

Three Million Copies

State of Kansas, County of Crawford... FIFTY CENTS A YEAR... This is Number 523

Appeal to Reason

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., December 9, 1905

No man is great enough or rich enough to get this paper on credit or for a longer time than paid for.

A Florida Home. Any One Can Enter this Contest.



THE APPEAL proposes to give, under a warranty deed, free of incumbrance, a 75-acre home to some worker in the Socialist field...

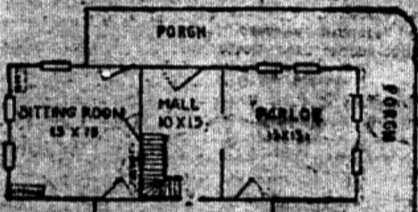
THE LAND.

There are 75 acres of land, ten acres of it being slightly detached from the main body. This ten-acre tract has a small lake on one end of it...

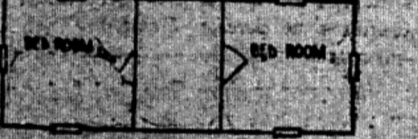
THE HOUSE

on this land is two stories, with a porch running around building. THE FRONT ENTRANCE on ground floor is from porch into a hall 10x15, containing three doors and three windows.

GROUND FLOOR



SECOND FLOOR



THE PARLOR is 15x16, contains three doors and three windows. CHIMNEY. SITTING ROOM, across from parlor, 15x16, two doors, three windows; closet and cupboard. Brick fireplace.

pine, and this, in connection with the sea breezes which blow, renders the climate one of great desirability from a standpoint of health.

The water is pure, there being a great many springs, both mineral and otherwise, scattered through the county.

This district is one of the great health and pleasure resorts for Northern people and many hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent in Florida by the extremely wealthy on account of the climate and scenery.

There are few opportunities for the man or woman who owns this tract of land in the way of fruit and vegetable raising, chickens and eggs and wine-making.

This place is located about eighteen miles west of Palatka, Fla., a rapidly-growing town, which, by reason of the fact that it is located on deep water...

This property is up—the Appeal is going to give it to some one. If there is only one contestant, and that one contestant only remits one cent each week for twelve weeks...

We do not believe that it will require a very large contribution to win. Every cent that you put in goes into the Socialist movement, and is used to pay for literature, to be distributed among the ignorant.

The following explains how the Florida property will be given out:

THE Agitation League is composed of Socialists who contribute ten cents or more each week for the purpose of making a fund that is used in distributing literature among the general public.

Each week each member contributes his dues to the Appeal office, where a separate fund is made of it, and we draw upon it when we see a good place to use the literature.

EVERY SOCIALIST OUGHT TO BE A MEMBER OF THIS LEAGUE!

While the dues are TEN CENTS weekly, we accept more if offered.

And to stimulate interest in this worthy object the Appeal proposes to give the magnificent Florida home, described above, to the man or woman who sends in the largest average contribution each week and every week for twelve weeks, the first week beginning December 22d.

This contest is not confined to the present membership of the Agitation League. Anyone may enter it.

THE first week of this contest commences Friday, December 22d, 1905, and the contest will run weekly until the first week of January, 1906. Every contestant must have his or her FIRST REMITTANCE in this office, or to the mails, before 5 p. m., Friday, December 22d, 1905. No entry after that date will be considered.

Rule 1. This Florida property will be given under a warranty deed, free of incumbrance, to the one who makes the largest WEEKLY contribution to the Agitation League for a period of twelve weeks, beginning December 22d, 1905.

Rule 2. Contestants will decide for themselves the amount that they will give each week, and the amount for the first week must be duplicated each week by the party giving it for eleven weeks additional.

Rule 3. Any contestant that fails to make the regular contribution the first week and each week thereafter, will be counted out of the contest.

