

QUESTION BOX

In a member of a Socialist local justified in participating in a primary election for the purpose of nominating democratic candidates for municipal offices...

Everything and everybody connected with the democratic party is an enemy of Socialism and therefore a political enemy of every Socialist.

Every person who becomes a member of a Socialist party local signs a pledge to the effect that he severs all relations with all other parties and themselves will support the Socialist party...

He who is not for Socialism wholly and unreservedly, is against it. History has shown that compromises and political trading will wreck any working-class movement...

Decorate Your Home

The Editor Tells You Today of an Opportunity to Beautify Your Home Free of Charge

Every lady, rich or poor, likes to have a pretty home. Of course you want nice furniture and pretty decorations in your house...

But when you can get beautiful decorations and get them free—just for doing somebody a friendly turn without even any real work—then it's your loss, Madam, if you neglect this opportunity.

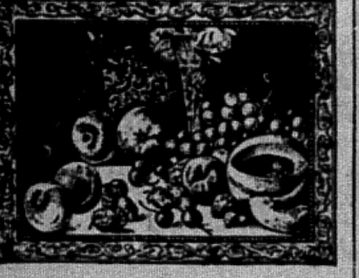
A Wonderful Liberal Offer And just because I know that the readers of my paper will take advantage of this opportunity, I am particularly glad to tell my subscribers of a most honest and wonderfully liberal offer.



"SAVED"—Beautiful free picture. Initials in gold. Mr. Geo. Clark, publisher of the famous "High-Art Pictures," tells me that he will give every one of my lady readers one of these magnificent dinner sets absolutely free if she only helps him with a little recommendation of his pictures.

Read on this page where it says in big black type, "Here is the Offer." I can guarantee you that Mr. Clark's offer is exactly as represented and I am proud that he has selected the readers of this paper, and shows his confidence in the honesty of my subscribers in making this offer here.

Two Pictures Free Anyway You will also see that even if you do not succeed in carrying out the conditions of Mr. Clark's offer, he wants you to keep two of his famous pictures absolutely free just because you have made an honest effort.



"NATURE'S GOODIES"—Also free. Sure is finished with a lithograph scroll and facsimile lithograph gold frame, ready for wall, just as received from the artist.

Free Coupon GEO. CLARK, Mgr., 63-69 Washington Street, Suite 2323, CHICAGO, ILL.

make such a mistake wholly through ignorance, not knowing or not realizing the effect of such action. In such cases it would probably be well to explain the position of the Socialist party with reference to fusion and give the offender opportunity to make amends before resorting to expulsion.

Remember, no political trading; no compromise, no political trading; and how to the line.

There are other Socialists who are giving both labor and property to the same end. Socialism costs something to every man or woman who is doing anything to promote it.

But, as the capitalist process continues, a greater number are being relieved of their property. The capitalist process of confiscation is already in operation and is steadily expropriating the mass while piling up fortunes for the few.

by a Socialist government should not overlook the chance and probability that they will run in the near future of having their possessions transferred to the few who now play the game of property-getting with success.

The passing from the chattel slave system in this country to the so-called free labor-system furnishes something of a parallel by which to judge the possible trend of the change from wage-slavery to co-operation and real democracy.

Under Socialism there will be many incentives to do right and few to do wrong.

IS THERE NO PITY?

[From an address delivered by Robert G. Ingersoll fifteen years ago, and published in the press of the country at that time.]

Capital has always claimed, and still claims, the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices even in spite of the great law of supply and demand.

Under Socialism every person will be full of patriotism, for that means a love of a country, institutions, and they will be good and just and lovable.

Presidential Pointer

COME to me, ye weary laden, that I may give you a pointer.

David M. Parry has just had a long interview in the public press.

Parry, the capitalist, regards labor as his parish. According to his idea the workingman should lift his hands appealingly to his master and rely upon his benevolence for a sufficient wage to keep his slavery alive.

