$2,000 Per Year
and a Six-Hour Day
This is What Socialism Offers You for Your Vote

AN ARGUMENT BACKED BY FACTS, BY
Fred D. Warren
EDITOR APPEAL TO REASON

The small man, representing ten per cent of the population, receives the shaded portion of this consumable wealth, representing fifty per cent, as his profit for the use of the wealth-producing machinery of the nation. The large man, representing ninety per cent of the population, receives what is left as wages for his labor.
The Problem

There are 30,000,000 (thirty million) working men, women and children in the United States. These are the actual wealth producers of the nation.

The yearly production of consumable wealth is $30,000,000,000 (thirty billion dollars).

The average wealth produced by each working man, woman and child is $1,000 per year.

The average wage is $500.

The average net profit collected by the capitalists who own the machinery of production from each working man, woman and child is $500.

The total wage fund paid to wage earners, including the farmers, is $15,000,000,000 (fifteen billion dollars).

The $15,000,000,000 paid to the wage earners and the farmers represents the purchasing power of the nation. When this sum has been spent it leaves $15,000,000,000 surplus. A part of this surplus is consumed by the idle class, and part of it is sold abroad and the balance is invested in industries in America and thus in turn becomes capital. Quite recently the large capitalists have been investing heavily in agricultural lands introducing the farm factory on American soil.

Result: The rapid accumulation of the wealth of the nation in the hands of a few with the corresponding increase in the hardships endured by the 30,000,000 (thirty million) wage earners and farmers.

The following pages will tell you how the Socialist proposes to solve this problem, and the methods to be employed to change the nation's industries from privately-owned properties to collectively-owned properties.

There are 15,000,000 working class families in the United States; two wage earners in each family. The average family income today is less than $1,000; the average wealth production per family is $2,000. Socialism proposes, by making the wealth producing machinery collectively owned, that the family income shall be a minimum of $2,000, increasing as industry is more perfectly organized and the wastes incident to the present system eliminated.
$2,000 Per Year
and a Six-Hour Day

THERE is but one political issue today and that issue is the income of the working class and the hours of labor. Socialism offers the workers $2,000 per year and a six-hour work-day. Anything less than this is robbery. Figure up your income for last year. If you got less than this amount, if you worked more than six hours per day, then you have been robbed of what rightfully belongs to you. Some other fellow who did no useful work got what you created. The wealth you take from the ground, whether that wealth is in the form of coal, farm products, iron and steel and wood, and all those fine things that are fashioned from these materials, belongs to the working class by that eternal right that is as old as man himself, the right of the creator. By a cunningly devised system of robbery that has taken first one form and then another—in the beginning as chattel slavery, then feudalism, then wage labor—the larger part of the wealth has been absorbed by a small class. This robbery has been made possible by reason of the private ownership of the machinery and tools which the worker must use before he can create wealth.

Socialism would change this system of robbery by abolishing the only means by which robbery is possible, viz., the private ownership of the places where and the tools with which the robbed toilers and producers work. For private ownership, Socialism would substitute collective ownership and democratic management of industry. This means ownership by the nation of the machinery of production and distribution, but private ownership of the product, each worker getting a division of the social product. In the beginning this division will be made, I predict, on the basis of the hours of labor. As the machinery of production is perfected, so great will be the wealth produced that no question will ever be raised as to the quantity consumed.
by each individual—the nation concerning itself only with seeing that each worker does his part.

There are approximately 30,000,000 workers in the United States. There are 15,000,000 working class families, two wage earners in each family. The total consumable wealth produced in one year, as the system is operated today, if divided between all of these working class families, would give to each family $2,000.

This family income would be very materially increased by eliminating the waste that now consumes so large a part of human energy.

To begin with, all the useful workers employed today do not get more than three-fourths time. One-third of the working population is engaged in useless occupations, creating no real values. Another great source of loss is the crude and out-of-date machinery that millions must work with. Socialism would eliminate the useless worker; it would provide work for all qualified to labor; the nation could afford and would provide the very best machinery that skill could build. The incentive to get the best would be that strongest of all incentives—public approbation. With the sordid money incentive and the fear of failure eliminated, the better qualities in man would predominate. What is it that prompts the poorly paid fireman to risk his life in saving property and life? A sense of duty and the desire for the praise that comes to the man when he has done a noble deed. The poorly paid soldier becomes a hero when occasion demands—and what is the incentive? He wants the folks back home to know that he has excelled in his chosen work. The rivalry among school boys and girls for a position at the head of the class is the strongest incentive to hard study. Let us remember that there has been a change in the incentives that have moved men to action in the past and this gives us good ground for believing that there will be still another change when we substitute for the dollar incentive that of approbation and the approval of our fellows as a reward for good service. And back of this will be the knowledge that without performing our part there
will be no material rewards in the way of food, clothes and entertainment and a place to live.

**WAGES OF HIGHEST PAID WORKERS TODAY.**

That there may be no misunderstanding of the difference in what you will get under Socialism and what you get now, let us look into the wages received by the highly skilled adult males employed by the railroads. The railroads of the United States employ more men than any single industry. These men are the pick of the working class world. The railroads are in a position to demand the highest order of skill and working class intelligence and it is generally conceded that the railroaders are better paid and have steadier employment than any other group of workers. One-half of the men engaged in railroading receive less than $625 per year. Less than ten per cent receive so much as $1,000 per year. Occasionally you hear of some successful railroader who makes more than this, but he is the exception. It is the average with which we must deal, and that average wage of the highest paid large group of workers in the United States is considerably less than $700—less than $15 per week.

Professor Nearing of the University of Pennsylvania, after an exhaustive investigation of the wages of all classes of laborers in the United States, concludes with this statement: "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 more than $1,000. 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, twenty per cent, varying with the year, the location and the industry.

In these piping days of prosperity $15 per week will not provide a working class family a decent living. The comforts and luxuries are not even to be thought of in the ordinary laborer’s home.
"$2,000 PER YEAR."