Some Plain Talk About the Trust

THREE million copies of this edition of the Appeal to Reason were subscribed and paid for before the paper was put to press. This edition of the Appeal to Reason is the largest ever issued by any periodical in the world.

It will require four solid mail trains—of ten cars each, forty cars in all, loaded to their full capacity—to handle this one edition. It will consume the entire white paper output of one of the largest paper mills in the United States running for one week, night and day.

For its purposes, this paper has the largest and best equipped printing plant located west of the Mississippi river. For ten years it has been engaged in the work of arousing the American people to a revolt against existing conditions.

Every copy is paid for—and it is quite likely that each one of these three million papers will be read by at least three persons. You are, therefore, one of nearly ten million who will read these lines.

I want your attention for fifteen minutes. I know that I could not get it in this paper came to you as does the ordinary newspaper or magazine, filled with announcements of various kinds.

THESE three points I wish to make and impress freely on your mind: 1.—The Trust is here to stay; 2.—It can neither be abolished, regulated or controlled, because the handful of men who own the Trust also own the men who run the government;

THE first witness whom I will introduce to you is Mr. John Moody, author of "Moody's Manual of Railroad and Corporations Securities," and also a book, entitled "The Truth About Trusts."

The "Paramount Issue."

TODAY the dominant political question is "The Trust." It is no longer a question, "Is there a Trust?" but "Is there a way of escape?"

There is still a faint echo of the "trust-busting campaign" so valiantly headed by the late Mr. Bryan. Possibly there are yet a few men in the United States who still believe it possible to "bust the trust."

Four Points of View.

THE purpose of this discussion, we will divide into four classes the men of America: First—Those who are the direct beneficiaries of the Trust—the managers and the stockholders and

the officers and directors. They see only good in the new order of things. To them the "System" is perfect. They would leave it alone. I will quote liberally from the public utterances and writings of men of this class.

SECOND—The aspiring politician—the professional hanger-on—the lawyer, the judge, etc.—who, while dimly recognizing the inevitability of the Trust, hope to ride into power through the votes of the people by preaching regulation and control.

THIRD—This group is composed of farmers and small business men and shippers and cattle raisers and their retainers, who are being ground to a dust between the nether mill stone of competition, with their fellows, and the upper stone of consolidated enterprises.

FOURTH—The Socialists, who recognize in the Trust a perfect machine—a machine as perfect in its field as the magnificent Goez press on which this paper is printed. The press manufacturer utilizes every mechanical principle known to science in the building of his machine.

Three Points to Remember.

THESE three points I wish to make and impress freely on your mind: 1.—The Trust is here to stay; 2.—It can neither be abolished, regulated or controlled, because the handful of men who own the Trust also own the men who run the government;

The Trust Is Here to Stay.

THE first witness whom I will introduce to you is Mr. John Moody, author of "Moody's Manual of Railroad and Corporations Securities," and also a book, entitled "The Truth About Trusts."

On page 4 of this issue, the reader will find a summary of trust capitalization. Prefacing his remarks, he says: "In the analyses of these Greater Trusts, the writer has striven in every case to base all conclusion on facts, and to avoid any unfair treatment of the subject."

To view this immense aggregation of over \$20,000,000,000 (twenty billions) of consolidated capitalization, nearly all of which has taken the Trust form within the last decade, is to at once raise in the mind the all-important problem as to what is the underlying cause of this seemingly irresistible tendency towards business centralization.

In spite of all this tangle of discourses, accusation and crimination, it is believed that the Trust-doctors and the Trust-busters are for the most part as far from the real cause and real remedy (if, indeed, a remedy is needed), as daylight is from darkness.

"The modern Trust is the natural outcome or evolution of society conditions and social standards which are recognized and established—such as labor, as being necessary elements in the development of civilization."

The Process of Concentration.

