty."—From "Poverty," by Robert Hunter.
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

ity. Many other industries reduced production even more. When the census of 1900 was taken it was found that about 25 per cent of all the factories were idle and this was in time of high prosperity. Remembering the large number of seasonal establishments and those dependent on the whims of trade in other lines and on a multitude of uncertainties inherent in our present system, it is certain that the condition found by the census is far better than the average. However, we will pretend that it is always prosperous under capitalism and say that never more than 25 per cent of the machinery in the manufacturing establishments of America is idle. This means, however, that $5,000,000,000 less of product is available for the feeding, clothing and housing of men, women and children than there would be if our manufacturing establishments were efficiently managed.

But insufficient size is not the only thing that keeps the machinery of production in a useless, imperfect and wasteful stage. Again we rest our indictment on the very point that is plead as the pride of the system. We are told that any interference with the private management of industry would destroy individual incentive and check the progress of invention. These pages are all too few for those long and complex annals that tell the story of the crushing of inventive ability, the suppression of inventions already perfected and the maintaining of wasteful methods long after more economical ones were available. The telegraph is a sample. This country was ten years behind the governmental systems of Europe in the adoption of methods of multiplex transmission of messages.

SUPPRESSING INVENTIONS.

In the making of coke alone, the United States still has 95,000 bee-hive ovens of a type that has been discarded in nearly every other nation. C. R. Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin, and one of the foremost geologists in America, has recently estimated that the waste of these ovens over the more improved ones already at hand amounts to $50,000,000 per annum, and he adds: "There is no possible excuse for the continuance of the bee-hive oven." He is mistaken. The incompetence, stupidity and general reactionary character of the enterprising business men of America is the excuse.

In those industries where inventions are most frequent and most profitable, employes are now required to sign contracts...
providing that all inventions made by them shall become the property of their employers. The wildest nightmares of the bitterest and blindest opponents of Socialism have never been able to ascribe to Socialism any device as ingeniously calculated to discourage invention. No possible limits can be set to the loss to the race by this prevention of the births of genius that might lighten the toil of the world.

A comparison of the machinery in the government printing office at Washington with that in the most perfectly equipped private printing offices will show that in this industry private initiative has been very slow to avail itself of the possibilities of inventions. Compare also the government equipment at Panama with that of the best private railroad or canal builder and judge of the waste that comes from the stifling of individual initiative by private ownership.

The whole system of patent legislation is designed to restrict the introduction of inventions to just the degree that will bring the greatest profit. Patent laws encourage the buying up and complete suppression of valuable inventions; a practice that each new investigation into industry shows to be an ever growing one.

The producer of a patented article or an article produced by a patented machine or method will keep the price as closely as possible to that at which the article can be profitably produced by non-patented methods. In so doing he gains the greatest possible profit. But he also insures a vast amount of production being carried on wastefully by those who are barred from use of the invention.

Perhaps a study of all these facts will enable us to agree that the restrictions on the use of patents, the stifling of invention and the complete suppression of ideas combined, restricts

“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.”—Washington Times.
It Costs Millions to Produce Outfits Like This.

must conclude that this 10 per cent restriction on a $20,000,000,000 product adds another $2,000,000,000 to the values wasted by inefficient management in the field of manufacture.

PRODUCING WORTHLESS THINGS.

To a great extent the men and machines in the factories of today are used in manufacturing useless or worse than useless
things. There would be some difference of opinion as to the things that are unnecessary. Most people would agree, however, that until we had stopped starvation we might apply our energies in better directions than in the manufacture of artificial flowers, jewelry, patent medicines and advertising novelties.

It would certainly be agreed that energy now expended in adulteration could be better directed toward the producing of genuine goods. Great pains are taken to cover up the facts that would tell us how much is expended in putting the aniline dyes into imitation jams and fruit syrups, in producing alum with which to turn bread into poison, in manufacturing benzoate of soda and the "preservatives" with which poisons are formulated into the shape of foods for the children of the workers.

Any one is at liberty to take the census report on manufactures and make up his own list of the things he thinks the world could get along without.

Here is my list made up from the census of 1900:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual Product</th>
<th>$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artificial flowers, feathers and plumes</td>
<td>23,981,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confectionery (in part)</td>
<td>134,796,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corsets</td>
<td>33,257,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>80,356,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry and instrument cases</td>
<td>3,116,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapidary work</td>
<td>9,173,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquors, distilled</td>
<td>204,699,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquors, malt</td>
<td>374,730,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquors, vinous</td>
<td>13,121,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patent medicines, compounds and druggist's preparations</td>
<td>141,942,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safes and vaults</td>
<td>8,491,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signs and advertising novelties</td>
<td>13,546,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vault lights and ventilators</td>
<td>957,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>$1,042,158,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures for 1910 are not available, but since the total value of manufactures has increased 81 per cent since 1900 it is safe to say that the value of these articles at the present time is close to $2,000,000,000. If you think most of these things are so necessary that we can keep on starving 10,000,000 people each year in order to have them maintained, go to work and pick out $1,000,000,000 worth you consider so essential and we will charge only the other $1,000,000,000 up to waste because we are going to be conservative in this calculation no matter what else we are.

**FASHION FLINGS AWAY WEALTH.**

There is another form of waste in production whose amount it is extremely difficult to measure. This is the waste caused
by the demands of fashion. Twice each year there is the de-
struction of hundreds of thousands of garments merely because
the whim of chance as expressed in fashion plates has so decreed.

These changes are not made at the behest of beauty, but
purely in the interest of motives peculiar to the capitalist sys-
tem. One of these is that "conspicuous waste" pointed out by
Veblen. The men of the ruling class seek to adorn their women
with the trophies they have gained in the industrial battle. This
adornment is competitive. It is piled up only that it may be com-
pared with the trophies hung upon the bodies of other women
by other warriors in the industrial field. It is purely a means
of proclaiming success achieved in plundering. Consequently
change is necessary because the trophies of last year do not prove
prowess in this season's hunting. So a large class arises to
cater to this desire for "conspicuous waste."

Great establishments are built up whose business it is to
encourage this competitive display, to seek out new and more
expensive decorations and finally to create the public sentiment
that will compel these seasonal changes throughout all those sec-
tions of society that ape the ruling class. So it has come about
that every six months hundreds of millions of people in what
are supposed to be the most enlightened nations of the world
take off and put on their clothing and those articles of most inti-
mate personal adornment that should most closely reflect indi-
vidual choice at the behest of a handful of clever Parisian tailors.

To do this it is necessary that vast numbers of people, and
these by a strange and cruel coincidence just those women and
children who are most in need of the comfortable, sensible cov-
ering that they cannot obtain, should be kept feverishly at work
during certain periods only to starve in idleness through other
long months.

The Eighteenth Annual Report of the United States Com-
missioner of Labor estimated that the average cost of main-
taining a family at a standard of as good working efficiency as
animals is $768. The investigators of the Russell Sage Foun-
dation, after a study of a large number of families, raised this
estimate to between $950 and $1,000. The average yearly
wage of the 6,615,056 employees in the manufacturing estab-
ishments of the U. S. in 1910 was $518.
Because of the constantly changing character of the product, it is impossible to introduce the labor-saving machinery and methods that would make possible the most economical production. For the same reason capitalism demands that the rate of profit on the capital invested shall be sufficiently large to cover the risk of loss due to sudden unannounced changes or to mistaken guesses as to future changes.

The result of it all is something so hideous as almost to destroy the artistic conceptions of a race. No artist unless himself as decadent as the age in which he lived would dream of picturing the human form incased in the wrappings decreed by modern fashions. Yet that our rulers may decorate their women in ever more expensive hangings we are forced to use at least one-half the energy that might be used in clothing the race in comfort and in beauty in the production of hideous contrivances of fabrics and form such as the world has never dreamed of before.

PLENTY OF SUPERINTENDENTS.

But it is in superintendence that capitalism shines. Everyone of its defenders assures us of this fact and perhaps it is this continuous assurance that has prevented a closer examination of the stewardship exercised by these expensive managers.

Certainly they spend energy enough in management in the field of manufacture. Out of 7,678,570 persons engaged in manufacturing there are 1,063,532 who were classified as proprietors and firm members and salaried employes. Since the average foreman, shop director, straw boss and several other similarly titled individuals who are supposed to be engaged in the work of superintendancy have not yet arisen to the dignity of receiving salaries instead of wages, it is safe to say that at least the million mentioned above are to be counted as superintending. Surely our manufacturing ought to be well done with one man in seven engaged in watching the other people work.

To these salaried employes is paid each year almost $1,000,000,000, or more than one-fourth as much as is paid to the 6,000,000 wage earners, who are being bossed. Of course, this does not count the more than $4,000,000,000 that goes in profits to the owners of these various industries. Certainly those who rule our industries and our government are good to themselves when it comes to payment.
Such highly paid servants might be worth a little watching on our part. Let us see of what this service consists. A large portion of it is undoubtedly used in driving men to work. I shall have very much more to say as to the necessity of this slave driving superintendency. Suffice now merely to express the opinion that history has never shown an instance where the greatest results in the way of production have been obtained under the lash, either of hunger or whip. But the greater mass of the energy of these extremely highly paid superintendents is not used either in inventing new methods of work, in improving production or even in driving the workers to greater exertions. I think that no manufacturer will deny that much more than half of it is used in fields wholly apart from production.

LABOR OF SELLING.

It is generally agreed by cost experts that the price of an article must be at least twice its "shop cost" in order to pay the expenses of placing it on the market at the factory door. The energies of the management are devoted first of all to selling the product and only in a secondary way to producing it. If the best minds in industry are to be found in the office and not in the shop, something which I am not ready to concede, but which every defender of the present system takes for granted, then the energies of the best minds of industry are used principally in fighting each other.

The question that is ever foremost in the minds of the heads of modern industries is not "How can I improve and increase the product?" but, "How can I outwit, undersell, overreach and deceive and bankrupt my competitor?" Here is a waste too great to be written after a dollar sign. It is a perversion of human intelligence on a colossal scale. It is a deliberate, conscious, expensive training of human mentality to anti-social ends. It is the development of the "business mind"—the most worthless, useless and socially destructive mentality conceivable. Here we have again struck capitalism in what it has boasted to be its strongest citadel and found that citadel to be an undefended and indefensible outpost.
CHAPTER II.
PLENTY OF FOOD AND CLOTHING POSSIBLE.

No one should lack for bread while land remains unused upon which wheat can be raised. No child should go unclad while cotton fields remain uncultivated. These statements would seem to be simple expressions of axiomatic truth.

One of the objections to Socialism is based upon the reasoning of Malthus that if conditions of life were made tolerable population would increase until all would be starved. This is not the place to point out anew the weakness in the Malthusian logic. If it were true, however, and the resources of the earth were exhausted and no more land remained to be cultivated, then poverty would be inevitable. Have we then exhausted our land area? Do ten million people skimp in their daily dietary because no more wheat and corn and meat and vegetables can be raised?

The census of 1910 found that 878,798,000 acres of land were divided up into farms. Of this, however, only 478,451,000 acres were improved. The rest was still idle. In other words, only 54 per cent of the land that had been set aside, fenced in, registered as private property, and counted as farm land was being utilized for the growing of crops. We start in, therefore, with the realization that only a little over half of the land now in farms is made use of for the satisfaction of human wants. Of course, there are great stretches of this territory covered with mountains, lakes, swamps and deserts impossible of irrigation. Very much of this land, however, could be used for game preserves and for the cultivation of crops already known to man which are peculiarly suited to these special areas. The hard, harsh fact stands out, however, that with 75 per cent of our people having less food, clothing and shelter than healthy human
animals require, we are using but 25 per cent of our land area for productive purposes.

Compare this with a few figures taken from a bulletin of the International Institute of Agriculture showing what is done in other countries.

- Italy, with its mountains, lakes and heaths, cultivates 92 per cent of the total geographical area of the country. France utilizes 95.5 per cent, Hungary 94.5 per cent and Austria 93.7 per cent. The United States, let us repeat, cultivates but 25 per cent.

**POOR TOOLS TO WORK WITH.**

Vast stretches of this unused land are held out of cultivation only that profit may flow to the pockets of idle owners. Millions of acres remain in the hands of railroad corporations to which they were given in those plundering days, when empires were given away in order to fasten a railroad despotism on American industrial life.

Those lands that are cultivated present an even more aggravatingly wasteful aspect than those that lie idle. To properly equip a modern farm with the machinery that enables human labor to be applied economically requires several hundred dollars. Even if no use is made of the mechanical power that is now ready to revolutionize agriculture and is being held back only because of the miserable inefficiency of individual ownership, any farmer will agree that the binder, reaper, mower, rake, plows, seeder, harrow, cultivator, manure spreader, corn binder, creamery utensils, such as are required for the most effective operation of a

---

To sum up, sufficient data have been presented to justify the conclusion that the proportion of adult male wage earners (outside of agriculture, where the remuneration is much lower but the cost of living not so high) 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.—From "A Living Wage," by John T. Ryan, Professor of Ethics and Economics in the Catholic Seminary at St. Paul, Minn.
modern farm will cost at least a thousand dollars. But the average farm of the United States has but $199 worth of farm machinery upon it. A barn such as is necessary for the economical operation of a farm today cannot be built for less than $1,000; but the average value per farm of houses, barns, corn cribs and sheds combined in the United States is but $994. We start out then with the certainty that the average farm does not have the tools with which the most economical work can be done. Just how ridiculously far it is from reaching this standard we shall see when we come to consider the possibilities of power farming.

FIVE MILLION STARVING CHILDREN.

Picture to yourself the five million school children that Dr. Thomas D. Wood of Columbia University estimates are suffering from "malnutrition," a polite medical technical way of saying "starvation." Then turn to the report of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and read that the average yield of wheat per acre in this country is 13.8 bushels. This includes the crops on the almost virgin soil of the northwest. Then turn to an international crop report and learn that Germany, on land that has been cropped since the Gothic invasion, raises 28 bushels of wheat to the acre and that Great Britain, after a thousand years of cropping, still raises 32.3 bushels on each acre. Then, thank heaven that you are living under the beneficent individual
management of American capitalism. But do not think of those five million hungry children or your thanks may change to curses.

If American farmers did as well as English farmers and raised something over twice as much wheat on each acre as they do now there would be flour enough to feed all the hungry people on this continent.

But the English farmer is also enjoying the advantages of individual management and private ownership. Many publicly owned experiment stations have shown that it is possible to produce fifty bushels of wheat to the acre, and in not a few cases the yield has been double that amount. But I shall not ask the defender of private initiative to try to examine what these scientifically demonstrated possibilities might be.

**WASTING HALF OF THE BREAD.**

Suffice to say that we waste as much bread as we produce and nearly half as much more. That knowledge should bring sweet consolation to hungry children whose fathers vote to retain private management of wheat raising.

The showing as to other crops is generally a little worse. Corn is a distinctively American crop. We raise nearly one-half of the world crop. It is the foundation of our meat supply and we are very short of meat these days. The average yield of corn per acre in the United States is twenty-five bushels. In many localities "corn clubs" have been formed. The members of these clubs yield their private initiative and skill of management to the direction of a socially selected, paid and directed expert in corn growing. Under his direction the average yield per acre varies in different localities from fifty to 150 bushels per acre, and some little boys, who had not yet learned the value of individual management raised as high as two hundred and fifty bushels on a single acre. Still we have meat riots in New York and learned political economists demonstrate that the high price of beef is due to the limited supply of cattle, due in turn to the limited amount of corn that can be raised.

Each winter some fifteen million families struggle with the clothing problem. As the first chill blasts drift down from the north some four or five million school children shiver for the lack of proper clothing. Millions of women, mothers of the race, wives of the workers, are compelled to wear ragged, faded,
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

out-of-date clothing because the family income cannot be stretched any farther.

HOOKWORMS AND MULES.

The United States raises more cotton than any other country in the world. It is supposed to have the most efficient cotton producers on earth. Passing over the fact that no more than 10 or 15 per cent of the available cotton land is cultivated, we will consider only the efficiency as shown in the product of those acres that know the careful administrations of the hookworm infected tenant and the half-starved mule.