Parry has taken special delight in going to Washington and setting his heel on legislation asked for by wage slaves without his consent.

He knows his "friends, David does. And he stands by them and that proves his sound sense.

In his interview on the presidency, Parry says that Theodore Roosevelt is the greatest statesman of the age; that he combines the wisdom of Washington with the courage of Jackson and the honesty of Lincoln.

Now, the pointer I wish to give you must already have pierced your thought-box if you have one in your equipment. The capitalist press from the Atlantic to the Pacific, including Idaho, has been telling you what a great friend Roosevelt is to the people.

Parry is for Ruzvlt because Ruzvlt has loyally served the capitalist class. Parry, the unenvied foe of trade-unionism and promoter of the Citizens' Alliance, recognizes in Ruzvlt a kindred spirit and the friend of his class.

That man you just passed on the street has the making of a rattling good Socialist agitator. Jar him loose! Give him this paper—no matter whether you've read it or not.

What has he not done for capital? David M. Parry knows the record from the time his political patron saint delivered the anthracite miners to the coal trust until he sent Taft to Idaho to pronounce the doom of men guilty of serving the working class.

Parry, the plutocrat, is prophetic when he says that the "country" needs and must have Ruzvlt. With Parry the "country" is the capitalist class and its working cattle on a thousand hills and in a million mills.

Paper Values.

The fall in prices of stocks and bonds is always looked upon as a calamity. Let us see. If you owned a slave and laws had just been passed assuring you that you could hold him, he would be of greater value in your estimation than if laws were about to be passed that would set him free, wouldn't he?

Well, that is just what keeps up the prices of all stocks and bonds with which the capitalists gamble. But, so long as the capitalists believe they can use these paper handuffs to hold the people and make them give up billions a year, the price will be higher and higher.

Bonds are not worth anything unless somewhere some persons are in bondage. A bond that would not draw blood from someone would not be worth more than waste paper.

When the Socialists begin to get representation in the state and national law-making bodies the prices of stocks will be falling—all the water will leak out in a hurry.

In England, after the plague which carried off millions, there was such a demand for workers that wages were the highest in the history of the world.

Workers can have more than the equivalent of \$2,500 a year for an eight-hour day, and have it for their wives and their children when they grow up, if they will help establish Socialism.

John Mitchell is quoted as saying that "the power to labor is in itself a form of capital." It is such imbecile drivel as this that beclouds the minds of the thoughtless and begets the issue between laborers and capitalists.

A bee hasn't any sense, as we understand it. All it knows is to gather honey and take it to the hive, and then if it lives during the winter, it has all the honey it needs—that is, unless the owner of the hive takes it all.

People who have puzzled their brains for years over the absurd intricacies of English will be glad to learn that the entire grammar is printed on a new and most convenient stamp in my letter-writing set. It is otherwise than the usual "copy" cards; 10c each, postpaid. Send them to your friend.

The Old and the New

FOR many years the railroad corporations have insisted upon the truth and accuracy of the Divine Revelation made to the Original Railway Seer and Prophet, Commodore Vanderbilt, who embodied the Revelation in the neat aphorism, "The Public Be Damned."

Recently, however, Mr. Harriman, the latter day Profit, went down upon indignation and received a new and up-to-date Revelation. It was the fact that the Appeal to Reason, a Socialist paper, had issued nearly nine million extra copies of three editions in a little over a year, and that Outcast Debs, who was put down and out of the True Faith thirteen years ago, was in the city backed by over 4,000,000 representation, crumpling Facts down the throat of the Aristocratic United States Senate.

An awful sight—the train was wrecked. It is no time for jest and rib. The dead ones, thick as the ground, while trainmen kick the dying in the ribs.

All this is true, but it is the employees that are to blame. So, the world went forth and the cardinals and bishops and priests of the great Red Trail, took to the rostrum, instructing their employees upon their duty to the public.