Socialism comes to you with this proposition: "$2,000 per year and a six-hour working day." The dollar is the prevailing standard by which every material thing that enters into human life today is measured. If for any reason we are unable to secure possession of the dollar, then we are denied all those things which minister to the comfort and pleasure of men and women. The vast majority of working men vote the democratic and republican tickets under the belief that the success of their favorite candidates will make times better and, therefore, give them more for the labor they have to sell. This being true it follows that if we are not able to show to you that under the Socialist regime your income will be increased we have no advantage over the other parties in appealing to you for your support.

THE TWO CLASSES.

The families of the United States readily divide into two classes—the ninety per cent whose incomes are less than $2,000 and the ten per cent whose incomes are above $2,000. To the latter Socialism has little to offer in a material way, but it does have a great deal to offer in relief it will bring to the mind of even the fortunate. It will lift the terrible load of anxiety and fear which now haunts the waking and sleeping hours of those who are looked upon as the world's successful ones.

THE RESOURCES OF THE NATION.

The first objection to this proposal is that the productive capacity of the nation would not supply a sufficient amount of wealth to provide $2,000 per year to each working class family. In discussing this question we shall take the working class family as the unit of production. According to the latest census bulletins there are eighteen million families. Three million belong to the non-producing class and, therefore, do not enter into our calculations so far as production is concerned. If we eliminate these three million families, we will have reduced the working population to fifteen million families.
Suppose we put all the wealth produced in the United States in one year in one great pile. Government statisticians in a recent bulletin placed the value of this wealth for the year 1909 at approximately $30,000,000,000. This wealth, all of it, was produced by the 15,000,000 working class families. Dividing the total product by the number engaged in the work of production we find that under capitalism with its crude methods, the average income per family would be $2,000. I do not give out these figures as being conclusive and definite. They are the best available and after a careful examination of all the data that can be obtained I am convinced that they are fairly accurate. They at least give us a basis from which we can make an estimate.

Nor are we concerned to any extent with the valuation in dollars placed on these articles of use. There may be duplications in the valuation—as for instance, the value of the wheat as it comes from the farm; to this is added the value of the flour at the mill. The value of the wheat is, therefore, twice added in the total. This is true of the iron ore and of the coal that enters into the cost of manufacture. But this fictitious value does not add to nor take from the USE value of the articles manufactured. If all the consumable wealth produced in the United States was divided among the workers it would make no difference to the worker whether a valuation of thirty billion cents or thirty billion dollars was placed thereon. The articles would be as useful to them whether tagged in cents or marked up in dollars.

SOME OF THE WASTES.

In the first place we must remember that of the working class population less than seventy-five per cent is actually engaged in the work of wealth production. I do not mean by this that the working class families not engaged in the actual production of wealth are idle or that they do not perform a necessary function in the social life today. Take, for instance, the men engaged in delivering groceries in a small town like Girard. A dozen wagons and drivers and teams are used to deliver merchandise that could be better handled by four automobile trucks or teams, thus serving patrons quicker and more efficiently and
releasing eight men and the equipment used under the old method for work in more productive fields. Here is a vast army of men who must be supported by society, yet a moment's reflection will convince you that they render no real service in exchange for the food and clothes and other products which they consume. A dozen stores in the average small town serve their customers in an indifferent manner where one well managed department store would do the work more satisfactorily to all concerned. Imagine what the additional cost would be for postage if there were as many post offices in your town as you have grocery stores! You at once perceive how absurd and unbusinesslike it would be for the government to maintain a dozen small and poorly equipped post offices in a small town like Girard, yet Girard supports a dozen grocery stores. And we call this a practical system of doing business! Carry this illustration to include all the villages, towns and cities in the United States and you will, without further argument, realize what a stupendous burden of non-producers the real workers are supporting in the work of delivering groceries!

THE WASTE OF NON-EMPLOYMENT.

Another point which we must remember is this: The working population of the United States is not employed steadily. The department of commerce and labor after a careful investigation, the results of which are printed in the 18th Annual Labor report, discovers that fifty per cent of the workers are employed but a part of the time. This loss to the working class results in a decided reduction in the total wealth produced during this year.

From the figures, herewith given, I have made certain deductions in support of my proposal that Socialism can give to each working class family an income of more than $2,000 per year with a work-day of six hours. The bulletins and reports from which these figures are taken are available to you and you are at liberty to make your own calculations. No matter what your viewpoint may be you will discover after careful analysis that I am not very far wrong.

You will find that even with the crude and imperfect ma-
AND A SIX-HOUR WORK DAY.

... machinery with which we now work, with the loss of time now impossible to avoid and the tremendous waste incident to doing business under capitalism, we are still able to produce an average value of $2,000 for each working class family in the United States. If this total aggregate product were divided among the working class families actually engaged in production today the amount would be considerably in excess of $2,000. With improved machinery the income of the workers would be still further increased and the hours of labor reduced.

SOMETHING WRONG SOMEWHERE.

HAS it not occurred to you that there is something wrong with society as at present organized, when you stop to think that one hundred years ago our fathers, using the simplest hand tools, were able to produce a sufficient amount of food and clothes to live, while today the son is, with modern machinery, not so well off? With modern tools and machinery that enable the workmen to turn out one hundred times the product his grandfather could in the same length of time, why is it that the workman today has so little more than his grandfather had before him? Being practical men and women and interested in getting the very best out of life, we should look into these things for ourselves and not take the word of men who have an interest in deceiving us.

Two weeks after the Appeal announced its slogan, "$2,000 per year and a six-hour work-day," editors and politicians from one end of the country to the other were denouncing it as absurd and outrageous, stoutly maintaining that this dream could not be realized. Says one editor: "The plain truth is that the golden dreams of Socialism go to wreck, aside from all other phases of their proposals, upon the rock of utterly insufficient wealth production and productive power."

THE NATION HAS AMPLE PRODUCTIVE POWER.