The average production of lint cotton per acre in 1910 was 170 pounds. On the government experiment stations of the south where private enterprise has been stifled and the glorious incentives to individual initiative furnished by private property are unknown, it is considered a disgrace to raise less than 700 pounds, while 1,000 and 1,500 are not uncommon. Here, too, a great many of the farmers have agreed to relinquish the boasted advantages of private individual control of their own product and have accepted the direction of a socially trained expert. Concerning the results

Short Fiber Cotton Wears Out Quicker.
of this work, the latest Year Book of the Department of Agriculture says, "The simple statement that a thousand farmers in a particular state, under the direction of the department produced an average yield per acre of the standard crops of twice or three times the ordinary yield, conveys information of but a small part of the actual effect of the facts stated."

But it is not alone in quantity that the cotton crop might be multiplied. At the present time the cotton fiber is very short. Under the beneficent fostering of tenant farming and personal choice in the selection of seed, the length of the fiber has deteriorated until now it is necessary for social effort to enter to lengthen the staple. Here we meet with another of those striking examples of the fostering effect of private management. To quote again from the latest Year Book: "Some manufacturers are frank enough to say that they do not want long varieties. If the goods wear out faster new garments must be purchased more frequently and this brings larger profits for manufacturers of weak fabrics." I recommend that this quotation from the Year Book be printed as a text to be distributed by philanthropic "friendly visitors" and settlement workers among the poor this winter.

HELPING ON TUBERCULOSIS.

There is another sentence in the same paragraph that might also bring cheer and comfort into homes where some dear one lies weak with the white plague. Commenting on the fact that the short fiber cotton breaks up and makes dust much more readily than the longer fibers, the report says: "Broken cotton fibers form a large part of the household dust that is now recognized as a serious factor in the development of tuberculosis."

Each crop that might be taken in turn would tell the same story, some of them in an even more startling form than those we have considered. Potatoes form a staple food of the poor. In 1911 the average product per acre was eighty bushels. Again, there is not an agricultural college in the United States nor any serious student of agriculture that will not testify that crops of 300 to 400 bushels per acre are common where special efforts are set forth. To treble the present yield would require nothing more than the application of a little of that managerial ability of which capitalism boasts so much and shows so little.
There is not a single crop produced in the United States which could not be trebled by the general application of the methods already used wherever individual ignorance and personal muddling of management have been suppressed. We will produce this year, according to the estimates of the Department of Agriculture, values of something over nine billions of dollars. Multiply this by three and we have twenty-seven billions of dollars, a waste of eighteen billions by present methods. Nor will I cut one single penny from this estimate for it has already been reduced to a point where any student of agriculture would say it is extremely conservative.

Moreover, when I come to discuss the waste caused by the negligence of methods and machines already accessible, and by the general maintenance of private ownership and management in agriculture as a whole, I will show that this sum might easily again be trebled and still remain within the bounds of possibility.

HUMBUGS AND OTHER BUGS.

That I may wholly clear myself from the charge of extravagance in my estimates of the waste in this field I will throw in a few billions of dollars for good measure. The Department of Agriculture estimates that insect pests destroy $900,000,000 worth of crops annually, and there is not one of these pests that could not be exterminated if it were not for the blessings of private initiative. It's a case of where the humbug of capitalism is father and protector of all the other bugs.

No one has ever had the audacity, so far as I can discover, to attempt to catalogue the losses due to noxious weeds. Presi-
dent Van Hise, after some consideration of the matter, says:

"If the preventable money loss due to noxious weeds were known, without taking into account the ordinary farm weeds which appear in connection with cultivation and must each year be destroyed, the total would be enormous—certainly reaching many millions of dollars per annum."

The connection between weeds and fence corners, vacant fields, abandoned farms, tenantry, individual "cussedness" and carelessness and other peculiarly prominent characteristics of private ownership and management in agriculture, is so plain that few will deny that the great mass of weeds springs from seed scattered by the noxious plant of capitalism.

There are diseases that attack crops. Prof. R. A. Moore of the University of Wisconsin estimates that the smut of oats causes an annual loss in that state alone of $4,500,000. This is a disease that is perfectly controllable, and were it not for the difficulty of dealing with a multitude of separate owners with divergent interests, could be stamped out in a single year. It is certain that several hundreds of millions of dollars are uselessly lost by such preventable diseases each year in this country.

EXTERMINATING RATS.

A number of animal pests still defy the individualistic efforts of the farmers to hold them in check, although their extermination by social effort is comparatively easy, as witness the wiping out of rats in San Francisco and other cities threatened by the bubonic plague, just as mosquitoes and other disease-bearing insects disappear before social action whenever the emergency becomes so great that even capitalism is no longer willing to rely on individual efforts. C. H. Merriam of the U. S. Department of Agriculture says that rodents alone cause a loss of $100,000,000 each year to the farmers of America. All these losses could be abolished by a few years of social action.

Meat as well as vegetables for food comes from the farm. The farm animal must be looked upon as a machine for the transformation of hay, grain and other foods into meat, milk, wool or other animal products. Centuries of careful selection and breeding have developed cattle, hogs, sheep and even chickens that are several times as productive of these articles as the scrub stock still found on the majority of American farms.

To illustrate. Bulletin No. 226 of the University of Wis-
Wisconsin says that "the average dairy cow in Wisconsin produces about 170 pounds of butter fat per year." Remember that Wisconsin cows are far above the average, as this state stands close to the head in the quality of its dairy herds, because it has destroyed much of the "individual initiative" and utilized the social control of the state university. Therefore, this average of 170 pounds is certainly far higher than will be found in most states. Yet such a product, says the bulletin quoted, "is worth but little more than the cost of the food eaten." The same bulletin goes on to tell of some recent tests of herds entered for prizes. Of these selected herds "nearly two-thirds of the competition cows produced over 400 pounds," and "the first prize herd of ten cows overaged nearly 600 pounds of butter fat." The average cow is only about one-third as productive as those already developed. It was private initiative and individual management that kept these wasteful animals on the farms.

The same wastes are obvious when similar comparisons are made as to the production of beef, wool, pork or eggs. Here is a waste of many millions of dollars by the retention of outgrown methods of production. I am not going to attempt to estimate this waste, but simply refer to it as furnishing a sum sufficiently large to fill in any possible exaggeration at other points.

But it is impossible for capitalist managed agriculture to care for even these scrubs and left-overs of the animal world without great waste. In 1907 the Department of Agriculture estimated that a few preventable diseases among animals caused a loss of $267,000,000. There was no account taken in this calculation of the loss of time in caring for these sick animals, or of the way in which their loss disorganized the individually organized economy of the farms where they died. Also, since the Agricultural Department carefully confines its attention to dumb brutes there is no inclusion of the loss of human time and energy from the sickness and deaths caused by the transmission of animal diseases to human beings through the sale of diseased meat or other products taken from these unnecessarily sick animals.
CHAPTER III.

LAVISH LOSS ON FARMS.

The eighteen billion dollars thrown away each year because the individualistic farmers do not or cannot use the methods by which their crops could be trebled is but a beginning of the waste in this line. Even the two or three billion dollars that are lost by ineffective fighting of weeds and insect pests and by the keeping of unprofitable and diseased animals does not touch the possibilities of prodigality in farming.

Private ownership requires each farm to be separated from its neighbors by fences. It also requires that each farm should be a complete industrial unit. This means that several kinds of crops must be raised to maintain a proper soil rotation and several varieties of live stock kept to maintain even a reasonable condition of soil fertility. When the calamities of nature are not averted by co-operative effort, but must be borne by the individual he dare not “put all his eggs in one basket.” He dare not be a crop specialist. “The diversified farmer” is the type that is encouraged today by all the advocates of individualistic farming.

FENCED IN WASTE.

To keep these various crops and kinds of live stock apart requires that each farm should be cut up into little fenced-in lots. In New England, and in fact, in the entire northeastern section of the United States, in much of the upper Mississippi valley, in the entire cotton-raising south, and everywhere in close vicinity to cities, farms are cut up into five or ten acres and even smaller lots. Following our regular rule to keep far over on the conservative side, we will base our calculations on the supposition that the average farm contains a full section of 640 acres and is divided only into forty-acre lots.
There are 1,373,119 of these full sections contained in the area classified as farm land by the census. The same census tells us that the average farm really contains but 138 acres. This is one more proof that the number of lots and the length of the fences are much greater than we are going to assume. So keeping one eye on that captious critic, who might accuse us of exaggeration, we will assume that the average farm contains a full section. We will also assume that there are no lanes or garden patches or any fences save those absolutely necessary to divide this 640 acres into sixteen exactly square lots, each containing forty acres. By the omission of all these factors and the assumption that there are no railroads, creeks, highways, or other obstacles requiring fences, it is to be hoped that all will agree that we are not making the fence problem too large, and that we have allowed sufficient latitude to provide for all fences that might be needed in a co-operative system and also for any errors in estimates in other directions.

On this basis of a section to a farm and forty acres to a lot, it will take ten miles of fencing to each farm. If we figure that the cost of original building, depreciation, interest, repairs, watching and general up-keep, will amount to twenty-five cents a rod per year, this will give us $1,098,495,200 as the annual cost of maintaining these obstacles to good agriculture which we call fences. Remembering the expensive fences used in many localities no one will claim that twenty-five cents a rod is too high an estimate.

WASTING TWO BELGIUMS.

The waste by fences is much greater than is measured by the cost of their construction and up-keep. The ground which they occupy and a strip on each side is rendered useless by their presence. Considering the number of "Virginia rail," hedge and stone fences still in existence, an estimate of five feet rendered useless on each side would be conservative.

In order to make calculation easier, as well as to keep on the conservative side of the fence, we will say that a strip only eight and a quarter feet wide is rendered useless. This is a half rod and means that the cultivation of just an acre is made impossible by each mile of fence. The fences in the United States, therefore, render useless 13,731,190 acres. This is almost twice the area of Belgium, a country that supports over
seven million people. Supposing that it was cultivated only in
the same wasteful way that the farm land of America is culti-
vated, it would still produce an average each year of $18 per
acre, or a grand total of $247,161,420 worth of property.

Anyone who has ever worked on a farm will certainly agree
that at least an equal value in labor is wasted by the necessity of
turning around in the short lots made necessary by fences and
by the general inconvenience of these obstacles to cultivation.
There is also the large number of farm animals that are injured
each year on fences and a half dozen other minor expenses due
d to this symbol of private ownership of land. Since there are
some who have probably thought of the objection that under
almost any system of society a few fences would be necessary,
and who might think these few would be more than have been
allowed for, when we made each farm a section and each lot
forty acres, why we will throw in these minor wastes of a few
hundred million dollars to meet such objections. This makes the
total waste from fences about a billion and a quarter.

THE HORSE MUST GO.

Agriculture is everywhere a "belated industry." It has not
kept step with the progress of its time. This is because it is the
industry in which individual initiative has had fullest sway with
the exception of just one other kind of work. What that still
more individualistic, wasteful and backward industry is I shall
tell you after a while, if you will let me.

It has been many, many years since looms and spindles
and steam hammers and furnace blowers and the wheels and
pulleys of manufacturing have been driven by animals—bipeds
or quadrupeds. In agriculture the great sources of power are
still the muscles of men and horses.

There are twenty-four million horses and other draft ani-

It requires almost exactly one-quarter of the products of
the farms annually to maintain the work animals—the horses
and mules. If an acreage equal to the combined acres of Ohio,
Indiana, Illinois and Iowa were set aside to maintain the
horses and mules of the United States it would be just about
sufficient for the task.—Philip S. Rose in September issue
of "The American Thresherman."
mals, not counting a few thousand oxen, on the farms of the United States. There is not a single bit of work that these animals perform that could not be done cheaper and better by steam, water, electricity, gas, gasoline, kerosene or alcohol driven motors. I do not mean that the cultivation of some particular little potato patch up among the mountains of Vermont, or Tennessee or Missouri could be done better by a great mechanical power plant. But I do say that the entire work of raising all the potatoes that can be eaten by the people of the United States could be accomplished by the use of such power plants far better than it is done today by the use of horses and mules.

Since some people will always insist that they want to drive a horse, we will save out 4,000,000 for driving purposes. We will base all calculations on an even 20,000,000 horses.

**BREAD VS. HAY.**

Various students of farm management have calculated that it takes from three to five acres to raise the food necessary to maintain a horse one year. As usual we will take the lowest estimate and leave any surplus to meet the objections of those who will call attention to the fact that some area of land will be required to produce the energy necessary in mechanical motors. At three acres per horse, 60,000,000 acres must be used to provide pasture and raise the hay, corn and oats that are fed each year to these animals.

In 1911 there were not quite 50,000,000 acres used for wheat in the United States. If we do our work with the me-

---

**Forty-three years ago this spring, Old Sile helped break sod in Indiana, where it required four men and three horses to break an acre a day. The plow was the best sod plow in Indiana, made by hand in a blacksmith shop, and it required six weeks' time to shape the moldboard and complete the plow, for it was forged from heavy bar steel. The other day while at Rockford, Old Sile watched a couple of workmen in the Emerson-Brantingham shops yank a great bar of red-hot steel from a furnace, thrust it under a giant former, and with a single blow the moldboard of a bigger plow was made in ten seconds.—The American Thresherman.**
chanical power that inventors have already made available we can double our present wheat crop with but a portion of the land saved by abolishing the horse. Potatoes are the staple food of a great portion of the population. Three million, six hundred and nineteen thousand acres were used in 1911 to grow this crop. Rye, which provides the bread for a large section of the population, occupied 2,127,000 acres more. We raised nearly all of the rice that was used in this country last year, yet the crop occupied only 669,000 acres. We could double our present acreage of all these crops from the land now used to raise food for horses and still have nearly 4,000,000 acres left. The total

value of these crops today is a little over $800,000,000. If we raised vegetables on the garden patch of 4,000,000 acres that is left over and cultivate it a little closely we could easily raise the $200,000,000 worth of products that would add another billion to the values wasted by present methods.

WASTING FORTY-FIVE BILLION DOLLARS.

When we are rid of the horse and are using the farm tractor instead we shall have more than doubled the land cultivated by each worker. In fact, doubling it is putting it very low. In
many cases it would be multiplied tenfold. It is not alone that we would double the quantity of work that each farmer would do, but he would do that work so much better that he would more than double the productivity of the land cultivated. With horse cultivation it is practically impossible to stir the soil more than four or five inches in depth. The farm tractor can double this without effort. The use of power in farming makes possible for the first time the intensive cultivation of large areas. Any number of harrows and pulverisers can be drawn behind a tractor until the ground is prepared as hitherto it has only been possible to prepare it by hand labor for small garden spots.

BILLION DOLLAR WASTES IN CORN.

I hope the reader has thoroughly grasped the meaning of these facts because they lead to tremendous conclusions. Let me repeat that every student of power farming agrees that the use of tractors attached to machines suited to their power will make it possible for each agricultural worker to cultivate more than twice as much land as at present and do it very much better. The use of the tractor instead of the horse also sets free a vast amount of labor now devoted to the care of draft animals so there would be more workers to use the improved machines.

Now, remember that we have seen that knowledge already accessible makes it possible to treble the present production per acre of the staple crops. We saw that such trebling would mean the raising of twenty-seven billion dollars' worth of products on the present acreage.

When we double this acreage with the use of the new machines (and remember we have plenty of room for such doubling) the total agricultural production would be at least $54,000,000,000

SEE IF YOU FIND AN ERROR.

This startling figure has been reached without taking any account of the great waste in other directions that have been pointed out and whose total reaches well up into the billions.

Right here, I want the reader to stop and challenge these figures. I want him to test them in every possible direction.

Every fifth acre of land is required to furnish food for draft animals.—Edward M. Rumely.
I want him to search into every nook and corner of the argument leading up to this conclusion. If after such an examination he is satisfied that this conclusion is justified by the facts and that it is possible to multiply the production of the fundamental essentials of life six times by the application of knowledge already at hand, by the use of machinery already invented, and methods of cultivation already tried and tested, then I want him to question his own intelligence and conscience and the intelligences and consciences of his neighbors as to whether he can longer afford to help maintain a system that dooms millions of men, women and children to the misery of poverty while wasting wealth with such reckless prodigality.