MR. MOODY is not alone as an authority on this subject of concentration and trustification of industry who is recognized as such by all men who study these problems. On page 75, volume VII., Census Reports of 1900, will be found this paragraph, summing up the conclusions of the census statistician after an exhaustive research utilizing all the power and resources of the United States Government:

Industry towards production on a large scale has been brought out by the Twelfth Census, in connection with study of what has become commonly known as industrial combination. This form of corporate industry was almost entirely developed in the United States during the periods between the censuses of 1890 and 1900.

Following this is an extended table showing that this concentration is taking place in all the industries of the nation. From this table is taken the following examples, which are sufficient for the purpose of showing how, as production increases, establishments are decreased in number, wage workers concentrated in larger groups, and profits increased enormously as a result of the consequent saving in energy, decreased office force, superintendency, etc.:

Table with columns: Industry, Year, Establishments, Capital, Wage Earners, Value of Products. Rows include Agricultural implements, Iron and steel, Leather tanned, etc.

The important and growing position of the corporation in American manufacturing at the present time, continues the census reports, page 87, Vol. VII., is revealed by the statistics. The facilities offered by the laws of several states for the establishment of business corporations, and the advantages of conducting business under this method of organization, are largely responsible for the rapid development of our manufacturing industries.

The Machine Grows Larger.

OUR census friend naively informs us, speaking of this concentration in the iron and steel industry, "This latter fact shows that the manufacture of iron and steel has reached proportions beyond the control of the individual and partnership ownership."

When your grandfather was a boy the tools of production were simple and individually owned. Your grandmother worked the cloth and made the clothes for the husband and children; the children in the village or, perhaps, a wandering knight of the Aul, made shoes for the Gibeon leather tanned in the neighborhood; iron was smelted in a small way by diminutive furnaces that dotted the landscape, and then hammered into useful shape by the village blacksmith; and wagon were made by the village wagon-maker and these products of labor were, in many instances, directly exchanged for the things the maker needed with his neighbor, who likewise owned his tools of production.

By referring to the table above, it will be noted that in 1860 there were 2,116 small establishments making agricultural implements. These factories employed an average of eight hands. Today the two thousand little establishments have shrunk to 700 big manufactories, each employing hundreds and, in some cases, thousands of men, with the total capital involved reaching into the billions.

The tools had grown too big for individual ownership and so the village industry passed away and the owner became a wage-worker in the big establishment. Mr. Moody is right: "The trust is the NATURAL outcome or evolution of society conditions." There is a cause—and it is very plain. It is not a question of ethics or morals, as Mr. Moody would imply. The Trust is the natural outgrowth of the economic necessities of the growing nation. Necessity recognizes no established laws or customs. Laws which interfere with the free development of the concentration of industry were thrown on the legislative scrap heap with little ceremony. Ethics and morals followed. A new code was built up—thus proving the dictum of Karl Marx—the father of modern economic Socialism—that "in every historical epoch the prevailing

SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

Table with 4 columns: Year, Socialist Vote, Total Population, and Percentage of Socialist Vote.

COMING NATION

SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Table with 4 columns: Year, Socialist Vote, Total Population, and Percentage of Socialist Vote.

Let Us Have Your Answer.

IN this issue capitalists of national repute and ability have explained to you that Trusts are the natural development of industry, when touched by the magic wand of machinery and inventions.

These are the conditions. What the remedy? You will see that the trust of itself is labor-saving, wealth producing, and is not injurious except as the benefits go to a few.

When all the people were employed in public industries, how could you make a machine for the injury of any part of them? It is possible, when all cannot find soft jobs, to make a machine of those whom you can give jobs and those who hope to have them sometime.

We are going to have monopoly. Industrial properties are too large for individual ownership. Shall they be publicly owned and operated or shall they be privately owned for greed?

You have a choice between the two and none other. A Nearer View of the Colossus. M. H. MOODY, in his book, "The Truth about the Trusts," quotes with approval the following detailed account of the matchless organization of the Steel Trust.

Mr. Baker describes the organization of the Trust as a republican form of government, not unlike that of the United States, with a president, a cabinet, or executive committee, which is likewise a supreme court.