I maintain, on the contrary, that the strength of Socialism lies in the ability of the working class to produce all those material things necessary to its happiness and comfort. No man will
say that nature is niggardly in supplying the raw material. Where then does the difficulty lie? I have noticed that the criticism to my proposal comes almost exclusively from editors, politicians and preachers whose incomes amount to considerably more than $2,000 per year. How does it happen then that these people draw an income so much in excess of the average wage of that part of the population that performs the real work? If, as one of my critics maintains, the average wealth produced measured in dollars and cents is less than $300, it follows that those who get more are receiving more than they give, and consequently many families must exist, for they cannot live, on less than $300!

TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS PER YEAR NEEDED TO LIVE DECENTLY.

Not one of these smug and self-satisfied writers and speakers will deny that it requires at least $2,000 a year to provide the average family of five with all those material things necessary to round out and make complete the lives of the various members of the household? In these days of high prices and increasing demands upon the head of the household, he is finding it increasingly difficult to provide the ordinary necessities while the comforts and luxuries are not even to be dreamed about. The boys and girls are uneducated because early in life they must go into the factory, into the shops or in the field to piece out the family income.

Figures are not interesting (unless they have the dollar mark in front of them) and as we propose to put the dollar mark there and make the dollars your own, I trust you will find these figures absorbingly interesting. Our government statisticians have supplied us with some interesting data in addition to that quoted above. In order to convince these doubting gentlemen that there is sufficient amount of wealth produced even today to make good my figures I have compiled the following table showing the amount for food, etc., produced per working class family! The list is by no means complete, but it is sufficient to
prove that the production of wealth today is ample were it divided among those alone who perform the necessary work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Produce</th>
<th>Av. per family</th>
<th>Produce</th>
<th>Av. per family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>200 lbs.</td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>200 bu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>1,300 lbs.</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>350 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn meal</td>
<td>300 lbs.</td>
<td>Coal, bituminous</td>
<td>23 tons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>500 gals.</td>
<td>Coal, anthracite</td>
<td>5 tons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>90 lbs.</td>
<td>Lumber</td>
<td>1,200 cu. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wool</td>
<td>20 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>81 doz.</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>60 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>680 lbs.</td>
<td>Liquor</td>
<td>12 gals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My neighbor, the lumber man, informs me that 1,200 cubic feet of lumber will build a modest six-room cottage. By referring to the government figures, I find that there is annually produced in the United States a sufficient amount of lumber to give to each one of the fifteen million working class families that amount of lumber. Now, it is not proposed to build a six-room house for each family every year. I refer to these figures in order to convince the skeptical that there is a sufficient amount of lumber annually cut from the forests to build a six-room bungalow for every working class family in the United States. With the material at our command and the labor willing and anxious to create for itself, no family should be without a home in this land of boundless resources. With shelter provided, our next consideration is food. Again referring to government figures we find that the United States grows a sufficient amount of wheat to produce twenty-six fifty-pound sacks of the best flour per family. My grocer informs me that the average family of five will consume approximately this amount of flour in a year. I know and so do you that many families are forced to live on considerably less than one fifty-pound sack of flour every two weeks. And yet the politicians who would keep you in ignorance and the newspapers that daily insult your intelligence try to make it appear that bountiful nature is too stingy to reward labor with the food it needs. The figures compiled by your own government give the lie to this statement by our opponent.
WHY LABOR IS SO POORLY REWARDED.

Why, then, is labor so poorly rewarded? Before we can remedy an evil or change a wrong condition to a better one we must discover wherein lies the trouble and then remove the cause. Today our society is divided into two classes—the owners of the machinery of production and the users of the machinery of production. By reason of this ownership the capitalist class is able to dictate the terms on which the users operate the machinery. These terms are, in brief, that the workers shall give to the owners a portion of the wealth created by the application of labor to this machinery. The portion which the wage-earner receives is called wages, that portion which the capitalist receives is called profits. The capitalist will not give work to labor until he is convinced that he can dispose of the product. The purchasing capacity of the nation is measured by the wage fund. After this wage fund has been expended by the working class, there is left an unconsumed surplus. The difference between all the wages paid to all the workers and the total product represents the capitalist’s profit. He must dispose of this surplus in a foreign market or waste it in dissipation. When he is unable to do either, the factory is closed down and unemployment results, with all of its dreadful consequences.

The wage workers and farmers cannot buy back what they produce because they are paid for their labor a sum equal to but one-half the value the owner of the machine places upon that product. It is this inability on the part of the working class to buy what it produces that causes panics and industrial depression. In order to sell this surplus in foreign markets, capitalist governments must maintain expensive armies and navies. This adds an ever increasing burden to be borne by the farmers and wage earners. This surplus that is sold abroad at the mouth of the cannon, at the sacrifice of so many lives and millions of dollars’ worth of property is sorely needed at home to supply the wives and children of the workers with those things needed to make their lives happy and complete. The capitalist is not responsible for this condition, for this is a necessary part of the capitalist system, and the Socialist does not blame him. It is merely our purpose to point out to you the facts as they exist.
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and then do our best to convince you that the only solution is that proposed by Socialism. We maintain that this private ownership of the machine is responsible for our ills. Therefore, to remedy these ills we must change the privately-owned machine into the only other form of ownership known, i.e., ownership by society itself. This is what the Socialist proposes to do. When the machinery of production is owned by the nation as the public school system is owned today, then there will be no private capitalists to make the conditions under which we must work.

CONFISCATE THE CAPITALIST'S PROPERTY.