**BEAUTY OF DIVERSIFICATION.**

If, after such an examination, you have agreed that these estimates are easily within reasonable bounds, and that if anyone is hungry or cold it is not because the farmers of America lack either power, knowledge or land with which to satisfy all
human wants, then we will consider a few more wastes in this same field.

The necessity of diversification on each farm means that little attention can be paid to the proper adjustment of crops to soils. The larger portion of the area of the United States has been surveyed by the national government and its soils classified so that the knowledge is already available that would make possible the location of crops on the most suitable soil. But unless the whole nation, or at least a large section of it is treated as a single farm, it is impossible to take advantage of such knowledge. Consequently we are still cultivating the rocky plots of New England for corn and wheat and potatoes and are raising fruit and hay and pasturing cattle on the rich level prairies of Illinois and Iowa. If we were even approximately to consider the country as a unit, as one big farm, to be handled as one big undertaking, as we do the digging of the Panama canal, or the carrying of the mails and then concentrate the raising of each crop in the particular localities where it could most economically be produced, the saving would be so great as to defy calculation. All the experts in the raising of seed, the breeding of new varieties, the cultivation, harvesting and care for the product would be brought together for common consultation and discussion. The farmers would be especially trained for the production of the one crop; the largest and best

One of the greatest, if not THE greatest, waste in any single industry in this country is made with the corn crop. The grain of the annual corn crop of the United States is worth on the farms one and a half billion dollars. In a ripe corn plant 60 per cent of the feed value is contained in the kernels and 40 per cent in the stalk and leaves. With grain worth on the farms one and a 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 crop alone of nine hundred million dollars yearly. No other business but farming could stand such an enormous loss. —H. M. Cottrell, Agricultural Commissioner, Rock Island Railroad.
machinery could be utilized and the brains of all being devoted to a common task new inventions would follow fast.

BUILDING "BEEF FACTORIES."

We would put the cattle on a thousand hills and leave the level plains and redeemed marshes and rich river lands for cultivation. Socially owned transportation systems would transport cattle for feeding, or feed for cattle as might be found most desirable.

This would permit of the establishment of great "beef factories," such as the one operated by Horace G. Adams at Maple Hill, Kan. This farm has four great concrete silos, and takes cattle directly from ranches in Texas and Oklahoma, which are under the same ownership. Its managers select such desirable breeds of cattle and feed them so scientifically that while the cost of production is probably less than on the average farm a load of steers from this "beef factory" recently averaged 1,496 pounds each and brought $10.50 a hundred pounds in the Kansas City stock yards.

Such a system would utilize the waste from the handling of much of the "rough feed" like corn stalks, which amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars each year.

Another waste, the stoppage of which would relieve the present meat famine, could come through the utilization of otherwise worthless lands as game preserves. It has not been so many years but that old men among us still tell tales of the time when a very important share of the meat eaten upon the tables of America came from animals that knew no care. Today the hotels and clubs, where alone game is served, procure their supply very largely from Europe, where, after thousands of years of settlement, game is cheaper today than on this continent where two centuries ago unbroken forests teemed with wild animals. Government forests and game preserves would be as far superior to the private European preserves as these are now superior to the careless, destructive individualism of America.

I have seen Ernest Seton Thompson quoted as authority for the statement that if the reindeer are protected and permitted to run at large over the unused land of Alaska they would, within a few years, supply as much meat as is now used in this country. The reports of the government agents who
brought the reindeer to Alaska and have cared for them since seem to bear out this statement.

On what could be added to our food supply by these methods I make no estimate in dollars and cents, but only suggest that these things be borne in mind to fill any place where exaggeration seems possible.

I have not by any means exhausted the list of the wastes in the field of agriculture. I have said nothing of the destruction of farm machinery through lack of care, of crop failures through poorly selected seed, of the possibilities of the introduction of new varieties of plants, now being sought at the ends of the earth by social effort, but neglected because of the deadening influence of individual initiative. I have said nothing of the wealth that might be torn from the desert by specially bred plants of the cactus family. I have barely touched on the marvels of intensive farming that would multiply our present agricultural product, not by three but by twenty. Such farming has hitherto been possible only by painful personal toil on garden plots. The application of power now makes the same intensive culture practicable on the largest scale. I have not mentioned recent discoveries in the application of electricity to growing plants that promise to open new marvels in productive possibilities. I have not discussed the production of nitrogen from the air that permits more continuous intensive cropping.

I have said nothing of the gigantic and ridiculous waste by which each farmer in a neighborhood half cultivates a little patch of ground to raise the "garden truck" needed on the farm, when one good gardener, with half the labor could better supply the whole neighborhood.

All these and a much longer list that could be mentioned I omit, partly because I want to leave many things to be suggested by each reader from his own experience, partly because I am determined that my indictment against the horrible wastefulness of capitalism shall be so conservative and so convincing that no one will think of questioning it, and partly because there is a limit to the space for the discussion of this subject and a limit to the patience of those who are reading this book.

When the farmer has produced his small fraction of what a sane social system would encourage and aid him to produce, he is still far from having his product where it will reach the
people whose wants it is destined to supply. From producer to consumer the product is carried in leaky vessels that spill great quantities out to spoil and be lost by the side of the road.

Two thousand years ago when Rome ruled the Mediterranean world and western Europe there were no steam shovels, nor graders, nor rock crushers, nor excavators, nor dynamite for blasting, nor concrete for bridges. But Rome built roads that after the passage of the entire Christian era are incomparably superior to most of those over which the American farmer hauls his product.

It costs something less than a cent per ton per mile to haul freight on railroads. On many railroads, and for many classes of freight it costs much less. On the average American country road estimates of the cost of hauling vary from twenty to fifty cents a ton mile. With as good roads as Rome had at the dawn of civilization, and with modern farm tractors, the cost for road haulage would not be more than two or three times as much as on railroads.

J. E. Pennypacker Jr., executive secretary of the American Road Congress, said in a recent interview: "It is estimated that the improvement of the main roads of this country, approximately 20 per cent would result in an annual saving of at least $250,000,000 in the hauling of crops." He also estimates that bad roads cause an unnecessary loss of the extra wear and tear on horses, wagons, automobiles and other vehicles of $164,000,000 above what would be caused by good roads. If $250,000,000 would be saved by improving 20 per cent of the roads then it takes a simple calculation to arrive at the conclusion that bad roads waste $1,250,000,000 in excessive cost of haulage, plus the $164,000,000 of unnecessary wear and tear on animals and vehicles, making a total of $1,414,000,000 to be charged up to bad roads each year. In the interest of conservation cut off the odd $400,000,000 and call it another even billion dollars sacrificed to the business efficiency of our industrial rulers!

Just imagine what would happen to those roads if Colonel Goethals, on his return from Panama, were invited to organize a corps of road builders, making use of the regular army with a few hundred thousand of the unemployed, and machinery as perfectly adapted to road construction as that which he now manages, is to the digging of canals!
In many cases the scattering of products on the road to market takes place in an actual literal sense. Theodore H. Price, the manufacturer of the mechanical cotton picker, estimates that 20 per cent of the cotton crop is wasted in picking, ginning, baling and shipping. It is certain that not 75 per cent of the fruit raised is ever consumed. More than 25 per cent is permitted to rot in the fields or on the road to the consumer. The waste in the handling of garden vegetables is almost, if not quite, as great.

In considering these wastes I am not thinking of those even more useless losses that take place when a "market is overstocked" and vast quantities of food are permitted to decay on the ground where it is raised because there is no profit in the satisfaction of human wants today unless the wants are accompanied by cash. Nor have I added in those criminally destructive wastes where ship loads and car loads of food are deliberately destroyed that prices may be raised.
CHAPTER IV.

BILLIONS FOR ADVERTISING.

It costs as much to move the products of the farm to the consumer as it does to produce them. This is not my estimate. It is that of James Wilson, the standpat secretary of agriculture, who says in his 1911 report: "A consumer pays $1 for food; the farmer gets less than fifty cents for it. Who gets the rest?" The farm products of America are worth $9,000,000,000 on the farm. It costs $9,000,000,000 more to get them to the families that consume them.

It takes about 10 per cent of the cost of goods on the American market to transport them to the Canal Zone and deliver them to the workers there. It ought not to cost nearly as much to move goods into town from the farm. However, we will estimate that it costs five times as much, and that 50 per cent of the original value would measure the labor necessary to bridge the gulf between the farm and the factory workers. This leaves a waste of $4,500,000,000 that is strewn along the highways between the fields and the home.

THE MOST POPULAR BOOK.

This same expansive and expensive gulf yawns between the producer and consumer of other things besides farm products. When goods are produced to be sold at a profit and not because human wants need satisfaction the greatest difficulty is to find a person able to pay the profit and persuade him that he has a corresponding want.

It signifies nothing that ten million people have most urgent wants for the most primitive necessities. They do not have the money with which to satisfy them, so they are left out of the scheme of things as they are. To reach and persuade the few who have absorbed to themselves the overwhelming share of
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

the social income is the biggest problem in modern society. I mean by that that it is the problem upon which at the present moment the largest amount of mental energy is directed. The keenest minds of the most persistent workers are devoted today, not to the problem of how to produce things to satisfy urgent wants, but on how to persuade those who are surfeited that they have another want for some particular thing.

You doubt this? Well, the literary output of any nation is supposed to be a fairly good test of the subjects toward which the social mind is directed.

Can you guess the work of which the largest edition was published last year?

No, you are all wrong. It was none of the popular novels. No, my religious friend, you are also wrong; it was not even the old reliable best seller, the English Bible.

The leading literary work of America as measured by circulation was a catalogue of a well-known mail-order house in Chicago, of which two editions of seven million each were issued last year. The next most extensively circulated work of literature was another catalogue by another mail-order house in the same city, and the third and fourth and fifth, up to far beyond the tenth were other catalogues.

There is one other possible claimant for a place in the list of the first ten. That is that beautiful green covered work of art that used to hang on the kitchen wall in childhood’s days and that sings the praise of certain stomach bitters which are very popular in prohibition states.

In the making of these catalogues there is much more labor than goes into the average book. Four or five times as much type must be set, cuts made and costly “inserts” prepared as in the average work on science, sociology or art.

It is not too much to say that the labor expended in the printing of catalogues is greater than that expended on all other books put together. So far as numbers are concerned the output of catalogues and advertising booklets exceeds by at least tenfold the entire output of what we call literature. While, if we were to exclude the more trashy and ephemeral novels, we would be well within the mark in setting the ratio of really valuable works to that of catalogues as being about one to one thousand.
Nor is the showing very much improved when we turn to periodical literature. More than half of the space of the periodicals issued in the United States, including dailies, weeklies, monthlies, trade journals and all, is given up to advertising.

Think for a moment of the forests that are cleared to supply paper; of the army of men that toil in the composition, printing and delivering of these publications and then remember that half and more of that labor is devoted to circulating arguments designed to arouse wants in those already over supplied. Then try and imagine what might happen if part of this energy was devoted to the production of things to supply those wants that are crying for satisfaction.

MILLIONS AND MORE FOR ADVERTISING.

The census of 1910, Bulletin on Manufactures, says, "The income of newspapers and periodicals from subscriptions, sales and advertising was $337,596,285 in 1909, as compared with $175,789,610 in 1899, the rate of increase for the decade being 92 per cent. Of the total income from these sources, that from advertising formed 60 per cent in 1909 and 54.4 per cent in 1899, having increased much faster that that from subscriptions and sales."

There came to my desk recently a single copy of a well-known weekly, the advertising in which, according to its published rate card, amounted to two hundred and sixteen thousand dollars. Another publication by the same company which came the same week carried three hundred thousand dollars' worth of advertising. Another well-known monthly carried an almost equal amount. But there are other publications whose entire reason for existence is advertising. This is the case with a large percentage of the trade journals. To be sure, the publishers of these papers talk much of the value of the technical information they carry. In some cases this boast is justified, but none of them could live without the advertising and very few indeed do not permit their technical value to be greatly injured for the sake of advertising.

POLICY AND PROFIT FROM ADVERTISING.

There is scarcely an agricultural paper of large circulation in the United States whose policy is not fixed by the dealers in agricultural implements.

If, therefore, the newspaper advertising totals two hundred
million dollars the grand total expended for periodical advertising, including the publishing of periodicals otherwise worthless for purely advertising purposes must reach fully two hundred and fifty million dollars.

It is advertising that leads to a useless multiplication of newspapers in each city. Read any one of a dozen papers published in a large city and you have read all of them, save for a few exaggerated "features," lurid "crusades," or those trifling changes by which each paper distorts the truth to suit its own "policy." Nearly all get their telegraph service from the same news agencies and the same "city press association," and all have their reporters traveling the same routes to the courts, police stations, city hall, hospitals, etc. Once a month one of them gets on the street with a "scoop" fifteen minutes before the other and then wastes several pages of space during the succeeding days in bragging of the achievement.

Suppose there was one real newspaper, owned and operated by the city and delivered free to every house, just as the Los Angeles Municipal News was formerly owned, operated and delivered in that city. Suppose that this paper, instead of being confined almost exclusively to the publication of local municipal items, was to publish full and fair news stories covering the whole world of news. There would still be ample room for all those publications that wished to editorialize, propagate certain principles, appeal to special sections of the community or lay particular emphasis upon peculiar ideas or policies. But each of these papers would be relieved of the expense of publishing a duplicate of all the news contained in each of its contemporaries.

Never mind trying to figure up how much would be saved by such a system. It is too Utopian to be considered anyhow. Besides there is a glimmer of common sense in the plan and that damns it beyond consideration in the midst of the insane systems of today.

WHY WE HAVE NO GREAT POETS.

But this is only the beginning of the expense of advertising. The entire printing trade, once hailed as the medium of civilization, as a great instrument of popular education, has been hitched to the publicity car. Remembering the predominance of advertising in the periodicals, of the extent to which it rules in the realm of books and considering the great tidal wave of booklets,
circulars, folders and follow-up letters that sweeps in a mighty deluge over the country I believe it is not too much to say that nine-tenths of the work of printing is concerned with advertising.

Then we wonder why the twentieth century does not produce great poets, playwrights and novelists.

But it is not alone the printing press that is chained to the chariot of publicity. If you have ever stood on lower Broadway in New York or on the downtown end of State street in Chicago at night you realize why the term, “Great White Way” is applied to such streets. The multitude of illuminated signs that blink and glare and flash monstrous figures, grotesque designs and multi-colored messages at you shriek not alone of the blatant eagerness to lure buyers but also of the horrible waste of another form of advertising.

BILLBOARDS AND COTTAGES.

The miles of billboards that defile the landscape suggest calculations as to how many workmen’s cottages could have been erected by the material and labor that has been put into them.

The very existence of such streets as Broadway and State is due largely to the necessity of advertising. Stores are located there because such a location is in itself an advertisement. Moreover, it is the sort of advertisement that grows more valuable just in proportion as the service it renders grows less. The tremendous crowding at the lower end of Manhattan Island, inside the loop in Chicago, around Fountain Square in Cincinnati and similar central points in every great city now causes a frightful and dangerous inconvenience (to put it very mildly) to thousands every night and morning who must crowd into this narrow space. In consequence rents run a race with the buildings in an effort to scrape the very sky.

Advertising takes on a multitude of forms in addition to the more obvious ones already mentioned. An army of demonstrators push special articles either in favorably located stands or by visits to residences. More than one hundred thousand drummers add personal solicitation to the lure of printed matter and in so doing make necessary the employment of an army of hotel and transportation employes.
WOULD SHAKESPEARE WRITE ADS?

But the copy for great advertising campaigns does not prepare itself. Advertising has become a highly specialized trade. It has its own schools, publishes twenty-one trade journals, has its philosophy written by university professors and, since advertising represents the culminating point of a system built upon the market, it demands a staff of as highly paid men as are to be found in any profession. It invades literature and offers rewards beside which those to be obtained by following the road laid down by Dante, Shakespeare and the hosts who have made for the onward urge of the race are insignificant.