The government of the trust, besides being republican in form, is federal in principle. "For," writes Mr. Baker, "it is a general though erroneous impression that when the steel corporation was organized all of the little steel companies lost their identity."

But this government is primarily industrial, as distinguished from political. Its purpose is the production and distribution of steel commodities, from the ore and the coal in the mine, through all the processes of manufacture and transportation, to the finished and delivered article.

The economy effected by this concentration of common interests into one central department is thus described: "The coke interests, the export department, the foreign offices in London, and certain branches of the sales departments, are each grouped under a single head."

This model is being adopted in the formation of all the big concerns. It will pay you to study it carefully. You will understand better what the Socialist tells you about the organization of industry.

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Where formerly the small producer competed to reduce his costs and undersell his competitors by the ordinary means of great economy and superior efficiency, he has now gone beyond that point.

Open competition long ago reached that point where it became necessary to resort to these more far-reaching methods that do much to make good the advantages of large-scale production and give stability to the great business aggregations of today.

MR. ROCKEFELLER'S income is now placed by a Wall Street authority at \$10,000 per hour. Reduced to men, it means that one hundred thousand men contributed ten cents per hour to this Modern Bazaar.

Imagine Mr. Rockefeller looking after a population of one million black men, women and children, busied with all the cares incident to feeding, housing, medical attendance, etc.

Under Socialism we will have the Trust, all right, but all of us will own it and use it for our mutual benefit, and a place will be made for every citizen to employ him or herself, at which he or she will get the full results of his or her labor.

Capitalization of the Trusts.

Table showing Capitalization of the Trusts with columns for Total Greater Industrial Trusts, Total Lesser Industrial Trusts, and Grand Totals.

To the Small Business Man.

IF the development of industries could stop just as it now is, then things would remain as they are, getting neither better nor worse.

You know they can put thousands of millions into corporations to establish stores all over the land, and thus get the retail or final price for the goods turned out of their industrial plants.

A large store here, located in any part of town, connected with a firm that owned hundreds of other like stores, could sell cheaper than any of our firms could buy, by reason of its ability to buy at train-let prices.

Goods sold here now must sell at a price that will pay \$18,000 a year rent for these places; must pay for fourteen delivery wagons, drivers and horses; sixty sets of heating apparatus, lights, taxes, janitors, advertising, book-keeping, bad debts, clerks, proprietors, wastes and profits.

The one great store could handle all the trade with perhaps one-fourth of the employees now required, by its better arrangement, conveniences and subdivision of labor.

I think it would be safe to predict that the big store could make a yearly saving of approximately \$75,000 a year over the necessarily wasteful methods of the sixty firms now doing business, and serve the people better by carrying more and fresher goods.

Under such a condition, which is certain to occur sooner or later, what will the brick business houses here be worth when no one can rent or use them for business purposes? Not a cent.

What will be the fate of the owners? Bankruptcy. What will become of the extra clerks and proprietors, who will be thrown out? Go down into wage slavery to help out wages when they get hungry.

Under private ownership, there will not be places for every one. Don't like the picture? Well, it is a wise man who looks ahead.

the franchise for any length of time at all. The railroads belong to the whole people, for it has taken the combined or social effort of the whole people to invent and develop them.

We have the right today to make any law to govern ourselves that to a majority of us seems wise and good, no matter whose special privilege it hits, no matter what fortunes it takes away.

"Our Country Booked for Socialism."

Editorial in Portland Oregonian, leading republican paper of west. WE suppose our country is "booked" for Socialism. Greed of speculators is bringing it on.

Operators everywhere are seizing their opportunity to "capitalize" the wants of the public in ways to create great properties and to obtain great dividends.

Everything tends toward this new division or alignment. It is emphasized by the demand of President Roosevelt for regulation and control of the railroads.

"The Great Contest of the Future."