The question naturally arises how are we to acquire possession of the property now owned by the capitalist class? A number of plans have been proposed. When the Socialists come into political power, they may buy the wealth-producing property of the capitalists, or they may build duplicate plants with the material at hand and with the millions of idle laborers looking for an opportunity to exercise their creative ability. I have, however, a simpler and more direct and a quicker method. I would confiscate the property of the capitalist class. I can well understand that many of you who have not studied this subject will stand aghast at this revolutionary proposal. There is ample precedent in the history of our own nation to justify the Socialist in advocating confiscation. I perhaps should say here that many Socialist writers do not agree with me as to the method we should employ in taking over the wealth-producing machinery now in the possession of the capitalist class. When the time comes that we are face to face with that problem every voter will have the opportunity to say whether he approves or disapproves of confiscation. He will have an opportunity to say that he prefers to buy the railroads, the coal mines, oil wells, etc. However, I will serve notice on our capitalist friends and on my associates that my pen and my voice shall be used in favor of the radical and revolutionary plan of confiscation. Twice before in the history of the United States crises have arisen which demanded prompt and vigorous action by the people. In 1776 it was the question whether we should continue to pay an
unjust tribute to the king of England. The king demanded a profit on the money he had invested in the men and ships by means of which a new nation on the western hemisphere was carved out of the wilderness. By all the rules of the kingly game he was entitled to the modest profit he demanded in the way of a tax on the American colonists. But such was the state of public mind that we determined that we would no longer pay this tribute to the king and the Declaration of Independence was the result. In other words, we denied the right of the king to tax the American colonists and confiscated his title. We served notice on him and his judges and governors and managers that they must vacate the premises. This act of confiscation is applauded today by every true American citizen. Again in 1860 we were face to face with another problem that threatened the existence of the nation itself. This problem grew out of the fact that a small group of men owned, in the form of chattel slaves, a very considerable portion of the wealth producing machinery of the nation. The interest of this group of slave owners became in time too antagonistic to other forms of industry—wage labor that had slowly grown up in the northern states—that it became a menace to the entire nation. A shrewd Yankee had discovered a better means of robbing the wealth producer than that employed by his brother capitalist in the southland. He found from actual experience that it was more profitable to buy labor power by the day, week and month than it was to buy the body outright and assume the responsibilities of ownership. As the wage labor system grew and expanded it came in constant conflict with the interests of that class of citizens that up to 1860 dominated the political, social and industrial affairs of the nation. The crisis growing out of conditions produced by these warring systems became acute in the early fifties and finally resulted in the organization of a new political party—the republican party of 1856 and the triumphant election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

To preserve the union, President Lincoln issued his famous emancipation proclamation which confiscated the property of the slave masters. Twice then in the history of our country have the people placed the seal of their approval upon confiscation. Once for the purpose of establishing our political independence.
as a nation; and again in the sixties to preserve the existence of that nation as an undivided whole.

In 1898 the capitalist class in America forced the government to confiscate the Philippines from the Spanish government. "We"—that is, the capitalist class—needed the Philippine Islands as a naval station to guard the entrance into China and to insure American goods an entrance into the Orient. These goods represent the surplus to which I have referred frequently.

With these precedents before us do you believe the working class shall hesitate to confiscate the property of the capitalist class when such action becomes necessary in order to preserve the lives of their wives and children?

CHANGING ATTITUDE OF OLD PARTIES.

The threat of confiscation on the part of the Socialists will bring about in this country a very radical change in the attitude of the old parties to these problems. Already we begin to see one of the results of our agitation in the breaking up of the republican party. The capitalists who control the two old parties and Mr. Roosevelt's new party will be glad to unload their industrial properties at inflated values upon the government, taking in exchange for their stocks and mortgages government bonds bearing a fixed rate of interest. State capitalism, sometimes miscalled state Socialism, is the next step in the evolution of government. It will come in America as it has in Germany in an effort to stem the tide of revolutionary Socialism. This attempt will not stem the tide here any more than it has in Europe; and in the end it will not be a difficult matter to legally confiscate the value of the bonds by imposing an income tax that will leave very little for the holders. This will not be a hardship upon these people, as we do not propose to do as Lincoln's republican party did to the slave masters; confiscate their property and leave them penniless and helpless. Under the Socialist regime the capitalist will have a job where his labor will return to him a much more certain and enjoyable income than it is possible for even the most successful today to acquire. If the capitalist should have passed the age limit, he will be provided for by the nation in precisely the same way that the nation will take
care of the members of the working class that have passed the age limit. There will be nothing meager in providing for the old under Socialism, because it will be the common lot of all and it is not likely that we will impose upon others what we do not want for ourselves. The poor are treated today in a heartless and indifferent manner, because those who are influential enough to change the conditions surrounding those who must live on the charity of the nation are solely occupied with the scramble to keep their heads above the sea of financial disaster. Those who are unsuccessful and who are crowded to the bottom have neither the influence nor the means to help the unfortunate.

All these attempts to bolster up this industrial system will only whet the appetite of the working class and increase its desire for more of the good things of life. Living under a government thoroughly democratic and with the power to remodel our social and industrial institutions to minister to the interest of the working class it will only remain for an awakened desire to bring about what, by comparison to present conditions, will be the millenium.

ABOLITION OF THE COOK STOVE.

Let us consider briefly some of the changes that would be made in our every-day life. Take that useful and very necessary but highly objectionable kitchen utensil, the cook stove. The republican and democratic platforms are strangely silent upon this question. On the other hand, the Socialist platform deals, indirectly though it be, with cook stoves. One of the first steps taken after Socialism is firmly established will be the abolition of the cook stove! No one save the housewife can conjure up a mental picture of the misery, the unhappiness, the inconveniences suffered by womankind over the cook stove during the long hot days of summer time. You do not have to possess a very vivid imagination to paint a picture of what happens in the average home when the husband returns from his day’s labor tired, weary, vexed by the problems that make his daily life a burden; only to be met on the threshold by a wife who has spent most of the day over the hot stove. Her dress is none too clean, her hair untidy; the perspiration streaming down her face—the
whole making a picture quite in contrast with the fresh young girl he had married years ago. Not much encouragement to love-making. No home is truly a home without love. It is little wonder that cupid long since took his departure from that household. This is what takes place in most working class homes and I want to go on record as saying that in my judgment the cook stove is responsible for more divorces than all the free love advocates in the world.