A fairly well-known American novelist and poet told me a few years ago that he had just signed a contract with an advertising firm by which he is to receive $10,000 a year for a few hours’ work each day in the office of this firm. He gives every evidence of material prosperity at the present time, but he has not published any more novels. I forbear to give his name lest he be swamped with petitions from other novelists and poets who would prefer to write advertisements for the same reward.

Such incidents prove that capitalism secures the “survival of the fittest.”

EXPENSIVE FRONT.

The first essential of advertising is to “put up a front.” Therefore, the advertising agencies require expensive offices, showy as well as efficient appliances, card indexes, elaborate files and the latest things in “systems.” They must “practice what they preach,” and “show forth their faith by deeds,” and so advertising agents must be most liberal advertisers.

There is no article that is more expensive to sell than advertising. Few publications expend less than 40 per cent of their advertising receipts in selling that advertising. The advertising agent must advertise that he sells advertising. It’s another case of—

“Big fleas have little fleas to bite ’em
And they yet other fleas, so on ad infinitum.”

CAPITALIZING WASTE.

But this copy, no more than the printing, is confined to
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

periodicals. After the hoped for buyer has nibbled, it is necessary to prepare "follow-up" letters to land him. Here again a highly paid artist is needed, for when goods are made to sell, the man who can sell them is far more valuable than the man who can make them. Elaborate "selling plans" are devised by careful students of practical psychology. These are accompanied with far-reaching and expensive "publicity campaigns." Then when enough minds have been started in a groove that will lead their owners to think that they need some particular article, the totality of these mental impressions is capitalized and added to "our national wealth."

You think I am getting fantastic? You imagine this is humorous? Then let me inform you that the name "Uneeda" when applied to an ordinary soda cracker is valued at $2,000,000 and is so counted in the capitalization of the National Biscuit Company, and that the word "Royal" as applied to baking powder has been declared to be worth $3,000,000, and that you are paying dividends on this capitalization of these names. Not quite so humorous, is it?

SCHOOLS AND BILLBOARDS.

About ten years ago a writer in Printer's Ink, the leading advertising journal of this country, estimated that about two billion dollars was spent each year in various ways that would be designated as "advertising." When we recall the periodicals, catalogues, advertising agents, drummers, demonstrators, signs, billboards, circulars, show windows, expensive decorations, and all the other things that are used to sell rather than to make goods, this estimate will be seen to be very low. It was verified about the same time by another writer in the Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Society, who made about the same estimate. Since then advertising of every sort has increased at an unparalleled rate. It is certainly half as much more, or close to three billion of dollars today.

That is a little more than seven times the sum we spend on our educational system, public or private, from kindergarten to university.

We are some civilized, we are.

This comparison with the sum spent on the schools is particularly appropriate since every time anything is said about the wastes or advertising, some of these very shrewd manipulators
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

... Government Ranger Watching for Fire.
Photo Courtesy U. S. Forestry Service.

Of psychology and phrases are sure to arise and explain that advertising is educational—that through it the public gains a knowledge of the various goods obtainable and is thereby able to satisfy its wants more intelligently.

Remembering the adulterations, the shoddy, the over-capitalized trade-marks, the gaudy signs and disgusting billboards, the pertinacious nuisances in the form of agents and the pages of "medical" publicity, I am inclined to think that we could afford to spend a little more than 15 per cent of this three billion on our schools. We shall especially appreciate this fact when we consider the wastes of education as at present conducted. We shall discuss this waste when we come to examine into the many ways in which talent is stunted, or destroyed under the management of rent, interest and profit.

There is some waste in that direction, let me assure you.
CHAPTER V.

BURNING AND BLOWING UP WEALTH.

We produce wealth with wasteful painfulness. We destroy it with reckless prodigality. Each year sufficient property is burned up in the United States to maintain another school system as good as the one we now have. With the wealth so destroyed we could provide one square meal each school day for every child in the public school.

A recent writer in McClure's Magazine estimates the actual fire loss in this country in 1910 at more than $500,-
This does not include fires in mines or ships, nor the devastatingly destructive holocausts that sweep through the forests. The Statistical Abstracts of the United States says that in the last thirty-three years $5,147,257,724 worth of property has been burned up in this country. This would have built two million fireproof cottages equipped with the most modern conveniences.

We burn up ten times as much property per capita as the people of Europe. The reason is that we build for profit and with an eye single to the rent roll, while Europe has learned the value of permanence.

European countries suppress much of the private initiative in building. On the other side of the Atlantic a man is not permitted to build a fire-trap next door to your home, or to maintain a potential working hell like the Triangle building in New York.

We not only burn up one-half billion dollars' worth of property each year, but we spend one-third of this sum in maintaining gambling institutions that are willing to bet on how much we will burn next year. In 1911 we put up $380,210,864 with the insurance companies on a wager that our particular piece of property would not be burned up this year.

We probably pay another $100,000,000 for fire companies and fire apparatus. Ex-Chief Croker said recently: "New York is paying $8,000,000 for the maintenance of its fire department." He adds: "And about $15,000 a year to prevent fires."

Having wagered so large a sum on the amount of fire losses, the insurance companies set about trying to reduce that loss. In each great city the Board of Underwriters maintains an expensive equipment for the purpose of preventing fires. In the city of Chicago it has constructed a costly laboratory, a part of whose equipment is a monstrous steel box, big enough to hold an ordinary house. Within this box all sorts of experiments are tried in burning up different kinds of building material and testing various methods of construction of buildings and fighting of fire. A staff of inspectors is employed to visit insured risks and enforce fire regulations. All this is a crude social instrument for checking individual expression in constructing and burning buildings.

In the course of this work a fund of knowledge has been accumulated that if applied would almost put an end to de-
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

Cost of Insurance.

Lower line shows losses paid. Upper shows premiums. Shaded portion indicates cost of conducting insurance companies.

They were, therefore, extremely profitable risks for insurance companies.

Some years ago when these mills began to be trustified and to come under a common management, the owners set about applying the easily accessible knowledge for the prevention of

Cost of Insurance.

They were, therefore, extremely profitable risks for insurance companies.

Some years ago when these mills began to be trustified and to come under a common management, the owners set about applying the easily accessible knowledge for the prevention of
fires. Sprinkler systems were introduced; arrangements made to remove all lint as soon as deposited; the more dangerous fire-traps were rebuilt or remodeled with precautions that rendered them almost fireproof. As a result the fire risks practically disappeared. The mill owners then formed a mutual insurance company which carries the risk for this entire group of property and the insurance companies found that the lid was on so far as profitable gambling in this field was concerned.

The old-fashioned grain elevator was another form of building that offered especial attractions to the fire fiend and especially high premiums to insurance companies. Then came the monolithic concrete construction with separate units. The fire risk disappeared entirely and there was no more need for insurance. Manifestly fire insurance companies could not stand to see these methods prevail in all lines of industry and all forms of property. The insurance company wishes risks reduced just to the point where the margin between premiums and losses will be greatest in favor of premiums. The complete abolition of the fire risk would put an end not only to the $187,184,300 annual loss, but what is more important from the point of view of private profit, also to the income of $380,210,864 in premiums.

It should be noted that this whole business of fire insurance is only a clumsy device to avoid individual responsibility. When it comes to the care of worn-out, sick, cripple or unemployed workers we are told that it would be a calamity to interfere with individual responsibility. Property is something more sacred.

Insurance is born of competition. Complete monopoly concentrates all the risks and all the losses and makes it unnecessary to pay more in premiums than the losses amount to. The Standard Oil company's products are highly inflammable. Its fire losses are stupendous. But it never patronizes an insurance company. The public pays its fire losses and it keeps the premiums in its treasury.

A society whose resources were owned in common would follow the example of this great industrial combination. It would reduce fire losses to the minimum by care and then replace these losses by redistributing its labor.

We are too wise to do this. Besides it would interfere with the individual incentive to incendiaryism and the building of rack-rented fire-traps.
So we pay out $380,000,000 in premiums and receive back $187,000,000 to pay for our losses.

Fires are not confined to the works of man. F. A. Silcox, of the United States Forestry Service, estimates the total annual fire loss in the forests at over $50,000,000. He adds, "In very dry years, such as the one of 1910, the loss runs very much higher." This destruction of a natural resource that is irreplaceable in our generation is due almost exclusively to private ownership and private greed and carelessness. These fires often destroy not only the growing timber but the very soil, and cause floods that bring about yet other great and useless losses.

Such fires are practically unknown in the publicly owned forests of Europe. They are growing less in this country just in proportion as social control crushes out individual initiative and greed. It is the socially managed forest service that provides patrols or forest rangers, establishes fire lines and telephone systems and organizes the work of fire fighting.

Any architect can tell you that fire wastes are almost wholly
preventable. Every builder knows how to erect fire-proof structures. Any Board of Fire Underwriters can supply all the knowledge required to abolish fire losses. Fires persist only because in the gambling scramble of competitive industry greater fortunes are sometimes made when long risks are taken. Measured in long terms of years and in social energies exerted the labor cost of unburnable structures is cheaper than the fire-traps of today.

The inventions of Edison in the field of concrete construction forecast the day when society will house its members both at home and during their working hours in structures that will not be a basis of a gigantic gamble with death and destruction. The reason that cement construction does not proceed more rapidly to displace more dangerous and less desirable forms of building is due largely to the fact that only a great building trust or society can afford to manufacture the forms or molds necessary in the building of such houses. Unless these forms can be used repeatedly the cost of building with them becomes prohibitive. The University of Wisconsin points to the solution. It has built a set of forms and lends them, free of cost, to whomever wishes them. But these forms are only for the building of silos. It would not do to use a social agent like a university to help the people build houses. It might break up the home.

Burning wealth is not the only way in which we uselessly destroy the things for which a majority of our population are in need. We spend so much in preparations for killing people that we have nothing left with which to keep them alive.

In the days when American resources were first being developed and stolen, and when labor power that could not obtain access to the land was scarcer than now, the employing class held out as one of the inducements to bring wage workers to America that this "refuge of the oppressed of all nations" offered an escape from the burdens of militarism. That was before the home market being exhausted, owing to the inability of underpaid and over-exploited workers to purchase their own product, the capitalists of the United States were looking for an outlet for the surplus goods they had taken from those same workers. It was also before American workers began to realize that they are being robbed and talked of revolt.

Today there are few of the "effete monarchies" or "military tyrannies" of Europe that spend as much on war, past and
The Delaware, the Latest thing in Wasting Wealth at Sea costs about $12,000,000.

—Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.
present, as does the United States. Including pensions the annual expenditures of this country for military purposes amount to over $640,000,000.

The expenditure of this money maintains in idleness, or much worse, something over 200,000 men connected with the army, navy and militia. If these men were employed in some useful industry and produced but $1,000 a year they would add $200,000,000 to our national income. That sum must, therefore, be charged up to the wastes of militarism, raising our total to $800,000,000—enough to provide the average annual income of more than 1,000,000 working-class families. Not all the philanthropy expended goes one-tenth as far toward wiping out the burden of poverty.

Republicans, Democrats and Progressives, all declare that we must have a navy. In spite of peace congresses and arbitration treaties the cost of militarism grows greater each year.

To build and equip the latest model of super-Dreadnaught costs between fifteen and twenty million dollars. Every time one of its big guns is fired a workingman’s income for a year is burned up. A broadside in salute or practice blows a block of workingmen’s cottages into thin gases. In six or eight years the whole gigantic structure is transformed into junk by the swift advance in the art of wholesale killing. Then the endowment of a great university is shot to pieces as a target and sent to the bottom to make a naval holiday. This is what they did with the “Texas” the other day. It was one of the best vessels in the fleet at the time of the Spanish-American war.

The great battleship of that time was displaced by the “Dreadnaught” a few years later. Now the “Dreadnaught” has been rendered obsolete by the “super-Dreadnaught.” Next “the nation’s airy navies grappling in the central blue” promise to relegate all floating fortresses to that same costly junk heap.

There is a waste that accompanies and causes this terrible progress in the art of killing more terrible than that of the steel and powder shot away or wasted in guns, vessels or forts. Just in proportion as the military spirit grips a nation are the highest rewards, both financially and in social acclaim, offered to those who excel in designing instruments and methods of mass murder.

Splendid colleges are built and maintained to transform men into social snobs and cold-blooded mechanical murderers. What men so trained might become if their talents and their
—From Painting by Emil Holarek.
The Inventor forced to waste his Talents on War.
training were turned in useful directions is shown when a Colonel Goethals is given instruments of peace and told to dig a canal instead of breastworks; to build harbors instead of forts; to feed and keep men healthy instead of kill and wound them.

No figures that follow the dollar sign are adequate to measure the loss to society of inventive talent and management and organizing ability that is now worse than thrown away in the mad scramble of the nations to excel in perfecting instruments of destruction.

As increased oppression and exploitation rouses the spirit of revolt among the workers the panic of the masters grows sharper, and greater becomes their eagerness to increase military expenditures. Fifteen years ago the recruiting agent was unheard of in the United States. Today few countries search more eagerly to entice boys into the trade of killing. Although there were years in the past when national independence was threatened and resources to defend that independence were small compared with today; although for a century a savage foe along the frontier fought back the land hunger of the white race, yet never in time of peace were so many soldiers maintained as today.

Every year sees an increase in the sums poured into West Point and Annapolis and other training stations where boys are prepared for the trade of death. To the energy wasted in these national institutions in fitting boys for the most accursed of occupations must be added the time and money expended in similar barbaric reversion in the multitude of private military schools whose advertising is screamed into the ears of our children.

Once more there are no expressions in the vocabulary of the counting room that will adequately measure the terrible waste of educational facilities brought about by this work of instilling the virus of hatred and death into the minds of young boys. It would be interesting if we could know just how far the proper application of these facilities would go toward bringing light into the intellectual darkness of the more than 6,000,000 adult illiterates discovered by the census of 1900.

The very wastes of militarism serve sometimes to cast a light on the real productive powers of modern society. During the Civil War almost the entire able-bodied adult male population of the North was either at the front as soldiers or sailors,
or engaged in the production of military supplies. Yet there was never a moment when the aged and infirm, the women and the children left behind had any difficulty in producing all that the market could consume. Because the "market" was so suddenly increased these war years were the years of greatest wealth production in the history of the nation, up to that time, and it is probable, when we consider the condition of the soldiers, that never before or since was so large a portion of the population so well fed and clothed and cared for as when the smallest fraction of the workers was engaged in productive labor. Whoever will remind himself of the fact that there was not at that time an electric dynamo in industry, that the telephone, typewriter, linotype and a host of other now familiar things, were unheard of, that the biggest locomotives of that time would not do for switch engines today, that the most antiquated factory of the present would scorn the most perfect tools of that period, will never again insult his own intelligence by doubting the capability of the present society to supply every reasonable want of its every member.

What wealth we do not burn up nor blow up nor shoot away at each other or pile up in preparation for international killing, we lock up to prevent our fellows from stealing it. I have never seen a compilation of the expense of guarding property caused by the presence of idle wealth alongside of desperate poverty. I know that there are more than 100,000 policemen, private watchmen and detectives in this country, and that the abolition of involuntary poverty in the midst of plenty would rid us of all these. This is more than three times the number of men ever employed at one time on the Panama Canal. If all these husky idlers were set at work with the machinery used there, or with other machinery equally well suited to the task, it would take but a few years for them to drain and prepare for cultivation the 75,000,000 acres of swamp land that government experts assure us is capable of drainage and use as farming land.

This is an area larger than all of Italy, which now accommodates a population of over thirty-two million people. On this area the population of Italy now raises $1,600,000,000 worth of agricultural products each year. That the swamp lands of America would yield double this amount is a conservative estimate.
But these men represent only the beginning of the expense of guarding property. It is impossible to open the advertising pages of a magazine without being met with the murderous suggestion that you will find it necessary to kill someone in the near future to protect your property, and that the better to do this you should at once purchase the latest and most deadly type of pistol. There is but one use for a pistol, that is to kill a human being. It is useless for hunting or any other purpose. When we decide to stop killing people we can save the energy now expended in manufacturing revolvers and “automatics.”