Public opinion! What a scare-crow that is, held up before labor when it tries to better its condition! It is the bogey man that the papers warn the workers to be afraid of. Nothing in it. They did the same in Russia, but the workers there began to do things, and today they have the great majority with them.

Want of Exercise weakens and relaxes the Bowel-Muscles, just as it weakens Arm and Leg Muscles.

Heavy dinners, late suppers, whiskey, wine or beer drinking, nervous excitement, sudden exposure to cold or heat and a dozen other everyday likelihoods tire the Bowel-Muscles.

Contains six Candy Tablets—Price Ten Cents a Box at any Druggist's.

MOVING PICTURE MACHINES STEREOPTICONS

Wonderful Monogram Dinner Set Offer. This is positively the most wonderful, most liberal and most generous offer ever made on a dinner set or on any other premium.

HERE is the Offer: Send no money. Just mail the coupon at the bottom of this page. You will then get 24 famous high-art pictures, richly colored, 16 x 20 inches, complete with facsimile lithographed gold scroll frames.

Mayor Grosse's wife writes us as follows: "I received your beautiful monogram dinner set with initials in gold and it is certainly beautiful. The stores here do not carry anything like it. It is so artistic and elegant."

Free Coupon HERE is the Coupon for you to sign right now. You need not bother with a letter—just write your name and address plainly on the coupon and mail in an envelope.

Read This - Important! REMEMBER! Everybody gets two 16x20 inch high-art pictures free anyway, just for making an honest effort. Sign this coupon and get the wonderfully liberal offer before anybody else gets it in your town.

FINANCIAL COLUMN

[Note.—The following column has been established for noting current events, discussing and commenting generally upon such matters as the financial world may be dealing with at the time, as well as the examination of the underlying methods by which the working class are skinned out of their money...

THE balance of the year will be uncanon in its dealings. The reason for this is that the old ways of tenets which have been in use for thousands of years, have been defeated on the last field of battle upon which they can make a stand...

But, alas for the plute! He has destroyed his real friends, or rather, taken from them their prizes, liberties and independence. They no more aspire to be his equals, and millions of them, will not serve. He doesn't know it, yet—he is the same as poor old Hill who unconsciously broke the ranks and started the rush for the rear...

"For God's sake," shouts the terrified Ruzvlt, "don't you hear that?" "Hear what?" asked Harriman, loading on another billion of booty. "Those drums! They are the Socialists. I tell you, if you don't let us win, they will swoop down upon you, and there won't be hair nor hide left, nor one to tell the tale. Their army is growing, growing, growing. I tell you, you don't see them—they are in their sleeves and recruiting by the tens of thousands daily. Don't you hear those drums beating?"

But today, in the United States of America, the ruling class of the immediate past has lost its fight for the preservation of its system of industry. That system was the competitive system. In other words, the competitive system is dead. When the last congress closed its doors on the 4th of March the competitive system of industry actually and officially ceased to exist...

Final battles, where a victory is necessary for the further existence of either party, are always desperate. This fight was not with guns—it was only a demonstration of the power of the competitive system to do the business of the country satisfactorily. That was all—and the middle class threw itself into the work with energy and determination...

Now, in this contest, which has raged fiercely for years, disguised as "our unparalleled prosperity," I have watched every movement with care. It is curious to observe the events that lead di-

AGITATION LEAGUE

A total of \$886.29 has now been raised by the Agitation League, and as a result 200,000 copies of the second edition of the Anniversary number have been distributed by members of the Appeal Army, who are so situated that they can give only their time to the work. I have several hundred applications from comrades who are most anxious to distribute copies of the Anniversary Edition among their shopmates and neighbors.

Today, as I write these words, the "masterly retreat" shows signs of becoming a rout. The middle class, having practically worked the laboring class to death in an effort to maintain what was left of the competitive system, will now show what it has for its soldiers and followers, in the way of hard times. There will be no division of what little spoils the rulers have been able to save...