There has just been placed on the market a device for the kitchen which I should very much like to see in every household. If I should say to you women that under Socialism we would abolish the cook stove you would at once come to the conclusion that I was talking about something impossible of accomplishment. But when I tell you that this is what we have done in my own home you must believe me. This new electric cooker has been installed in our kitchen and the old-fashioned cook stove relegated to a place in the coal house. To begin with, it is an attractive piece of furniture, as pleasing to the sight as anything in our home. No dust, no ashes, no dirt, no smoke, no heat—the cooking being done almost entirely automatically. The food is prepared in the proper cooking vessels, placed in the proper compartments and the alarm clock adjusted to turn on the heat at any time desired.

In Girard, the city owns its electric light plant. The more electricity the cheaper the service becomes. Many Girard families are now not only lighting their homes with electricity but doing much of the other household work, such as ironing and sweeping by means of the vacuum cleaners. The electric cook stove is now being introduced and those who are using this sort of fuel find it much more economical and desirable than the old obsolete cook stove. Today the price put upon electric apparatus for household use is exorbitant which puts it out of the reach of those who need it most.

In Sabbatha, Kan., the people of that little burg are utilizing the exhaust steam from the municipal lighting plant to heat the homes of the residents. This eliminates much of the household drudgery in heating with stoves and places the modern hot water and steam plants in the homes of those who otherwise could not enjoy them.
The inquisitive mind insists on the Socialist making a picture, complete in all its details, of the Co-operative Commonwealth. If the Socialist is unable or unwilling to do this the inquisitive person then insists that there is something wrong with the whole scheme and he will have nothing to do with it. I remember hearing my grandfather relate the story of his first journey on a railroad train. This happened to be, by the way, the first trip of the first train of what has now developed into the New York Central system. The engine was a crude affair and did not resemble in any particular the powerful locomotive that is now used on the railway systems of the United States. The cars were merely old-fashioned omnibuses mounted on flanged wheels. The rails were of wood. The entire distance traveled was sixteen miles; the line when completed connected Albany with Schenectady. I have often speculated, after hearing my grandfather describe this experience, what would have been his thought had some prophet of the future handed him a photograph of the Twentieth Century Limited that daily travels at eighty miles an hour over this same road bed? Those early passengers, all of them well-to-do, respectable, educated gentleman of their time, would have looked with incredulous eyes upon the picture. If the prophet of the future had been called upon to explain the details of this wonderful train that was to travel from New York to Chicago over night, equipped with every convenience to minister to the comfort and welfare of its passengers, it would have been impossible for him to have conveyed any adequate idea of the railroad train of the future to the mind of my grandfather and his associates. He would have been told, to begin with, that it would be impossible to build a locomotive that would develop sufficient power to pull a dozen steel coaches at the unheard-of speed of eighty miles an hour. The palace cars, with their libraries, dining rooms, sleeping apartments, baths and barber shops, stenographers and wireless communication with the people in the cities and towns along the way, would have been looked upon as an Arabian Nights' tale, unworthy of consideration by practical men. But the railroad locomotive and the cars now in use, truly palaces on wheels, evolved from this first crude engine and its primitive cars. In much the same way must the Co-operative Commonwealth evolve to that point where
man’s dreams of a just social system will be realized. It is not our intention, as Socialists, to build for you this society of the future and make it ready for occupancy. All we can do is to draw an outline of the first crude social machine, built of the material at hand. I have no doubt that when first started it will creak at the joints, and there will be a good deal of puffing and wheezing in the first years of its operation, but the start must be made just as it has been made in all mechanical and social experiments in the past.

THE FARMERS AND THE FOOD SUPPLY.

Sixty per cent of the farms in the United States yield an income of less than $500. Twenty-four per cent of the farms yield an income of between $500 and $1,000.

On the train a few days ago I met a prosperous looking farmer about fifty years of age. He told me that he was a standpat republican, politically. He had the appearance of being well fed and reasonably well off.

"I own 160 acres of as fine land as there is in Kansas. I have a wife and five children. We all work and the hours during the busy season average from fourteen to sixteen per day. My income from the farm by the diligent application of the labor of seven of us averages from $600 to $1,000. No, we do not take very many vacations—the other fellow gets most of what we raise—but we do hope to save enough money to send the boys and the girls to school."

This farmer is the farmer you read about in the magazine, but he is not the average farmer as any one who has made an investigation of agricultural conditions in this country will at once recognize. However, let us turn our attention to the farm of the future and see if we cannot discover something hopeful in this department of human activity.

People are wholly dependent upon the land for the means of life. Agriculture was the first industry and it has remained the most important industry through all the ages until within the past half century, when the total wealth produced in manufacturing establishments has outstripped it in total value. This has placed an added burden upon the land. The larger the number
of men and women engaged in strictly manufacturing pursuits the greater the demand for the products of the soil. This has forced nations to devise some means to help the farmer. Perhaps in no country in the world has this form of paternalism reached a greater degree of helpfulness than in the United States. Through the agricultural department many wonderful results in increasing production have been achieved. While this department has been the butt of a good many jokes its experts have quietly proceeded with their investigations and when the whole story is told it will be found that we owe much to what has been considered the least important of the departments of our capitalist government. It does not detract any from our discussion to say that most of the benefits derived from modern methods, introduced as a direct result of the activities of government experts, have gone to the railroads and the commission houses. As a matter of fact much of the good work accomplished by the agricultural department is the direct result of the suggestions offered and the aid given by the railroad magnates of the country. The capitalist is not averse to paternalism for the farmer and the wage earner when that paternalism comes back to the capitalist in the form of increased profits. I mention this merely for the purpose of calling your attention to the fact that after all the Socialists are advocating no new idea in government when we say that government should be used to aid and benefit all the people. We object to government being used to benefit solely a small class.

It would require a large volume to tell in detail of the accomplishments of the department of agriculture. As we are dealing solely with the possibilities of increased production of food that we may provide a greater income for the people who work we will consider briefly some of the results along this line.

In his report for the year 1911 Secretary Wilson of the United States agriculture department says: "The Arlington farm which is the department field laboratory in plant industry is the largest intensive enterprise of this character in America. The farm is equipped with barns, tool sheds and modern implements and is manned with men and teams for conducting the
field investigation of more than twenty distinct offices and bureaus of the department. Besides this equipment, there is upon the farm a bank of green houses consisting of twenty separate rooms or units devoted to experimental research work. A modern gravity brine system, cold storage plant with a capacity of seven hundred barrels, has been installed. Two types of drying apparatus, one for steam and one for direct current of hot air, have been provided as well as a plant for sterilizing soil and boiling spray mixtures."