Great manufacturing establishments with thousands of men and marvelous machinery are devoted to the production of safes, vaults, ingenious locks and a multitude of other devices designed to protect stored-up wealth against those desperate ones from whom that wealth has been taken or who had been denied their right to produce.

See how the expense of building an ordinary dwelling house is increased by those features designed to protect the sheltered property from predatory assaults. The buildings designed to house banks, trust companies, etc., are built primarily with the view of sheltering valuables against the assaults of the hungry.

In a thousand other ways this guarding of property rights adds to social waste. Try to calculate the millions of dollars expended each year in furnishing abstracts and keeping records in real estate transfers.

We are supposed to live under a regime of free contract. But when property is concerned we dare not trust the word of another. With the wolf of poverty snarling at every door we all revert too closely to the wolf plane to permit any mutual trust. So all contracts must be carefully drawn and signed and witnessed, and I only suggest that you try and imagine how much these precautions add to the expense of providing the things necessary to life. In so doing do not forget the bonding companies and various other methods by which we seek to abolish dishonesty in an environment that breeds dishonesty as a manure heap breeds mushrooms.

When these contracts are written the expense connected with them has only begun. Each party to the contract, under our present system, then sets about seeing how close he can come to violating it. As a result thousands of these contracts reach the courts.
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

Fully 80 per cent of the business of the courts of this country is concerned with questions effecting property relations. Consider for a moment the army of lawyers, judges and court attendants, with the buildings that house them, the schools that educate them, the libraries that are necessary to their practice, and the years of time expended in court wrangling, then charge all this up as another useless waste that would disappear the instant that property ceased to be a weapon by which the owner is enabled to rob others.

While all these things are on your mind add to them the expense of the intricate systems of time locks and safety deposit vaults; remember the space these occupy in the most expensive buildings, and keeping in mind all the other wastes of guarding property shall we not say that it is necessary to add to the three billion dollars spent in advertising to arouse wants already satiated, at least another billion to account for the waste in protecting property already produced against the producers whose wants clamor for satisfaction?

All this tremendous expense for the guarding of property is not simply waste from the broad social point of view. It is a miserable failure from every point of view. Every improvement in armor has led to the invention of a more penetrating projectile. This has been true from the day when a dried skin shield caused the bronze axe to supplant the stone-headed club to the time when twelve-inch Harveyized armor plate was pierced by a fourteen-inch gun. Each new lock and additional guard has but sharpened the wits and improved the tools of those desperate ones whom locks are designed to keep out.

Only where there are no locks is there no stealing. There are no locks on an Eskimo hut, nor any thieves or jail in an Eskimo village. All the painful way down the blood stained road that ends in our present society crimes against property have increased just in proportion as locks and bars have been interposed between the poverty of the workers and the plunder of the shirkers.

But a society based on robbery knows no way to check robbery save by more bolts and bars. When it fails to make these strong enough to keep the hungry ones out, it builds new locks and vaults of barred steel to keep them in. Safes and bolts and armored vaults lead naturally by the road of lawyers and judges and policemen to prisons.
Exclusive of police stations and county jails we now have more than 150,000 men and women locked in vault-like cells. Several thousand more able-bodied men and women spend their lives in the brutalizing task of keeping these outcast ones in a condition of servitude.

I shall not attempt to express in figures the waste to society through the loss of the labor of these caged ones and that of their guards, but leave this mighty mass of worse than wasted manhood to be pondered over by those who may think that society can do no better than to keep locked up the entire population of a city the size of Oakland, Cal., or Atlanta, Ga. To lock these up we have built monstrous piles of brick and stone and steel, the ruins of which will be pointed out to some future generation as evidence of the barbarity of the early part of the 20th century.

At the international congress of hygiene and demography, held in 1912 in Washington, Vernon M. Cody, lecturer of the American Federation of Sex Hygiene, stated that three billion dollars were spent annually in this country in connection with white slavery, social diseases and immorality in general, and that this did not include the cost of the care of the sick, blind, insane, paralytic, or the expense of infant funerals, resulting from immorality.
CHAPTER VI.

CRUSHING HUMAN BODIES.

Land and machinery, or even houses and finished products of industry are not the only things that go to make up a society. All of these things are but means to human enjoyment, but instruments in the hands of human workers for the satisfaction of human wants.

Before going on to the human element I want to stop and ask any reader to answer the question of whether he is thoroughly convinced that poverty is not due either to the niggardliness of nature, or to the lack of proper tools with which to work.

In taking an inventory of the resources with which wants must be satisfied every human being must be considered as so many units of physical and mental energy that may be used for the production of wealth. This production may be painful or it may be intensely pleasurable.

OUR HUMAN RESOURCES.

Do we use the human energy at our disposal any more effectively than we have the natural resources, the machines and the finished product?

The census takers of 1910 found that 6,468,964, or 22 percent of all the workers, were unemployed at some time during the year to a sufficient extent to make it worthy for them to report. Since the census did not reach the great mass of the transient unemployed, it is certain that this figure is far too small. Moreover, it was taken in a year of what is commonly called prosperity. Had it been taken in 1895 or 1907 this number would certainly have been doubled.

It is, therefore, far within the limits of fact when we say that in any average year there are at least four million able-
bodied workers, whose only labor is that most nerve-racking toil known as looking for work. If these seekers after a chance to enjoy what the Biblical legend tells us was the primal curse laid upon man, were all brought together in one place they would make a city as large as Greater New York. If they brought their families with them they could populate the most populous state in the union with but a portion of their numbers.

It is difficult to avoid reflection upon this heaped-up mass of misery and suffering which is peculiar to our present civilization. The chattel slave and the serf knew the horror of overwork, but they were never pursued by the haunting terror of out of work.

WHAT THE UNEMPLOYED MIGHT DO.

But we have nothing to do with sentiment. We must come back to our statistics. A little examination and comparison shows us that this army of the unemployed is larger than the army of workers employed in making all the boots and shoes, all the bread and baker’s products, all the men’s and women’s clothing, all the cotton goods, all the printing and publishing, all the meat in the great packing houses, all the silk and silk goods, all the stoves and furnaces, all the woolen goods, all the iron and steel products that were manufactured in 1910. We could have doubled the production of all of these goods and still have had enough unemployed to do the work of all the machinists and two or three other minor trades.

Now, if there is a single human being that lacks any of the things mentioned in this list of manufactures then it is not because there were hands lacking to do the work.

If the earth and the fullness thereof and the machines that the minds of men have conceived, belonged to society, do you think that four million men would be left to starve with their families in a mad search for a chance to use their strength and skill while multitudes suffered for the lack of the things that strength and skill can produce?

MEET THIS ONE ISSUE.

Against that one indictment may be piled up all the things
that can ever be said in defense of capitalism, all the things that may be said against Socialism and the overwhelming weight of evidence will lean to the Socialist side. Do not tell us that Socialism will break up the family, that it will bring a governmental tyranny, that it will abolish religion and wipe out patriotism. If any or all of these things are built upon the necessity of four million idle men with their families suffering in the midst of plenty, then let's sweep them all away that we may feed and house and clothe those millions. Suffer these little ones to come unto the bounty of nature and be fed, is a religion and a patriotism that is higher than all the canting phrases of all the theological seminaries that man has built.

EIGHT BILLION MORE GONE.

These are the wastes that are really worth while. Perhaps we will get a better understanding of the situation if we try in another way to determine just how much wealth these four million unemployed workers could produce. In the opening pages of this work, we discovered that those laborers who worked for corporations with a million-dollar output or more per year, each produced a little over four thousand dollars' worth of goods annually. If we equip each one of these four million unemployed with equally good machinery, and we certainly have a right to assume that under the social management of industries they would be so equipped, then they would have produced sixteen billion dollars' worth of goods last year.

But some people will tell us that these workers are incompetent. All right. During the few years it would take to make them competent, we will suppose that they will produce only half as much as the best equipped laborers of today. In this case they would have added only eight billion dollars' worth of the products for which the workers of this country asked in vain last year.

Maybe we had better stop and do a little more comparing. Eight billion dollars is too big a sum for most of us clearly to visualize. It is larger than the average pay check that a working man receives at the end of the week. In fact, it is more than twice as large as all the pay checks of all the workers in all the manufacturing establishments of the United States during the whole year when the last census was taken, and is just
about equal to the total "value added by manufacture" in all the manufacturing establishments two years ago.

It looks like we were wasting a pretty big asset when we let those four million workers go hunting for a chance to labor.

What do you think of the efficiency of a class of managers which leaves one-seventh of the workers to starve in idleness, to deteriorate in mind and body?

WOULD ALL OF THEM BE MISSED?

But did we make the best possible use of the something over twenty-nine million people who were, as the census says, "engaged in gainful occupations?" When I look at this list I sometimes think the directors of the census were punning when they used the word "gainful."

Like the hero of "Mikado," "I have made a little list, of those who never would be missed," if they were dropped out of the productive machinery. Here it is. Look it over and see if you think we could not get along without keeping quite so many able-bodied men in this sort of work:

ARE ALL THESE NECESSARY?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>114,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saloonkeepers</td>
<td>83,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers, sailors and marines (U. S.)</td>
<td>43,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc</td>
<td>130,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents</td>
<td>241,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bankers and brokers</td>
<td>73,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial travelers</td>
<td>92,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants and waiters</td>
<td>1,560,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeepers and accountants</td>
<td>254,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and copyists</td>
<td>630,127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants, dealers (except wholesale)</td>
<td>790,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hucksters and peddlers</td>
<td>76,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and dealers (wholesale)</td>
<td>42,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers, errand and office boys</td>
<td>71,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials of banks and companies</td>
<td>74,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesmen and saleswomen</td>
<td>611,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,891,739</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table is taken from the U. S. Census of 1900.
Look it over and see if we could not make a more economical use of our energies.

Remember that this is taken from the census of 1900. A similar table, based on the last census, would include much over five million persons. This is more than the total number of carpenters, masons, painters and plasterers employed in the United States.

Don't you think it would be a good idea to lay off a few of these lawyers, policemen, agents and drummers, and put them at work building houses, at least until we had abolished a few miles of the city slums and some of the mining shacks of the country?

A little further examination of the census lists suggests that it might be possible to make a more advantageous distribution of labor forces.

Did you ever know that, outside of agriculture, the largest division of workers, classified according to trades, is that of "servants and waiters"? There were 1,560,720 of these in 1900. Doesn't it look rather strange that more of us are engaged in waiting on somebody else than in doing any other sort of work? Just how many of these are valets and flunkies, whose main duty it is to advertise their master's wealth and snobbishness, the census does not say.

Our outlandish system of individual housekeeping is responsible for a large share of these servants. Here is the most wasteful and belated of all industries. It is the only one that is worse than agriculture. It is worse because it is more individualistic, more subject to personal initiative and to all the other things that our fossilized professors of political economy assure us are the foundation stones of present society.

HOMES AS FOOD FACTORIES.

The census of 1900 found 16,000,000 families who had homes according to the census' definition of a home.

It might be well to put in a note here, for the benefit of those who are afraid that Socialism will break up the home, to the effect that only 4,700,000 of these had a home of their own without a mortgage on it.

Every one of these 16,000,000 homes is a separate indus-
trial plant for the preparation of food, and, to a certain extent, of clothing and a multitude of other minor articles.

Here is a waste so big I despair of making any reader comprehend it. Think of maintaining 16,000,000 independent kitchen fires, organizing 16,000,000 separate purchasing departments, getting some 48,000,000 meals every day, and washing as many million messes of dishes, and doing the almost countless, millions of other endless little tasks connected with our ridiculous system of individual housekeeping. Try to conceive of the waste that goes each day into 16,000,000 separate garbage pails. Consider for a moment the things that are spoiled in 16,000,000 separate kitchens, pantries and cellars because each of the 16,000,000 made a small mistake as to the amount that would be needed.

Try to calculate the vast waste from the manufacture and maintenance of the multitude of individual cook stoves, refrigerators, dishes and other implements essential to individual housekeeping.

MEALS, THREE CENTS APiece.

You know what it costs to get a meal in such a home. Rising prices have kept you figuring. Take a look at the last set of figures you made up on this point, and then compare it with the cost in the school kitchens of France. Here a good, substantial meal, containing just the food units required to best sustain a growing child, prepared by the best cooks in consultation with expert hygienists, is served each day for less than three cents per child.

Supposing each meal in the home costs only twenty-five cents for the entire family. This is certainly figuring the labor of the housekeeping low enough. This is seventy-five cents a day for food and fuel and labor, rental of space and all the other items that go to maintain a separate manufacturing establishment in every home. This amounts to $12,000,000 a day, or a total of over $4,000,000,000 per year.

Suppose these were to be prepared as cheaply as the meals are prepared for the French school children—and I can assure you that these meals are far better than those eaten by an average American family, especially when we remember that 100,000,000 of the people in the United States do not have enough to keep them in the condition of healthy animals—then the daily cost for a family of five would be but forty-five cents. The
sixteen million families would save $4,800,000 a day, or a grand total of $1,728,000,000 in the course of a year. That would come somewhere near solving the high cost of living.

WHY WE CONTINUE WASTE.

The only reason we do not have common kitchens, in the cities at least, and infinitely better accommodations in the country, or why we do not all use factory prepared food products as far as they are available and palatable, is because we dare not trust our lives to the profit grabbing system. We have learned that every time the lid is lifted from the establishment where such food is prepared that the sight revealed turns our stomachs.

Moreover, when we go to a public eating place we pay ten times as much for servility as we do for service, much more for show than we do for substance, and far more for the time when the establishment stands idle than when it is in operation. We do this because restaurants and hotels are run on a competitive, individualistic basis.

“MOTHER’S COOKING” NOT BEST.

A suggestion of the difference when there is a proper organization is seen by another phase of our familiar Panama illustration. The largest caterer in the United States made the lowest bid for the feeding of the canal laborers, and it was in the neighborhood of seventy-five cents a meal. The government took the task directly and fed them for about thirty cents. This, it must be remembered, was down in the tropics where hotel rates are two or three times as high for the same service as in the United States.

In all this I have been taking it for granted that home-cooked food is the highest type of healthful sustenance. There is a pleasant fiction to that effect that is carefully circulated by those whose trade-marks lead people to believe that they are manufacturing factory products like those produced in the home. The fact is, as every physician will testify, that home-cooked food is about as far from meeting the standards of health and hygiene as it could be. The only thing that is any worse is the average restaurant meal in the United States.

“They do these things better in France.” There the cooks in public establishments are at least experts, and when a French worker wishes to celebrate a holiday he dines en restaurant be-
cause he knows that, with the larger facilities and expert skill, his food will be much more palatably and healthfully prepared.

POOR KITCHEN MACHINERY.

But these things are wandering away from the question of waste. Even these miserable little individual establishments are equipped in such a backward manner as to be far more wasteful than necessary.

How many homes have a modern electric range, pneumatic cleaner, fireless cooker or any of the other things with which the work of caring for the household can be most effectively done? If these things were in use, if adulteration, uncleanness and incompetency were abolished in the public preparation of food, and the care of the houses, it is safe to say that at least one-half of the 16,000,000 wives and mothers would be released to do more pleasurable and productive work in other lines.

Once more, however, the amount of saving of life and labor that will be made possible by such a change is too great for anyone to attempt to express it in any tangible form.

We have seen something of the tremendous waste of distribution. When we approached the problem before, however, it was from the point of view of money expended and unnecessary plants constructed. Now we strike the same waste from the human side, and while the two, in a large degree, duplicate one another so that I shall not suggest that the waste about to be pointed out be added to the grand total, yet the facts presented will serve to verify the conclusions arrived at previously.

A MILLION MERCHANTS.

While the farthest corners of the country are reached by a postal system with only 59,000 postoffices, and less than 300,000 employes, we learn from Dun's Review that there are 1,219,000 public concerns engaged in commerce. The census tells us that these are conducted by 790,000 merchants and retail dealers, 42,000 wholesale dealers and 74,000 "officials of banks and companies." When these are all added together it at once becomes evident that there are many more concerns than there are persons who could possibly be classified as proprietors.

This clinches the conclusion that chain stores and general
concentration in ownership of commercial undertakings has gone far enough to begin to wipe out much of the individual enterprise that once characterized it.