But, alas for the plute! He has destroyed his real friends, or rather, taken from them their prizes, liberties and independence. They no more aspire to be his equals, and millions of them, will not serve. He doesn't know it, yet—he is the same as poor old Hill who unconsciously broke the ranks and started the rush for the rear.

"For God's sake," shouts the terrified Ruzvlt, "don't you hear that?" "Hear what?" asked Harriman, loading on another billion of booty. "Those drums! They are the Socialists. I tell you, if you don't let us win, they will swoop down upon you, and there won't be hair nor hide left, nor one to tell the tale. Their army is growing, growing, growing. I tell you, you don't see them—they are in their sleeves and recruiting by the tens of thousands daily. Don't you hear those drums beating?"

But today, in the United States of America, the ruling class of the immediate past has lost its fight for the preservation of its system of industry. That system was the competitive system. In other words, the competitive system is dead. When the last congress closed its doors on the 4th of March the competitive system of industry actually and officially ceased to exist...

Final battles, where a victory is necessary for the further existence of either party, are always desperate. This fight was not with guns—it was only a demonstration of the power of the competitive system to do the business of the country satisfactorily. That was all—and the middle class threw itself into the work with energy and determination...

Now, in this contest, which has raged fiercely for years, disguised as "our unparalleled prosperity," I have watched every movement with care. It is curious to observe the events that lead di-

AGITATION LEAGUE

A total of \$886.29 has now been raised by the Agitation League, and as a result 200,000 copies of the second edition of the Anniversary number have been distributed by members of the Appeal Army, who are so situated that they can give only their time to the work. I have several hundred applications from comrades who are most anxious to distribute copies of the Anniversary Edition among their shopmates and neighbors.

Today, as I write these words, the "masterly retreat" shows signs of becoming a rout. The middle class, having practically worked the laboring class to death in an effort to maintain what was left of the competitive system, will now show what it has for its soldiers and followers, in the way of hard times. There will be no division of what little spoils the rulers have been able to save...

But, alas for the plute! He has destroyed his real friends, or rather, taken from them their prizes, liberties and independence. They no more aspire to be his equals, and millions of them, will not serve. He doesn't know it, yet—he is the same as poor old Hill who unconsciously broke the ranks and started the rush for the rear.

"For God's sake," shouts the terrified Ruzvlt, "don't you hear that?" "Hear what?" asked Harriman, loading on another billion of booty. "Those drums! They are the Socialists. I tell you, if you don't let us win, they will swoop down upon you, and there won't be hair nor hide left, nor one to tell the tale. Their army is growing, growing, growing. I tell you, you don't see them—they are in their sleeves and recruiting by the tens of thousands daily. Don't you hear those drums beating?"

But today, in the United States of America, the ruling class of the immediate past has lost its fight for the preservation of its system of industry. That system was the competitive system. In other words, the competitive system is dead. When the last congress closed its doors on the 4th of March the competitive system of industry actually and officially ceased to exist...

Final battles, where a victory is necessary for the further existence of either party, are always desperate. This fight was not with guns—it was only a demonstration of the power of the competitive system to do the business of the country satisfactorily. That was all—and the middle class threw itself into the work with energy and determination...

Now, in this contest, which has raged fiercely for years, disguised as "our unparalleled prosperity," I have watched every movement with care. It is curious to observe the events that lead di-

Final battles, where a victory is necessary for the further existence of either party, are always desperate. This fight was not with guns—it was only a demonstration of the power of the competitive system to do the business of the country satisfactorily. That was all—and the middle class threw itself into the work with energy and determination...

Now, in this contest, which has raged fiercely for years, disguised as "our unparalleled prosperity," I have watched every movement with care. It is curious to observe the events that lead di-

Final battles, where a victory is necessary for the further existence of either party, are always desperate. This fight was not with guns—it was only a demonstration of the power of the competitive system to do the business of the country satisfactorily. That was all—and the middle class threw itself into the work with energy and determination...