From this experimental farm—which is a type of the farm of the future—government experts send to the farmers of the United States bulletins setting forth the results of their investigations. This experimental work is not confined exclusively to strictly agricultural problems, as the following paragraph will show:

"During the year a total of about three tons of paper has been made from cornstalks, broomcorn stalks, non-saccharine sorghum stalks, rice root, grass tops and fish-pole bamboo. Good qualities of book paper resulted in practically all cases and several of the materials have proved sufficiently promising as to yield of pulp and quality of paper to warrant more detailed investigation."

This merely indicates that the government may be used to initiate and put into operation plans to utilize waste products that will very materially increase the total wealth production of the country and add to the good things available for use by those who do the work.

From the seed testing laboratories, maintained at government expense, the farmers have been supplied with thousands of dollars' worth of the best seed that can be produced—thus giving them new varieties which are found to be in many instances better adapted to soil conditions than seed purchased haphazard from seed houses that have no interest in the farmer other than extracting from him all the dollars they possibly can.

"The farmers' co-operative demonstration work," continues Secretary Wilson, "has been developed into a system of carrying information to the farmer on his own farm. It has, as two of its strongest points, the carrying on of demonstrations in the production of standard crops under the best-known methods on
the land of the farmer being instructed and the securing of such active co-operation in the demonstration on the part of the farmer as to bring about the adoption of the methods advocated. After seven years of experience and development it has grown into a great and successful institution. . . . One important branch of this work has been the boys' corn club movement. This has attracted much attention and has served as a means of stimulating general interest in better agriculture in the south and better knowledge of its agricultural resources. Corn clubs were organized in other states for some years before they were started by this movement in the south, but nowhere have they been organized more systematically or successfully. The enrollment is practically sixty thousand, prizes are awarded for excellence in growing corn on one acre to be contested for by boys organized into clubs in co-operation with the school system of the states and counties. . . . These clubs are helpful in attracting the attention of the young men to the advantages of farming as an occupation, and waking up the older farmer to the advantages of better methods of production and in assisting the public school system in vitalizing rural education.

The result of all this experimenting has been a very notable increase in the yield per acre. The report tells us of the yield of a pedigree strain of oats on the Wisconsin station farm of seventy-six bushels per acre. It is estimated that the seed wheat originated and distributed by the Washington station for the last four years resulted, in the season of 1910, in an increase of 1,500,000 bushels of wheat. That is better than building battle ships and destroying property!

A very important discovery by the agricultural department was that of oil mixed cement concrete which was made during the year 1910. Laboratory investigations show that the Portland cement concrete of every day use may be rendered waterproof at very slight extra cost simply by the addition of mineral oil. A public patent which has aroused much interest throughout the country has been granted to L. W. Page, director of the office of public roads, for mixing oil with Portland cement concrete and hydraulic cements, giving an alkaline reaction, so that any one may use this process without the payment of royalty.

In spite of all that the department of agriculture is doing
for the farmers of this nation in assisting them to increase the productivity of their soil, the farmer, after all, is not enjoying the benefits of his labor. Secretary Wilson, in summing up the farm situation, observes "the consumer pays a dollar for food; the farmer gets less than fifty cents for it. Who gets the rest?"

This is the first official recognition by the United States government that the farmer receives pay for but one-half of what he raises from the land. I am very glad to be able to report that the government, through its secretary of agriculture, has made this discovery. Secretary Wilson asks who gets the rest but volunteers no answer. It is left to the Socialist to show who gets the rest and why. It remains for the Socialist, also, to tell the farmer how he may retain all the product of his hands and brain. I have been for years an interested student of the work of the United States agricultural department. I early recognized in it the beginning of the department of food production which was to play such an important part in the Co-operative Commonwealth of the future. Steadily, without much noise, this department has made for itself an important and permanent place in the social scheme of today. It is maintained at the expense of all the people. It has no source of income and, therefore, is not a paying institution. Most of its benefits go directly to the railroads and commission houses. Indirectly some of the benefits go to the farmer, but these benefits are quickly absorbed by the high prices which the farmer must pay for the finished product, made from the raw material which he himself harvests from the land. The small business man is also an indirect beneficiary, but increased crops benefit him for only a short time, for under the trust system prices are readjusted so that the small merchant gets barely enough to pay his living expenses.

Private enterprise is also doing its share in making the land yield more abundantly. The gasoline tractor engine is revolutionizing farm work. An agricultural paper reports that Farmer McGee, near Arnaud, Manitoba, with a gasoline engine, broke 1,280 acres of sod, plowed 800 acres, disced 1,800 acres four times, threshed three days and graded road four and one-half days, all during the season of 1911. One of our Kansas contemporaries, a capitalist newspaper, has this to say: "The big
steam and gasoline engines are superseding the horses and mules in plowing the great wheat fields of Kansas. One of the Kansas state officials went from Syracuse on the Santa Fe to Topeka last week. He traveled all day and on that trip counted sixty-one traction engines plowing. The engines plow from fifteen to forty acres a day, according to the power and the number of plows in the gangs. A fifty-horse engine and a gang plow of ten discs will turn over thirty acres of soil in the average working day."

The introduction of machinery in farm work can only be profitably employed on a gigantic scale. The small farm in the production of the staple crops will disappear as the small wagon shop, known to our fathers, disappeared with the introduction of modern methods in the wagon factory. The enormous profit turned into the coffers of the trust magnates must find a place for profitable investment. The capitalist is now turning his attention to the land as a place to safely invest his surplus funds. A recent newspaper article relates how Barber of the match trust is investing his surplus profits in Ohio farm land. Says Mr. Barber: "My object is to show that large corporations can buy land, put it to the plow and make as much money on their investment as ought to be made in any business. This land." Mr. Barber went on to say circling the horizon with his arm, "was owned until three years ago by nine farmers. They were glad to sell me their property. There wasn't a young man or young woman on any one of the farms. Nor a child. Old age, rheumatic, enfeebled and discouraged, dwelt in the decaying houses and dragged out of the neglected soil a hard and barren living. It is so almost everywhere. And yet the earth is man's most kindly, faithful and obedient servant. Feed it, air it, and water it and it will respond gladly and abundantly."