NINE BILLION MORE GONE.

In these stores are employed 611,000 salesmen and saleswomen. When we add to these a large share of the 250,000 bookkeepers and accountants and of the 630,000 clerks and copyists, the 76,000 hucksters and peddlers, and the 71,000 messenger and office boys, we have a grand total of almost 3,000,000 people who are engaged in the task of distributing the things produced with a profit to those who are able to buy them, and can be persuaded that they want them. This is almost half as many persons as are employed in all "manufacturing and mechanical pursuits."

A large percentage of those who are classified under manufacturing and transportation are engaged in work that properly belongs under distribution, since their labor is devoted much more to the work of reaching the market than of creating wealth. It is, therefore, clearly evident that not only was our estimate of $9,000,000,000 as the amount necessary to bring agricultural products to the consumer low, but that almost an equal amount is required to create the connecting link between manufacturer and consumer.

The same conclusion is also reached by a study of individual products, where it will be found that few manufactured articles are delivered to the consumer for less than a 100 per cent advance over their "labor cost of production" in the shops. In other words, we are safe in saying that the cost of distribution of manufactured articles in the United States is at least equal to the "value added by manufacture (value of products less cost of materials)", which amounted in 1910 to $9,530,261,000.

WATCHING CREDIT.

Because it is so uncertain and so impossible to arrive at any approximate estimate of the amount of waste in this direction, I will only suggest it as an offset to some place where you may think that, in spite of all possible efforts to be conservative, there has, nevertheless, been an overestimate.

The labor of the 800,000 bookkeepers and clerks is largely devoted to operations connected with a peculiar form of waste
called "credit." Credit is one of the many crutches by which the system of private ownership limps painfully on its way. Credit permits the capitalist to employ the propertyless person indirectly by letting him have money or goods to be returned later multiplied in value. We have already seen that this lending device enables non-workers to take $650,000,000 away from the farmers every year.

To keep track of loans of money or of goods, or of credit in any of its forms, wholesale or retail, requires much keeping of books.

I turn again to the example of Panama, not because the operations there are an illustration of Socialism in operation, but because they show forth the economy which results from the wiping out of private initiative. In the great department stores established by the government on the Isthmus there was not only no expense for advertising, neither was credit or money used in its transactions. The laborers received labor checks with which they purchased goods and that was the end of the story.

Credit is so uncertain as to partake of the character of gambling. The wholesale merchant or manufacturer who can guess the nearest as to which of the retail merchants is the best guesser as to future markets and opportunities is the greatest financial success. In 1911, 13,431 merchants guessed wrong and failed, with liabilities of $191,000,000. In manufacturing and trading there were 12,652 more that lost their bet and went down with total liabilities of $201,000,000. This loss of almost $400,000,000 is the regular annual one. About every ten years there comes a panic and these figures are doubled or trebled.

With the certainty that at least a hundred million dollars will be lost by those who grant credit (counting all forms of credit it will be double this) elaborate establishments are built up, whose object it is to reduce these losses as much as possible. Like the insurance companies these commercial agencies could not afford to have all financial chance abolished.

These agencies being largely of a detective character, naturally maintain so great a secrecy about their operations that it is impossible to give any definite figures concerning their expenses. Whoever knows anything of the far-reaching web that "Bradstreets" or "Duns" has thrown through the commercial world, the multiplied strands of that web extending into every little town, obtaining the information that enables them to fur-
nished reports on more than 3,000,000 commercial, manufacturing and financial establishments must realize that we are here touching upon another staggering waste of human energy and human life.

But these two great national agencies are only the beginning. Every town, and every neighborhood in the large cities maintains its credit list. Every industry has its own specialized credit association, many of which have grown to great size. Many trade papers carry an investigating department as a side line. Each firm doing a large credit business must have its own credit department, all of which must be added together to obtain any measure of the waste in this department.

There is another incidental waste which does not perhaps belong directly here, but which must be noted somewhere. All of capitalist business has an element of trickery and deceit. The whole object of a bargain is to get the better of someone else, but the law decrees that while it is all right to sell shoddy wool for three times what it costs or to dispose of a jerry built house carefully patched up with "paint, putty and glue," yet there is a line where bargaining becomes fraud. But since the greatest immediate rewards are reaped close to this boundary between "legitimate business" and plain swindling, large sections of the population are always to be found hovering about this line. Consequently another large body of workers must be kept employed discouraging this particular form of individual initiative.

Picture to yourself for a moment the amount of energy used in disposing of fraudulent mining stock, and, indeed, stock of all kinds, for under a sensible social organization we can not conceive of stock brokers.

Postmaster General Hitchcock in a recent report estimates that in spite of the energy of the postal department, swindlers obtained $100,000,000 through the mails in 1911.

Always it is those most useless of occupations that occupy the most valuable locations. That great sky line of New York or Chicago, with its head almost among the clouds, is filled with those who are engaged in the least necessary work. Climb painfully up flight after flight of stairs in one of those buildings and read the signs upon the doors as you pass and you will find that practically every one is occupied by some industry, without which our society could get along very well indeed.

Were it not for the expense due to competition the so-
called business centers of our cities would disappear. Yet here it is that land values are piled to staggering heights. Here it is that brick and stone and steel overtop all structures ever raised by man.

A civilized society, not drunk on the dope of the competitive fight for profits, would never waste its energy in burrowing two and three stories beneath the earth and heaping fifty stories above them while broad stretches of country, but a few miles away, were vacant.

Again, it is beyond my power to calculate in any of the terms of figures the energy that is wasted in constructing these monstrosities in the hearts of our great cities, or in paying the tribute to those who are fortunate enough first to grab the titles to the land upon which these cities are located.

It is certain that the energy so wasted runs far into the hundreds of millions, if not into the billions, of dollars each year.

Bear that in mind while we turn to the greatest of all wastes that can be charged up to our present society—the waste that comes from cutting off in their prime the lives of those who do the work of the world, from murdering workers in infancy and crippling them in manhood, from blunting their minds and crippling their bodies, from crushing incentive and destroying the power to produce at its very source.
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SLAUGHTER OF LABORERS.

Of nothing is present society more prodigal than human life. Wherever life and property come into conflict in our civilization, if the lives are those of the workers, property has the right of way.

There is only one reason for industry, society, institutions and property relations, and that is that we may have life and have it more abundantly.

Whatsoever lengthens life, strengthens life, makes life longer and more enjoyable, that, and that alone, is worthy of social effort. In so far as any society contributes to an extension of the time and to greater pleasure during that time of life, that society is making good. In so far as a society shortens life or makes it painful, that society is to be condemned.

What, then, shall we say of a society whose entrance on the stage of history is marked by the phenomenon of race suicide? Every modern nation is disturbed over the threat of “race suicide.” Life is being halted at the threshold because those now living do not believe that more life in such a society is to be desired. Were I to cover pages I could write no more damning indictment than this which has been registered spontaneously in every modern nation.

The facts relative to the ownership of property are accessible in the greatest detail. Those concerning life are inaccessible for almost half the population. For only 58 per cent of the population are any records kept of births and deaths in such a form that they can be summarized.

Almost the entire solid south and the more backward sections of the country everywhere make no effort to collect and keep vital statistics.

SLAUGHTERING THE BABIES.

It is most important to note that in those states concerning which no information can be obtained there is the least care for human life. In these localities there are no boards of health.
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

few laws against adulteration, least restrictions on woman and child labor, and an almost entire absence of factory and building legislation. If, therefore, we double the deaths shown in the "registration area" we shall be well within the truth for the entire country. In the territory containing this 58 per cent there were, in 1910, 217,319 deaths of children under five years of age. Of these 154,373 died during the first year of life.

There is beginning to be an almost universal agreement that all children come into life with about the same physical and mental strength. There are, of course, many exceptions to this rule, yet when dealing with thousands it has been found that children from the poorest quarters, if given a chance after birth, will develop and be as strong as those whose parents come from the best fed classes of society. But from the moment of birth the child of the worker is set upon by a vast army of enemies against which the child of wealthy parents is defended by a wall of gold.

A USELESS SACRIFICE.

No physician will question the statement that more than half the lives might be saved by nothing more than good wholesome food, fresh air and cleanliness.

More than once it has been shown that the substitution of pure milk for the stuff that private profit dispenses is a sufficiently revolutionary measure to cut the death rate among children down from a half to a third.

More than this is possible. In a little town in Italy there is a Socialist mayor who became impressed with the idea that the lives of children were of more importance than even the property of big taxpayers. So he provided, at public expense, for skilled nursing and adequate care for mother and child from the time of birth. He began this some five years ago, and the last information I was able to secure, which was about one year ago, was that in all this time the death rate for children under one year had been reduced from something like 20 per cent to absolute zero.

SAVING THREE MILLION BABIES.

Had something like the same care been applied to this country ten years ago the lives of fully 3,000,000 babies might have been saved. Would it not be well to drop the talk about race
suicide and confine the discussion to race infanticide for a little while?

When we come to deal with adults we find the same reckless disregard for human life.

At the national conservation congress held in 1912 at Indianapolis, Prof. 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 in the great Titanic disaster. The Titanic disaster spread a pall of gloom over the whole world, while the daily death rate rarely gets a passing comment.”

DOLLARS VS. DEATH RATE.

Any comment that I might make on these figures would but echo the statement which Mr. R. E. Bittenhouse, one of the delegates at this congress made in discussing Prof. Fisher’s paper. He said:

“In the last analysis the struggle against preventable disease is a struggle between the dollar and the death rate. And most of our communities prefer a high death rate to a slight increase in the tax rate. There is not an adequately financed health department in the country.”

That is the whole story. Our present system balances the dollar against the death rate and the dollar wins. So there are 630,000 unnecessary deaths each year. If we figure that the greatest care would have extended these lives an average of ten years each (a period which I shall presently show is a ridicu-
lously small time), we have to deal with a reduction of 6,300,000 in our population. Add this to the 3,000,000 children whose lives are snuffed out every ten years and we have 9,000,000 people whom ten years of giving the death rate a chance against the dollar would add to our population.

A little calculation will show that if these 9,000,000 people were to produce as much as even the least efficient among the manufacturing or farming population they would add some $18,000,000,000 annually to the wealth of this country. Nor is it any reply here to say that these added years would mean years of expense as well as income. Even the children have already been born into the world. Most of them have passed through the most helpless years of their lives and I have never yet heard even the most cold-blooded defenders of our present system urge that we follow the savage custom of exposing infants in order to save the expense of rearing them.

So far as the adults are concerned most of these have just reached the most productive age. Society has already undertaken the expense of infancy and childhood, and our efficient society wiped them out just when they had reached the point when they should not only bear the burden of their own support, but their share of the social burden in maintaining the coming and going generation.

Killing them by slow disease and swift industrial accident entails a labor cost in nursing, medical care and burial that would serve to maintain them as healthy producers for a considerable period.

Dr. F. K. Hoffman, of the Prudential Life Insurance company, probably the most competent man to judge of facts in this field has recently compiled an estimate of the amount and cost of sickness among industrial workers in 1910. He was very generous for he assumed that the sickness rate is the same in this country as in Germany, where, owing to the insurance laws, vital statistics are mathematically accurate. This assumption, however, is all too favorable because the first and principal effect of the German insurance legislation was greatly to reduce the amount of sickness, since it was found more profitable to provide the best of medical care, healthful houses and well-equipped free hospitals rather than to pay the premiums that the lack of these things would render necessary.

However, using this assumption as a base, he estimates that
in 1910 the working class of the United States lost 284,750,000 days' work through sickness. He also computes that the loss of wages, medical cost and the loss through change of workers in industry on account of sickness combined amounts to $772,892,860.

He says that at least one-fourth of this sickness was preventable. This means that we wasted, according to these calculations, $193,223,315 through useless sickness.

ONLY WAGES CONSIDERED.

The statistics of Dr. Hoffman proceed entirely from the point of view of the employers. It takes no account of the wealth which might have been produced had these persons been well and strong, but only of the wages which it would have been necessary to pay them while so producing.

It is especially mentioned that "these figures take no account of the permanent invalidity and excessive mortality involved in present industrial conditions."

He concludes that "there are consequently about 3,000,000 persons seriously ill in the United States, of whom 500,000 are consumptives." And he adds, "more than half of this illness is preventable."

There is not a specialist in the treatment of tuberculosis who will deny that it is a poverty disease. No hygienist will dispute the statement that the abolition of poverty and the adoption of the precautions which private property and private profit now make impossible could wipe out tuberculosis in a single generation.

If there are at any one moment 1,500,000 persons who are unnecessarily ill, as Dr. Hoffman estimates, then it takes almost as many more persons to care for those who are sick. At the lowest estimate fully 2,000,000 adults are sick at any given moment, or are devoting their time to those who are unnecessarily sick.

The expense for drugs, medical attendance and other things made necessary by illness reaches a staggering sum, but we will disregard this and take account only of the amount which might be produced were these 2,000,000 people permitted to enjoy good health and engage in productive labor. At the $4,000 per year, which the best equipped workers produce in manufacturing, we
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

have a little sum of $8,000,000,000, or just about the total value added in process of production in all the manufacturing in the United States.

MORTALITY AND POVERTY.

The rate of mortality is in direct relation to the economic condition of the people.

The following table is taken from a study in the City of New York, by Mr. B. C. Rowntree, a world famous authority on this subject:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Infant mortality rate</th>
<th>Death rate over 5 years of age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area 1, poorest working class</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area 2, middle working class</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area 3, highest working class</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant-keeping class</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of New York as a whole</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that the death rate in the poorest working class is almost exactly twice what it is in the highest working class, and that the death rate of infants is almost three times as high in the poorest working class as in the classes that are able to keep servants.

That this relation between poverty and death is universal is shown by the following tables taken from among the most divergent societies:

GLASGOW.

Death rate per 1,000 occupants in 1885

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 and 2 rooms</th>
<th>3 and 4 rooms</th>
<th>5 rooms and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PARIS.

Death rate.

Rich quarters:
- Elysee
- Opera

Poor quarters:
- Menilmontant
RUSSIA.

Peasant death rate per 1,000.
Government of Voronezh, 1889-1891.

Class of household. Per 1,000.

- Having no land .......................... 34.7
- Having less than 13.5 acres .................. 32.7
- Having 13.5 and less than 40.5 acres ........ 30.1
- Having 40.5 and less than 67.5 acres .......... 25.4
- Having 67.5 and less than 135 acres .......... 23.1
- Having more than 135 acres .................. 19.2

There are two great historic incidents that throw a flood of light on the causes of high mortality among children.

WHEN THE CHILDREN PROSPERED.

Just twice in the last century there was a sudden fall in this death rate; once during the siege of Paris, and again among the cotton operatives of Lancaster during the American civil war. In these two periods of siege and famine, when suffering reached its acute form, the babes flourished as never before during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

For a time students of vital statistics were staggered at these facts. Then it suddenly dawned upon some one that when the Prussians were thundering at the gates of Paris and the blockade of the southern ports of the United States had closed the cotton mills of England, the overworked mothers, for the only time in their lives, had a chance to give a mother’s care to their children.

This fact is respectfully referred to those who fear that

I think it can safely be said that in this country, the richest and greatest country in the world’s history, poverty is responsible for at least 80,000 infant lives every year—more than two hundred every day in the year, more than eight lives each hour, day by day, night by night throughout the year. It is impossible for us to realize fully the immensity of this annual sacrifice of baby lives. Think what it means in five years—in a decade—in a quarter of a century.—John Spargo in “The Bitter Cry of the Children.”
Socialism will break up the home and turn children over to the care of the state.

**FIGHTING OFF DEATH.**

Whenever the workers succeed in fighting back the effects of the present system the results are quickly shown in an increased length of life.

This is most vividly set out in some facts presented in a report to the 1912 convention of the Cigar Makers’ International Union. Here is a trade that a little over twenty years ago was one of the most unhealthful. The hours were long, the workshops located in cellars and basements and back rooms of cigar stores, unventilated, the air filled with dust, which, with the workers’ bent position and lack of exercise, all invited the scourge of tuberculosis.

This union early established an extensive sick and death...
benefit fund, which enables it to give accurate, detailed, vital statistics of its members.