From an Editorial in the Evening Journal, Toledo, O. SOME months prior to his death, Senator M. A. Hanna made the statement that the next great political contest in this country would not be between the republican and democratic parties.

Briefly, Socialism means the extinction of the commercial, industrial and political boss. The next great political contest in this country will therefore not be between the republican and democratic parties.

"Socialism is Here to Stay."

From a special article in the New York Tribune. EVERY sensible student of contemporary history, every thoughtful and broad-minded man, be he capitalist or manufacturer, territorial magnate or merchant, professional politician or patriotic statesman, has by this time become convinced that Socialism, which came into existence but seventy years ago, is here to stay.

"To Fight Socialism You Must Understand it."

Editorial in the Milwaukee Evening Post. WITH a suddenness that must be startling to those who note only the surface of events, Socialism has become a factor in our moral, political and industrial life.

"Forcing a New Alignment."

Editorial in the New York Wall Street Journal. VICE PRESIDENT VANDERLIP, of the National City Bank, has been making a study of Socialism in Europe, a movement which he regards of vital importance, because it foreshadows a tendency likely to gain great force in the United States.

Socialism: The Hope of the Nation.

THERE are 22,000,000 work people in the United States who have no property interest in the tools with which they work for in the land on which they live.

These twenty-two million men, women and children perform all the productive work of the nation. They dig the coal and the ore; they face the blazing heat of the furnace and brave the dangers of railroading; they stand over the looms and mend the threads that are always breaking; they toil under the blazing sun in the fields of the farms and ranches; they wither and die in the sweat shops of the cities; they swelter in the foul heat of the packing houses in summer and suffer from cold in the winter; they sweep the snow from your steps and they clean the streets and your houses; they wash the dirty linen; they build the houses and the sky-scrapers; they erect beautiful parks; they produce works of art; and there is no good thing created that is pleasant to the taste, pleasing to the eye or comforting to the body that is not the work of their hands.

They are the wealth creators—and they receive in exchange for their labor—the only commodity they have for sale—wages which barely enable them to buy a sufficient amount of the things they have made to maintain a physical existence.

These 22,000,000 work people represent nearly twelve of the fifteen million families of the United States.

One-half of these families receive in exchange for their labor less than \$400 per year.

The other one-half receive from \$400 to \$900. These meagre sums represent a mere physical existence—that is all.

The balance of the tremendous wealth they create goes to the class which own the machine. This class embraces but a mere fraction of the population.

Socialism proposes that this wealth, which is the result of the efforts of these 22,000,000 propertyless work people, shall be taken by them and used by them—because it is theirs.

If the worker is not entitled to the product of his hands and brain—what is? There is but one answer.

And in order that this equitable arrangement may be brought about, Socialism demands—

First—The collective ownership of all the industries of the nation.

Second—The democratic management of these collectively-owned industries.

Third—Hours of labor to be decreased and remuneration increased with the improvement of machinery and methods. Each worker to be paid the full social product of his labor.

The ultimate aim of Socialism is the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, but during the transition period the Socialist party at its last national convention pledged itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increase of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the worker; for the complete education of the children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents.

"The City Beautiful."

A few words about the little city down here in southeastern Kansas, where the Appeal is printed, may not be of interest to the ten million readers of this paper. Grand is the county seat of Crawford county—by those who have beautiful streets and many drives in its vicinity called "the City Beautiful." At the Appeal office, this title is especially appropriate.

Grand, like many other western cities, is built around a square in the center of which are surrounded by trees, stands the "City Beautiful." At the Appeal office are many retail stores and other small business concerns, some showing evidences of prosperity and all putting up a brave fight against the inevitable, a few taken that they must soon become but relics of a fast disappearing system.

On the southwest corner of the square stands the post office, the largest and most imposing building in the city. It is a masterpiece of architecture, and is the pride of the city. It is a fine example of the "City Beautiful" movement.