This movement of the capitalist back to the soil has been going on steadily for ten years and has been a very considerable factor in increasing the price of farm land. The small farmer who is fortunate enough to own the land which he tills, is making a grave mistake in disposing of his land even at the high prices which the capitalist speculator offers him. But the small land owner is selling his land and will continue to sell until some morning we will wake up and discover that the farm syndicate
owns the most valuable farm land in the nation and that the former independent farmer is merely a tenant or an employe. This change, like all other changes in industry, is being made rapidly.

Over night the transition from the old farm of our fathers to the syndicate farm of the future has been made. The farmer, through the old political parties, will protest vigorously against this process of absorption, but it will do him no good. He is doomed to the same fate as that which has overtaken the wagon maker, the shoemaker, the cooper and the other individuals who played such an important part in the industrial life of the nation a generation or so ago. This process is compelling the farmer to recognize that his interests are identical with those of the wage earner of the state. Combined into one great political and industrial organization the farm worker and his city brother will take possession of the government and use it for their own advantage.

The Technical World of August, 1911, tells of the new Idaho harvester. This machine enables a farmer to take six horses and one man into his field and with one operation cut, thresh and sack his grain with no more expense than it has ordinarily cost heretofore for binding twine under the old methods of harvesting. When it is remembered that there are millions of acres of grain harvested each year throughout the world and that it costs from four to six dollars an acre to harvest it with binders, headers and threshers, it is at once apparent what an enormous saving there would be to the grain growing countries of the world if this cost was reduced to less than $1 an acre.

The introduction of these mechanical methods on the farm, reducing the number of men employed to but a fraction required under the old way, will relieve harvest time of its terrors for the farmer’s wife. Machinery, under proper conditions, will emancipate her from the slavery which has been her lot from the time when man first discovered that by cultivation he could secure a more certain crop than when he depended solely upon nature. I venture the opinion that the woman will be more greatly benefited by Socialism than will man, because the contrast between her present conditions and that of the future will be greater than will the condition of man today with that under
the Co-operative Commonwealth. This fact is gradually dawning upon the women and many of the most enthusiastic workers we have today are the mothers, wives and daughters of the working class.

W. J. McGee, in the *World’s Work*, after demonstrating that the United States is capable of supplying food for one billion people, closes his article with the following prophecy:

“Despite a discouraging economic balance indicated by high cost of living (due chiefly to extravagance in transportation and excessive enrichment of captains of industry), what a future opens before us as our resources are duly balanced and developed! What promise lies in the life-giving waters, in the soil made fertile by rains and irrigation, in the forests conserving moisture and controlling streams, in the abounding mineral fuels and ores, and in a strong citizenry amply fed and clothed from team crops!”

It will thus be seen that the production of food may be greatly increased without the expenditure of a single hour in extra labor. I am fully aware that in drawing a picture of the future one is treading on rather slippery ground, but I believe we may safely predict some of the changes that will be wrought in American farm life under the Socialist regime. As practical men and women we will soon wake up to a realization that we can get more enjoyment from life by investing the money we now use to build battle ships in reclaiming the arid lands of the west. It costs as much money to build a first class battle ship as it did to build the Roosevelt irrigation dam in the southwest. This irrigation project reclaimed 250,000 acres of land, increasing its value from nothing to more than $100 per acre, or a total of $25,000,000. This becomes a permanent addition to the wealth-producing power of the nation. It is estimated that the product from the first two crops, after paying the actual labor cost of plowing, cultivating and harvesting, pays the original cost of the irrigation project. This investment on the part of the nation provides homes for several thousand families and yields in return for their labor many times the product that can be secured on the old farm with its crude method of production and long hours of labor. What happens to the battle ship after it has been built at such an enormous cost to the nation? In
one year from the time it is launched it is ready for the junk pile. Its value decreases with the passing of each year. Newspaper readers will remember that a few years ago when the Oregon was launched it was the pride of the navy, and thousands of columns in the daily press were devoted to describing this wonderful engine of destruction. It is now not even a third-rate battle ship. A Socialist administration would not spend any of the resources of the nation in building battle ships and preparing for war for the simple reason that the products of factory and farm would be consumed at home and it would, therefore, be unnecessary to find a market abroad at the mouth of the cannon.

The nation spends $250,000,000 each year for its military establishments, exclusive of the amounts paid for pensions. Let your mind for a moment dwell upon the wonderful things that could be accomplished for the nation’s good by utilizing this vast sum of money in reclaiming the arid districts of the west and making these reclaimed lands serve all the people. In place of making our sons man-of-warsmen and educating them in the art of murder, mere destroyers of life and property, we would educate them as experts in the production of all of those useful and necessary articles without which life becomes a hard, dreary, unbearable existence.

THE FARM OF THE SMALL FARMER.