The union was one of the first to secure the eight-hour day, and in 1888, two years after the work day had been shortened to eight hours, 51 per cent of the deaths of the members were from tuberculosis. In 1911, although the general death rate from tuberculosis was rising, only 20.1 per cent were due to the same cause.

As the union grew stronger conditions throughout the trade were improved. Wages were increased, work shops were cleaned up and made more sanitary. Shortened hours gave an opportunity for leisure. An increased income gave better food although it must at once be recognized that even at the present time the wages of a cigar maker are scarcely sufficient to maintain a family in any degree of comfort.

**ADDING TWENTY YEARS OF LIFE.**

But what this gain means, as expressed in terms of life, is shown by the fact that in 1888 the average length of lives of the members who died was thirty-one years, four months and twenty days. In 1900 this had been extended to forty-three years and six months, and in 1911 to fifty years and one month. Almost twenty years has, therefore, been added to the average life of the members of a single trade during a period of twenty-three years.

But it is not alone the men who worked whose lives reflected in added years the improved conditions under which they lived. The same result is seen in the families of the members. In 1890 the average age of deceased wives and mothers was thirty-eight years at the time of death. In 1910 this had increased fifty years and two months and in each case the increase has been steady during the twenty years.

By only one other organization has a systematic concerted fight been made against the “white scourge” of the workers. That organization is also a trade union—the International Typographical Union, that has long maintained a hospital for the care of such of its members as should be attacked by tuberculosis.

That labor always directs its attention to the saving of life is a greater security than many platforms that a party controlled
by the working class would give its first and best energies to
those measures that would prevent unnecessary loss of life.
If, therefore, the cigar makers' union, by simply securing
such relatively small improvements as an eight-hour day and a
living wage, can add twenty years to the average lives of its
members, and their families, will any one say that my statement,
that society could average the same for the entire working class,
is too high?
In the investigation into "National Vitality, its Waste and
Conservation," by Professor Irving Fisher, published as Senate
Document 419, he gives as one of his final conclusions that "the
estimate of fifteen years as the possible prolongation of life is
merely a minimum estimate," and he adds, "We may conclude
that the normal life exceeds eighty-three."
HANDS AND MOUTHS.
Some persons may respond to me that when we reduce
everything to dollars and cents we must remember that every
additional human being is one more mouth to feed, one more
body to clothe and that every additional year added to the hu-
man life means one year more of expense.
The answer is easy and ancient. It is that every stomach
and body that comes into the world bring with them a pair of
hands with which to feed that stomach and clothe that body.
Moreover, to keep down on the dollars and cents plane,
which is the only one that our present piggish civilization could
appreciate, I would call attention to the fact that the great non-
productive period of the human life is the early years and that
to kill off a population that has already passed through a por-
tion of these unproductive years is an extremely wasteful thing
for a society that boasts of the efficiency of its managers. I
have failed completely in my presentation of the facts if I have

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 in the great Titanic disaster. The
Titanic disaster spread a pall of gloom over the world, while
the daily average death rate rarely gets a passing comment.
—Prof. Irving Fisher, of Yale University, at the National Con-
servation Congress, Indianapolis, Ind.
not shown that the productive period of any average life is enough to produce all that such a life can consume during its existence.

So we will insist that every year added to a human life is that much gain, and that every year robbed from that life represents an economic waste.

If at present the productive period of labor averages about twenty years, and this accords with the facts as gathered by the statisticians employed by the defenders of the present society, then, if by so little of improvement as is possible to a modern trade union these productive years can be doubled, then by that familiar mathematical formula of our childhood that "two and two makes four" we know that proper care for health would double our present productive capacity.

Shall we say that this amounts to at least $10,000,000,000 a year? You will notice that I am throwing in some $10,000,000,000 for good measure, and saying nothing about the expenses of medical care, nursing and of those last sad rites whose expense is so often a harrowing addition to the sorrow of those who mourn the dead among the poor.

But in the midst of work we are with death. The tale of the killed and mangled in the wheels of profit-producing industry has been told many times, but we must tell it again if we would measure the wasteful misery of wealth production today.

Dr. Hoffman, already quoted?, has estimated that at least 35,000 men are killed each year in industry. In an article in the COMING NATION W. J. Ghent, after examining these figures of Dr. Hoffman's, came to the conclusion that they were much below the truth. He estimated that at least 50,000 and probably more, are killed each year. He adds to this an estimate of 2,000,000 others seriously injured annually.

The railroads alone slaughter more than 10,000 every twelve months, and injure a hundred thousand more. These are the victims of the grade crossing, the defective rail, the uninspected boiler, the poorly ballasted track and the multitude of other things that add to the dividends and death roll of the transportation industry of America.

UNNECESSARY KILLING OF MINERS.

Dr. John R. Haynes, special commissioner on mining accidents of the state of California, tells us that "from three to five thousand coal miners are annually killed outright," and that
"since 1890 more than 30,000 coal miners have been killed and more than 80,000 have been seriously injured."

He goes on to comment as follows:

"Now this would be a frightful story to relate if it were necessary and inevitable, but, as a matter of fact, it is not at all necessary," and he explains that in France and Belgium the death and accident rate is about one-fifth what it is in this country.

The same writer also gives us the cheerful assurance that "while the death rate during the past ten or fifteen years has been steadily decreasing in every European country, it has been steadily increasing in the United States." Of these fifty thousand killed and two million wounded every year it is now a general agreement that practically all could be saved if profits were not more desirable to our industrial rulers than human lives.

It is hard to find one of these accidents that is not due either to neglect of safeguards easily obtainable but costing money, the employment of untrained workers, overwork, or some one of the causes that may be summed up as an essential part of exploiting labor.

I recur once more to the very convenient illustration of the Panama canal construction. That is the largest industrial undertaking in the world today. It is being carried on in the midst of the tropics; the plant is temporary; it consists in no small degree of one of the greatest labyrinths of railroad tracks ever laid down. More dynamite is used than in any other place in the entire world. Great rock slides are frequent. A large portion of the machinery is experimental in character constructed especially for this one job. Here is every element that in private industry would make for a hideous crushing and mangling of the human element in production. Yet that entire gigantic undertaking has been carried on without a single serious accident and with fewer killed and injured than in any undertaking of one-tenth the size.

THE DEADLY LAST HOUR.

One brilliant ray of light is cast on this whole accident question by the fact that has been proven over and over again, that between 70 and 90 per cent of the accidents in every line
of industry take place after three o'clock in the afternoon, and
an altogether disproportionate number during the last hour of
work. It is then that fatigue has weakened the muscles,
dimmed the eye, dulled the ear and deadened the alertness of
the brain.

A Socialist society would simply abolish this last hour,
and probably the last two hours in most instances.

I hasten to meet the objection that this shortening of hours
would restrict production to such an extent as to offset much
of the waste that has been pointed out. I might do this by
stating the now thoroughly tested fact that shortening the hours
does not restrict production since it improved the productive
ability of the workers, and stimulates inventive genius to such
an extent as to far more than account for the reduced time.
But I am going to meet this in another way.

The 50,000 workers who are killed every year might be
expected to have lived at least ten years longer. This makes
500,000 additional workers that would be saved to the productive
forces of the nation in the course of ten years.

Of the 2,000,000 injured every year at least a half million
are so completely crippled as to be no longer efficient producers.
Some of them require the care of an able-bodied person through
much of the remainder of their lives. Nearly all are less
effective than they would have been had their bodies not been
caught in the crushing wheels of industry.

While the average annual death rate from mining accidents
in Europe runs, per 1,000 men employed, below two, and in the
case of France and Belgium is less than one, in the United
States the rate in 1907 was, for the single year, 4.86 lives lost
for each 1,000 men employed; in other words, our death rate
in that year through mining accidents was about five times that
of France and Belgium and about three times that of other
European countries. Perhaps the most discouraging feature
of the whole situation is the fact that statistics show that,
while the death rate during the past ten or fifteen years has
been steadily decreasing in every European country, it has been
steadily increasing in the United States.—John Randolph
Haynes, M. D., Special Commissioner of Mining Accidents,
State of California.
Keeping to the lowest estimate this makes a million and a half workers whom the murderous character of our industries has stopped in the very height of their productive energies.

Now, instead of figuring up how much these might produce and adding it to the waste just figure that each one of them would have worked six hours a day, which will make 19,000,000 hours. That will go a long way toward accounting for the reduced time that the remainder will labor.

As a final clincher on this question of long hours, I would inform the reader that it is recognized by such scientists as dare to say what they know that these hours are worse than wasted today. They are actually a source of another gigantic waste.

Says Professor Irving Fisher of Yale in Senate Document 419 (p. 669): "The economic waste from undue fatigue is probably much greater than the waste from serious illness. We have seen that the average illness per capita is usually about two weeks per year. This is about 4 per cent. of the year. Expressed differently about 4 per cent. of the population is constantly sick.

"On the other hand the number that suffer partial disability through undue fatigue certainly constitute the great majority of the population. No observer can fail to conclude that this is true of the American working, business and professional classes, and the latest word among the students of school hygiene is that it is true to a large extent even among children.***

Yet if only 50 per cent. of the population are suffering an impairment equal to only ten per cent. of its working powers, the result is equivalent to five per cent. of the population suffering total impairment."

It may not quite belong in a consideration of the methods by which waste can be checked to point out that all the steps taken by society, looking to the conservation of human life, have come only in response to the threat of working class revolt.

A chart of the Socialist vote placed side by side with one showing the extent to which safety devices have been adopted, factory legislation enacted and the sick and injured in industry cared for would show that the two run side by side the world over.

Germany, with its 4,000,000 Socialist votes, gives greater care to the workers than any other country in the world, and
and it has given that care only since the Socialist vote began to be counted by millions.

America, with its comparatively small Socialist vote, gives less attention to those things than any of the industrial nations. The sudden enthusiasm for laws protecting human life has sprung up in the United States only in response to and moved forward side by side with the rapid growth of Socialist vote and Socialist sentiment.

Those who enlist for the purpose of mass murder, and march away to the strains of music are given a pension when they return to compensate for any injuries received. No year of the civil war, the bloodiest in history, ever furnished such a list of killed and wounded as could be made up from any year's record of the casualties on the battlefield of American industry. Yet it was not until the Socialist movement of Germany, of France and of England threatened to capture the powers of government that those who control the governments of the world ever made a suggestion of extending, even in the smallest degree, the same sort of compensation to those who pour out their lives that the world may be fed and clothed and housed that is now given to those who ply the trade of war. In this country no voice was heard in the American congress in behalf of pensions for the veterans of industry until Victor L. Berger, the first Socialist congressman, introduced such a bill. The sound of his voice in the halls of the American congress was to the politicians of the ruling class in America the warning of the impending revolt of labor in this country.

They were quick to heed that voice, and now are following the examples of their German, French and English contemporaries in the profusion of their promises of legislation for the relief of the killed and wounded in the battle for bread.
CHAPTER VII.

KILLING THE BABES.

THE CHILDREN are the potential working force of a nation. There were 9,613,252 children between ten and fifteen years of age in the United States when the census of 1910 was taken. These are the years in which, if our industrial resources were economically managed, these future workers should be trained in mind and body in the manner best to fit them for wealth production.

We are going to consider these children, not from the point of view of loving parents, but from the cold calculating viewpoint of factors in production. To us they are to be looked upon only as animals possessing a certain amount of ability and strength that society can use in the transformation of material substances into shapes that will satisfy human wants.

DEVOURING THE CHILDREN.

Let us then see how a society that boasts of its industrial efficiency trains its children. The census tells us that 1,750,178 of these children are working. That is to say one child in every five has already been pressed into industry.

The farmer who works a three-year-old horse is looked upon by his neighbors as both wasteful and cruel. A three-year-old colt is much better matured than a human child at fifteen years of age. Yet our efficiently managed society is crushing and twisting and stunting and malforming the soft body of one child in every five.

Indeed, the first thing that is discovered is that this figure is altogether too small. Senator Beveridge, in January of 1907, said on the floor of the United States senate that “the census figures, appalling as they are, are notoriously inadequate.” He goes on to give instance after instance where separate investigation had shown the number of children employed in various localities to be more than double the number found by the census investigators, and he concludes that, “putting it upon a conservative basis, there are now not less than 1,000,000 children under sixteen years of age (and I shall show by sworn testimony
that some of them are five and six and seven years of age) at
work in the coal mines, factories and sweat shops of this
nation."

DESTROYING FUTURE PRODUCERS.
This would make the grand total about two million and a
half, or more than one quarter of all the children between ten
and fifteen years of age.

These children are not only being tortured out of shape,
but, what from our point of view must be more important, their
ability as producers is being destroyed. There is no disagree-
ment on this point. Every student of the question, who is not
himself making a profit out of little bodies, is agreed that labor
in modern industry during early childhood is the poorest
possible preparation for effective participation in that industry
during adult years. The child worker is never a trained
worker.

Germany is out-competing all other industrial nations be-
cause of two things. First, the training given to her children
in preparation for industry, and second, the care given to the
adult workers through her insurance system by which they are
kept in the condition of efficient producers. In other words
German capitalists are winning out in the struggle for the
world's markets because they have had sense enough to treat
their wage slaves with something near the same care that was
given the chattel slaves, or that a farmer gives to his horses,
or a competent engineer to his machinery.

SOCIALISM FORCING ACTION.

The American capitalist is so inefficient a manager, so
incompetent to handle industry that he is only just beginning to
realize the necessity of following the example of his German
competitors. He is being pushed forward to this knowledge
by the same force that spurred the German rulers on, the
force of a rapidly growing Socialist movement.

In the United States the child is still in the mill. The
capitalists of this country are still giving an example of the
fact that human beings are the only animals that live upon the
labor of the young.

Child labor was long excused on the ground that it was an
apprenticeship. Today we know that child labor in sweat shop,
mine or factory bears no resemblance to the training given to an apprentice a few generations ago. So much is this true.

_Sacrificing the Child Worker in Vermont Cotton Mill._

that even the employers are beginning to demand a system of industrial training.

_INTO AN INDUSTRIAL BLIND ALLEY._

The child who starts as a newsboy, messenger boy, cash
boy, at blacking shoes or any of the hundred and one tasks that fill in the nooks and corners of our present society is not on the road toward playing the part of an efficient producer of wealth. As has been frequently said, he is entering into a “blind alley” in the industrial world. At the time when he is just coming into manhood, he will reach the end of this alley and be thrown out to swell the army of the unemployed. If he fights his way back into the productive process it will be as an inefficient worker.

The machine processes of industry require two classes of labor. One, that of a dumb adjunct to the machine, the other that of a designer, director and inventor of machinery and methods and processes.

The latter type could be made almost completely to swallow up the other. To do this it is necessary that the child be educated to a knowledge of the evolution of industry and the possibilities of machines directed by man.

With the encouragement to invention which industrial education of the young and adequate leisure for thought for adults would give, coupled with the knowledge that all improvements in production would redound at once to the benefit of the workers we might expect such a mighty increase in the rate of industrial progress as has never entered into the minds of the present generation.

I am not discussing whether such an education is the best possible preparation for human enjoyment. I am consciously avoiding the subject of whether our educational system should be transformed so as to become primarily an introduction to the production and distribution of wealth. I am only pointing out that at present we are doing just those things with our children that least fit them for either an enjoyable personal existence, or effective participation in the productive process.

This becomes even more striking when we turn to the study of our educational system. Here we find that of 25,000,000 children of school age there is an average daily attendance at the schools of but 14,000,000, or just a little over half. The United States Commissioner of Education reports that but one-half of these children go beyond the first six grades of school, and that less than 8 per cent, obtain a high school education.

A bulletin recently issued by the United States department of the interior says on the authority of Dr. Thomas Wood,
professor of physical education in the teacher's college of Columbia University, that more than one-half of all the children in the schools are physically defective to an extent that interferes with their obtaining the greatest possible benefit from the schools.

It would be easy to pile up evidence showing how the influence of the profit grabbing class has rendered our present school system almost incapable of producing any results of value to society. Its graduates are trained neither culturally nor technically. There is such universal agreement on this point as to make the citing of evidence unnecessary.