Geo. H. Shoaf, Staff Correspondent to Appeal to Reason.

George H. Shoaf has for three years represented the Appeal in Colorado and Idaho. With his work readers of this paper are familiar. Three years ago, following the explosion which wrecked the depot at Independence, Colo., the daily press printed hair-raising accounts of the "Murderous Western Federation of Miners." The exploits of General N. Bell and Bulkeley Wells were played up under scare heads and they were for weeks the popular heroes of the day.

A year ago the nation read page articles under scare heads of how Sleuth McPartland had discovered another gang of "Mollie Maguires" and what he was going to do. The reading public was worked up to that frame of mind where it was ready to applaud the wholesale execution of labor leaders in Colorado. The conspiracy was nipped in the bud and exposed by Geo. H. Shoaf. Practically alone, he has fought valiantly that all the facts in this monstrous plot be laid before the working millions of this country.

The attorneys for the defense followed the Appeal story almost verbatim in their brief before the supreme court; and lastly, Justice McKenna, in his able opinion, repeated statements made by Shoaf one year ago, going to show the existence of a conspiracy to hang the Federation officials. The Appeal's correspondent said a year ago that the real criminals were the Colorado and Idaho officials. The supreme justice, after reviewing all the evidence, said the same thing. Thousands of daily papers are today printing the identical words used by Shoaf during the past twelve months in connection with the western situation.

I know Shoaf has made personal sacrifices no other Socialist connected with any Socialist paper in America has made. He has suffered bodily discomforts and faced actual physical danger in his work of revealing the conspiracy. It is one thing to call McPartland and Bell and Peabody and Gooding names and make faces behind their backs—separated by a good thousand miles of terra firma—but it is quite another thing to stand face to face with them and charge them with their crimes and prove the charges true in the face of the combined opposition of the entire capitalist press. Shoaf is sensational because he is a born newspaper reporter—and he gets his paper the news before it is old—hot off the wire. He fearlessly exposes McPartland, Gooding and the aggregation known as the Mine Owners' association—and stands square up in front of the criminals and dares them to deny it.

Comrade Shoaf is one of the few REAL soldiers of the Social Revolution. The Appeal takes off its hat to him, and I can hear the Army vigorously applaud the action.

G. W. Perkins, a member of J. P. Morgan & Co., New York, has refunded \$50,019.18 to the New York Mutual Life Insurance company—money that, as first vice president of the craft, he has contributed to the election of Ruzvlt. But is he to be punished? Naw! The courts must punish the rich. Courts are made to hold the poor while they are being robbed. Don't you know nothing, no-how?

Gobbled 'Em Up.

At Anderson, Ind., the Socialists invigiled two lawyers into a debate to defend the present industrial anarchy against Socialism. From the daily Herald, a republican paper, the report shows that the court house was jammed to the doors and the audience was delighted. Here is the comment of the paper:

The second speaker on the negative advocated a social order in which each man should do what he chose and know no law but himself. This appeared to the audience to be an advocacy of anarchy and they promptly were manifestly with the men who presented the Social argument as being in harmony with progress.

Certainly no stronger speaker for Socialism ever addressed an American audience than Rev. J. V. Deville of Portland, Ore.

Go thou and do likewise.

The Kansas legislature refuses to call a convention to consider a new constitution. The present document, written in the long ago, suits the corporations better than would a new one. And the legislators don't want to give the people a voice in the matter of how they shall be governed. The people are held down by an absolute document, and those who profit by it are not going to let them get up. Modern changes demand a new set of rules, but what is a matter of tyranny among friends who are getting the cream off the people?

Old Reliable—Four 25c pkgs. Nutreto, prepaid to any ex. office in the U. S. for \$1. On request will substitute 1-qt. Nutrol for pkg. Nutreto.

One-Hoss Philosophy

By J. A. WAYLAND.