The farmer who owns a bit of ground, and his number is rapidly diminishing, is fearful that when the Socialists come into power they will take his farm and parcel it out among the indigent workers of the city. No man can determine in advance what the people themselves will do once they have the power in their hands to transform this government into a great social machine to be used for the good of all. But it is my opinion that the farmer who is cultivating his own plot of ground will not be disturbed in his right to work sixteen hours a day and reap a harvest slightly above the subsistence point. We will assume that the Socialist administration is now in full charge of the functions of the national government. The experts in the agri-
cultural department submit their report of the available lands in the west, still the property of the government, that can be irrigated with the recommendation that the work be started at once. The head of the labor department is called in consultation and he reports that there are available a million men who during the capitalist regime were unable to find employment. During the transition period it will doubtless be necessary to use the financial resources of the government and the treasury officials will be called in and information will be sought as to the amount of money on hand. The discovery will be made that the outgoing capitalist administration had looted the treasury and left the nation bankrupt. Were old methods to be relied upon this would indeed be a serious situation. However, the Socialist administration will not be hampered by old traditions and it will proceed at once to utilize the credit of the nation in securing food and machinery to be shipped to the scene of the proposed irrigation projects. A call will be issued for volunteers who will travel over the collectively owned railroads to the point where their labor is needed. With the experience the government's experts acquired in digging the Panama canal this new work by the government will be pushed rapidly to completion. It will not be necessary to introduce any very radical departures from the methods employed in building the Panama canal. When the irrigation project is completed the land will not be parcelled out in small tracts, as is done today. The waste of small production will be eliminated and the work of cultivation will be carried on in a large way that will economize the land and labor. Socialism will not confiscate the little farm of the small land owner, but it will show him a more profitable way to employ his time and labor and I have no doubt that just as rapidly as the Socialist administration can reclaim the arid lands of the west, and the swamp lands of the south, that the enterprising farmers of what are now known as the great agricultural states, will abandon the old farm and make application for a job under the new plan. Even though the farmer should decide to stay on the old home place, it will not support John and Bill and Harry, who have now reached the age when they want to do for themselves. They have sweethearts who have promised to share their lot in life and following the impulse that is common to all mankind, they
AND A SIX-HOUR WORK DAY.

are ambitious to possess homes of their own. The free land of the great middle west, which in the past afforded an outlet for the increasing population of our country, has now all been taken up, leaving nothing but the apparently barren wastes of the inter-mountain states, and the rich land lying along the Mississippi in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi which may be drained and irrigated when necessary. It is no longer possible for the young farmer to load his possessions in a covered wagon and with his bride ride to the frontier and build a home for his family. In the days of our fathers the woods and prairies furnished game and the streams were filled with fish. The food problem was practically solved. These good old days have disappeared never to return. A new problem confronts us—that of supplying ninety million people with food and clothes, shelter and entertainment. The old parties have admittedly failed in this work and their failure makes the Socialist party a political necessity.

POWER GOING TO WASTE.

The last census places the primary horsepower developed in the manufacturing establishments of the United States at 18,000,000. This does not include the 60,000 locomotives on the railroads nor the power used by the street car systems throughout the nation. It is quite safe to estimate that in manufacture and transportation there is an average of two horsepower per family. One mechanical horsepower is equal to the work of eight men. In other words, each working class family should have at its disposal the labor of eight men. When looked at from this angle, does it not seem strange that with this mechanical power at our disposal, so many families should be without the necessities of life?

It is estimated by the United States commissioner of corporations in his report on water power developments, issued March 14, 1912, that there is undeveloped water power in this country equal to 60,000,000 horsepower. It staggers the imagination to conceive such an aggregate of power, and all going to waste. It represents more than three times the power developed in all the manufacturing establishments in this country. Properly
harnessed it would release all the coal miners and those engaged in the coal mining industry. It would release fully one-fourth the men engaged in handling freight on the railroads; in addition it would release a vast army of men whose duty it is to keep an accurate account of the millions of transactions made necessary by our obsolete methods of doing business. This vast army must be supported today and that support comes from the wealth produced by those who labor on the farm, growing food and producing the material out of which clothes are made. A well-organized society, the object of which was to promote human welfare, would take steps to develop this unused water power, and release the working people of the burden of so many unproductive workers employed in mining and transporting the fuel used in manufacturing establishments. Our children will never be able to understand why their fathers toiled and slaved while this water power, nature's gift to man, went to waste. That power was evidently designed by nature to serve mankind by making his lot in life free from struggle and pain.

In safeguarding the flood waters of the Mississippi experts say it will be necessary to build dams at intervals. Each one of the dams will furnish water power for the manufacture of electricity which will light the cities and turn the wheels of industrial establishments for many miles east and west of the river. One such dam is now being used at Keokuk, Iowa, but capitalists own the water power and are reaping a harvest of profits from what ought to belong and which will belong to all the people under Socialism.

I have briefly sketched in these pages some answers to the objections raised by our opponents to our claim that a rational society can, under right conditions, give to each working class family in this country an income of $2,000 per year and reduce the working time to six hours per day. I am convinced that these figures are entirely too modest.

My object in writing and circulating this pamphlet is to arouse a discussion, pro and con, on this question of the income of working class families. Stripped of all non-essentials, this
question of the family income is the real problem. Our decreasing income is causing widespread unrest not only in America but throughout the world. When we consider that a situation similar to that in the United States exists in all countries; that there is no difference in the condition of the working class families in high and low tariff countries; in gold and silver standard countries; in capitalist government ownership and private ownership countries; in countries with a semi-radical program and in countries with an ultra-conservative program; it becomes quite evident that the reforms offered by the dominant political parties are totally inadequate to meet the needs of today. And that need is this: A right division of the consumable wealth produced by those who work.

We see on every hand evidence of the terrible distress due to the power of the capitalist class to take one-half of all food raised on the farm and one-half of all the goods made in the factories. To relieve this distress and preserve society, can only be done by taking away from the capitalist class the power to exact such tremendous toll from the nation.

In the midst of the crumbling ruins of the old political parties, the Socialist, serene and confident of ultimate victory, points the way to the Co-operative Commonwealth. No promises can fool him; no threat coerce him; no cunning deceive him. He knows precisely what he wants and he knows how to get it!
Wayland's Last Speech

IT was never delivered. He prepared it for a speaking tour which was in contemplation, but at the last moment his heart failed him—he thought he could not speak in public, and so declined to go. Yet he participated in the local campaign, and had he lived would no doubt have gone all over the United States speaking for Socialism in his own inimitable style. The manuscript of this address was found in his desk after his death. It has been printed in a pamphlet, along with an account of the funeral and Ben Wilson's address over the remains of the One Hoss, and will be delivered to any address at the rate of $2.00 per hundred, postpaid.

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