Incidentally, although it is apparently far from their field, the most powerful movement toward improving the schools is coming, not from the university trained section of the population, not from those who have leisure to study, but from the union and Socialist movement. The American Federation of Labor, and the Socialist party each have committees on education whose work represents the most advanced thought in this field. Most important of all, behind these committees is the largest competent body of citizens who are interested in better training of the children of America.

Suppose that every boy and girl were kept in school until twenty-one years of age. Suppose a portion of their education consisted in an apprenticeship in socially owned factories, where labor was never protracted beyond the point where it is pleasurable and where a child was never retained at one task longer than was necessary to learn how to do it. Suppose that no person entered adult life without a thorough knowledge of the great industrial processes by which the wants of mankind are satisfied, and with a specially developed skill in some one field of production or distribution. Would it be Utopian to assume that such workers would produce twice as much per person as the army of present workers, 5,000,000 of whom are illiterate and of whom but an almost infinitesimal portion have any grasp of the physical and chemical processes that lie back of the work they do? Does it seem too much of a dream to say that within less than a generation such a working class would find ways by which the work of the world could be done in a few hours of pleasurable exertion each day.

BURYING KNOWLEDGE.

Today the few persons who have obtained a thorough
scientific training in industry are compelled to sell their talents to an idle owning class. They are compelled to turn over the fruits of their labor to the private profit of these owners.

There is a waste connected with this process that is, from its very nature, incalculable, in a definite way. There was a time when the scientist who concealed a discovery was looked upon as a traitor to his profession. There was a feeling that the man or woman who had received from society the training that made possible victories in the realm of science owed a duty to society. Among those scientists who still retain their connection with social institutions like universities this spirit of noblesse oblige still prevails.

But more and more the chemists and physicists of the world are selling their talents to private enterprises. When they have so sold themselves their discoveries no longer belong to society but are the private property of their purchasers. So it has come about that recent writers declare that more scientific knowledge is now locked up in the secret records of the laboratories of great manufacturing concerns than is to be found in the text books of the universities.

Here is a waste analogous to that which comes from the suppression of patents, from the hiding of processes; a waste which is inseparable from private exploitation of industry, but which, in terms of social powers of production, is stupendous.

Again I shall make no attempt to express in figures the vast hindrances upon our productive power which comes from the enforced ignorance of our children, the stunting of their bodies and brains by overwork in childhood's hours, or by the prostitution of the talents of our scientists to the cause of private profit.

FIVE MILLION ILLITERATES.

With an educational system leaving 5,000,000 people in illiteracy and all but a very few of the remainder almost completely debarred from all those discoveries of science that make the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries superior to the ten centuries that preceded them, it is no wonder that the workers of today are miserably inefficient compared with their possibilities.

We hear much in these days of "efficiency engineers," and of "scientific management." The text from which all these sermons are preached is that the workers of today are producing
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

less than half what they might produce with the same exertion. But because this movement comes from the side of the employers the workers have quickly learned that it is but a mask for increased exploitation, and instead of welcoming it they revolt against it. If the increased product flowed into the hands of those who produced it the "efficiency engineer" would be welcomed in every shop.

THE GREATEST OF ALL WASTES.

Here we put our hand upon the greatest of all wastes in our present system. A waste that heaps up to such gigantic proportions that once it has been suggested you will see its manifestations at every turn.

This is the waste that springs from the great fact of the class struggle, the biggest fact in our present society. The men and women and children that toil in the shops, in the mines and the factories of today are toiling in poverty that others may live in idle luxury. Only when they are too ignorant to be effective producers do they toil in content. The moment that a spark of intelligence enters their mind it fires the spirit of revolt and from then on they toil with hatred of the class into whose hands the product of their labor must flow.

This class conflict caused a loss of 19,000,000 days in the mines in 1910 through strikes. A record of more than twenty years shows that on an average over 300,000 employes are thrown out of work through strikes at some time during each year. But the loss of the labor of these hundreds of men and women is but the very smallest part of the waste of class friction.

WHEN THE CRAFTSMAN FLOURISHED

There was but one period since man rose from savagery and since private property and exploitation came into the world that any large section of the workers produced with a certainty that the product would be their own. That time and place was within the walled cities of the Middle Ages, when the craftsman in his guild produced marvels of beauty for the use or the adornment of himself, his neighbors, his guild hall, his church or his city. Many centuries have rolled away since that time. The mind of man has devised marvelous appliances with which to extend the power of the hand, yet we today turn back to those ages for our standards of workmanship in almost every line.
CATHEDRALS AND CHROMOS.

Morgan, and a handful of other millionaires, may hire architects to draw plans for a cathedral of St. John the Divine on Morningside Heights, New York. They may pour into it a golden flood of dollars, but when the work is done it will be to the cathedral of Milan or Cologne or of a hundred other cities as the garishchrome to the work of a Correggio or a Tintoretto.

We may multiply devices with which to cover white paper with ink, but no printing firm would undertake a contract to produce as perfect work of illumination and lettering as can be found on any of the thousands of pages of the manuscripts of the Middle Ages.

A billion dollar steel trust may deafen the ears of a whole city with the thunder of its steam hammers, but with none of them, nor all of them, could it produce a single piece of wire wrought with the wondrous skill that seemed to be the common ownership of whole guilds of iron workers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Some day we shall see that capitalism lays an even heavier curse upon the worker when it deprives him of the joy of creative craftsmanship than it does when it steals away the lion's share of his product.

THE WORK THAT MIGHT BE PLAY.

It is not the straining of the muscles or the keen application of the mind that makes work painful. Otherwise no one would play foot ball or chess. It is the doing of these things at the behest and the profit of another, and the doing of them mechanically with no co-operation of hand and brain.

Were the work of creating the goods of the world done in healthful shops by congenially associated groups, where planning and production were united, where every one saw the child of his brain take form beneath his hand, then the greatest sport in the world would be what we now call labor.

Men and women would throw the energy into the big thing we now call work that is at present bestowed on that which we call play. It is this instinct of craftsmanship, this pride in the work, this joy of creation struggling for expression that is one of the greatest mainsprings of working class rebellion, and this even though in many cases it be unconscious.

Whatever makes the worker despise his product, whatever
leads him to perform imperfect work or slight his work in order that he may injure the capitalist is insidiously undermining one of the greatest impulses to revolt. That workers are compelled to prostitute their craftsmanship is in itself a tragedy. That they should by very excess of anger at those who force them to this degradation, take a pride in their prostitution is more terrible yet.

Here it is no question of dollars and cents. Here there is no possibility of computing waste into a vocabulary of the counting room. Only the future holds within its lap the secret of the limitless powers of production, that will be released when laborers rule the processes of labor, when the people of the world shall find their enjoyment in the processes of producing what shall be in Ruskin's use of the word, the "goods" of the earth.

With this incalculable waste of the class struggle I close the catalogue of the prodigality of the ruling class of capitalism. All through this discussion I have attempted to reduce these wastes to terms of bookkeeping. I have done this for two reasons. First, because the dollar sign is the only common denominator to which we can even roughly reduce values in our present system. In the second place the language of dollars and cents is the one in which our present system can best express itself, and I have consciously sought to make my attack at the very point where capitalism boasts its greatest strength. Yet this statement leads up to the fact that there are wastes more terrible than those that can be added up in columns of figures.

No such calculation can include the value of the tears of the mother who sees her child fade away for lack of that care and food which her heart longs to give it. No mathematician can count the cost of the long centuries of pain and agony made up from the combined hours in which the crushed and crippled victims of our industrial machine toss on beds of pain. No bookkeeper would attempt to cast up the accounts and draw the balance that would tell the loss to society from the multitude of children shut out from that birthright of the race—the access to the wisdom that mankind has accumulated and the knowledge of which might bring such wealth of pleasure and enjoyment.

No social engineer can calculate the units of heat wasted in
the fierce war of classes, nor tell how much faster the wheels of progress and production might revolve if that energy were applied to the solving of industrial and social problems.

SOME OMITTED WASTES.

Before proceeding to this final table, however, I want to indicate just a few of the tremendous wastes which I have not attempted to reduce to figures, or which I have omitted from this final compilation in order that they may be used to offset any place where the reader may think my estimates excessive. I ask of the reader that he read this list of the wastes omitted from the table, that he read it carefully and completely, even though it be nothing but an uninteresting tabulation. Having read this list, I wish him to keep it in mind and to remember that all the things for which it stands can be added to supply any point where my total seems excessive.

Here, then, are the wastes that are thrown in for good measure. All the insane foolishness of fashion. All the prostitution of splendid intellects to the formation of the business mind. All the loss in agriculture through insects, weeds and plant diseases and the raising of scrub animals in place of the more productive thoroughbreds. The neglect of great stretches of country that might be used for raising game. The yearly destruction of corn fodder, estimated by the expert agriculturist of the Rock Island railroad, to amount to one billion dollars a year. The lack of adaptation of land to crops and the consequent possible specialization. The use of imperfect methods of feeding and raising stock in contrast with the "beef factories" that are possible and practicable. No estimate is included of the possibilities of new plants such as the Burbank cactus that, we are told, would not only enable the desert to blossom as the rose but to furnish the food of multitudes. Nothing is said of the literal scattering of crops on the road to market which in the case of cotton is estimated at 25 per cent and in fruits is much more. No mention is made of food stuffs destroyed because of the lack of market. The tabulation omits all the cost of vaults and safes and locks and prisons, all the devices for locking up property against hungry human beings, or locking up hungry human beings for the protection of property. To avoid duplication the value produced by the unnecessary portion of the four million and more employes engaged in superfluous
occupations is not included. Credit agencies are not charged up in the final list. The heaped up values of the sky-scraper districts of great cities, chargeable to competition, are not included. No mention is made of the wastes of the stock exchange and no value is set on the time spent by families of the workers in nursing those members rendered sick by industrial conditions.

Surely this tremendous catalogue of omitted wastes would easily offset any possible exaggeration that might be charged here.

Then for the final compilation. Look it over, study it, criticise it and then try to realize what it means:

**SUMMARY OF WASTED WEALTH.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Using imperfect machinery</td>
<td>$3,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty-five per cent of factories idle, could produce</td>
<td>5,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste of coke ovens</td>
<td>50,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restriction on patents</td>
<td>2,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacture of useless and harmful articles</td>
<td>1,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect methods in agriculture</td>
<td>18,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of fences</td>
<td>1,250,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lands used for horses</td>
<td>1,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiplied production through application of power</td>
<td>27,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad roads</td>
<td>1,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing farm products</td>
<td>4,500,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>2,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire and insurance (unnecessary)</td>
<td>500,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military and naval expenditures</td>
<td>600,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>8,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual kitchens and housekeeping plants</td>
<td>1,728,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible production of 9,000,000 people needlessly killed</td>
<td>18,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sickness, exclusive of nursing by families</td>
<td>1,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extending average productive life 20 years</td>
<td>10,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$105,628,000,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total annual production at the present time is somewhere between twenty and thirty billion dollars, of which labor, including farm owners, receives about one-half.
There has been much discussion concerning methods by which the capitalist class could be expropriated. I have a new suggestion to make. Why not let it keep all that is produced at present and we will take what is wasted?

Looked at as a whole these figures seem inconceivable. Examined in detail they are seen to be far below the possible truth. Yet this sum, which is wasted every year, is sufficient to insure to every man, woman and child in the United States an income equal to that which can now be purchased for a thousand dollars. For every family it would mean an income of about five times that sum.

There is only one thing that stands between the workers of America and the health and happiness that such an abundance would make possible. That one thing is their own stupidity, carefully cultivated by the few who profit by the prodigality with which lives and resources are destroyed today.

Not one of the wastes that have been discussed but that is directly caused by private ownership and private profit. Not one of them could continue if the natural resources and the instruments with which those resources are transformed into want-satisfying goods were made common property.

Every step in the direction of economy and efficiency and conservation on any large scale is even now coming from social effort. Whenever we have a great task to undertake like education or transporting the letters of a nation, or connecting two oceans, or seeking new methods of conducting agriculture we look to the government. If that government were controlled by the workers, if it was transformed from an instrument of class rule into an organ for social service then it could be made to satisfy every reasonable human want.

That is what Socialism proposes. That is all that it seeks to accomplish. Its whole aim is to place the workers in control of government and industry in order that the wants of those who work may be satisfied in the most efficient manner and with the greatest possible pleasure in the process of production.

To do this it will be necessary to dislodge the class that now lives without labor, and that rides upon the back of Labor. It is this class that, in defense of the system that clothes its members in luxury drawn from the misery of the toilers, cries
WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

out that Socialism would destroy the family, abolish religion, discourage incentive and lead to industrial tyranny. So the thief has always sought to blacken the character of his victim. So the swindler always seeks to defend his trickery.

But with none of these things is Socialism concerned. None of these things will be affected unless their foundation rests upon the destruction of human energy, the robbery of human beings. If there be any institutions that are founded upon exploitation of the poor and the enslavement of Labor then they may well tremble for that foundation is going to be destroyed.

There is only one political movement that does strike at that foundation. There is only one organized attack upon the cause of the fearful wanton waste of life and the things of which life is made, and that attack is by the Socialists. Nothing that is proposed by any other political party will alter the fundamental wrong that breeds all the host of wrongful wastes that have been described.

The Socialist alone dares to strike at the strongest defense of entrenched wrong, dares to indict the right of a class to live by devouring the lives of those who labor.

The Socialists draw this indictment up against the ruling class of today. To these masters of the bread they say:

"You have strutted your little time upon the stage of history. During that time the workers have multiplied the powers of production and supplied society with means whereby it could satisfy every want of its members. To you they have entrusted the work of managing the processes of industry. To you has been given the power of life and death, over the working class, and in return for that your social function was so to manage industry as to produce the greatest possible wealth with the least pain to the producers. We have paid you magnificently for the task. We have built you palaces such as Solomon in all his glory never knew. We have clothed you with costly garments and heaped jewels upon your women.

"We have conferred upon you powers such as no Caesar on the banks of the Tiber or the Neva has ever wielded. All this we have done for you, all these things we have conferred upon you as your reward for the management of industry. Now we have come to take an accounting of your stewardship by your own test of the counting room and by that test you have failed.

"We will now take from you the ownership and the direc-
tion of the great machinery that our minds have conceived and our hands have created. We will vest that in a government that we ourselves control. We will choose our own managers and directors of industry, and we will produce for our use and not for profit."

So speaks the Socialist of today, and his voice has been heard 'round the globe. We know that when the mills and the mines, the machines and the factories shall have been made the common property of all, when they shall be directed by socially chosen and socially trained experts in industry, and when work shall be joy instead of pain; when the highest incentive shall be offered to him who reduces, or renders more pleasant social labor, we know then that we can satisfy every want, feed every human stomach, clothe every naked back, shelter every home-less head, and that is what we are going to do.

Make no mistake about it, you wastrels, who have ruled us so long.

Your day has come. Your little part upon the stage of history has been played. But have no fear of the future. We come not to mete out vengeance, but to bring joy to the race. We might condemn you to the toil that you have heaped upon us; we might sentence you to the darkness and the blinding, grinding, choking terror of the mine. We might break your limbs upon the wheels of industry as you have broken ours; we might crush your children and stunt and deform their bodies and blunt their minds even as you have done unto us, but we shall not do this. We are going to make industry happy, healthful and plentiful in its production, and into that new and regen-erated industry we are going to welcome you as fellow workers.

---

If this book has interested you in Socialism and you want to know more about the subject, read:—

The Truth About Socialism

By ALLAN M. BENSON

Price 25 cents per copy

For sale by the National Office, Socialist Party, 111 N. Market St., Chicago, Ill.
If You Vote the Socialist Ticket

You should join the Socialist Party and Subscribe for the

PARTY BUILDER

The only official periodical published by the Socialist Party of America.

It's special features are;—
An Information Department
A Woman's Department
A Lyceum Department
General Party News
Official Business

The Party Builder is published weekly,—is eight pages in size and the subscription price is 50 cents per year, 25 cents for 40 weeks.

Address,—Party Builder
111 N. Market St., Chicago, Ill.