The secretary of the treasury last September lent the New York banks \$50,000,000 with which to gamble, without interest. It lent it on wildcat security, but for the government to lend money to farmers on the good solid basis of an improved farm that would be paternalism? Do you suppose that the secretary got no pay for that act, worth millions to the banks? Are you silly enough to think that the men who are put in such high places are any different from the ward heeler who graft interest from the county and state funds, of which you have heard so much?

Are you blind to the fact that Shaw, the one-hoss banker of a small Iowa town, who was secretary, has been given the presidency of the steel trust as pay for his favoritism? Does not this show the bribery? The president seems unfortunate in selecting counselors. The people should not furnish the money for Wall street gamblers. We are today given to understand that this money is still to be left with the banks! Under Socialism public funds will be used exclusively for the public benefit, not for the gamblers' benefit. Will you never wake up to the fact that government is today a graft for the gamblers?

The farmers do a great deal for us parasites who live in the towns and cities. They furnish us all we eat, all the wool and cotton we wear, and their sons come to the city to build our houses and feed and groom us. Now what do we do for the farmers? If the farmers were not educated by us, through our press, pulpit and politicians, they would see through the gauzy excuse we make for living off them. But they are an easy set, these American farmers. Why, even own lots of the farms they work—farms that they would be disgraced to do a single day's honest toil on! Say, farmers, why can't you get your eyes open?

The Kansas legislature refused to protect the boys of the state from the debasing effects of the cigarette by killing a bill to prevent their sale and use in the state; but it went long on patriotism at the instigation of the bunting trust to force every school to float the flag all the time. There was money in having a bigger sale for flags—and it passed. There was money in not having the sale of cigarettes stopped—and the sale was not stopped. The last legislature was composed mostly of the worst set of tin horns that ever disgraced Kansas—and that is saying a good deal, for it has had several pretty corrupt sittings. Thanks to the working class for its votes.

The railroads seem to own the Kansas legislature, body and breeches. If the people were as virtuous as the fathers of the country they would hang about fifty of the members to lamp-posts. The people of Kansas asked for something and got it in the neck. While other states are enjoying two-cent railroad rates, Kansas people are made to pay 50% higher because of the itching palms of a lot of corporation servers. But it serves the people right. For twenty years the corporations have been buying legislators and judges, and the people persist in electing the same old gang of boobies. If there ever was a state that liked to be humbugged, surely Kansas is that state. Not a single law in the interest of the people was passed by the Kansas gang of railroad lackeys.

The millions of what you might call poor people, who put their savings of a few cents to a few hundred dollars each into banks, furnish the captains of industry with the necessary facilities for all their grand game of exploitation. It is pretty hard to help people when they insist on putting their weapons into the hands of their enemies, who are then directed by the votes of these same poor to use the guns against themselves. But that is just the situation that faces the country. If the poor would withdraw their savings from the banks it would cause a crash, yes, but it would squeeze out all the billions of water from the stocks, and if they wanted to they could buy these at their depressed value, and when they would do this their money would go back into the banks, and as the captains of industry again got hold of their weapons, the prices would go right up and every dollar of these savings would be increased by three to five. That is just what the captains of industry are doing with the work people's pennies, and the loss falls on the work people whose money is used. But the common herd never did and never can understand finance.

THAT MAN you just passed on the street has the making of a rattling good Socialist agitator. Jar him loose! Give him this paper—no matter whether you've read it or not. Let its words of political wisdom sink right into his inner consciousness and in two days he'll be ready to subscribe.

The Michigan legislature rejected a petition of 60,000 citizens praying for the submission of a constitutional amendment to determine whether the people wanted the initiative and referendum; but it graciously submitted to them a resolution to increase the salaries of the state officials. How is that for gall? The people are supposed to know only enough to increase the pay of those who deny them a voice in the government! It is as bad here as it is in Russia. The people are tied hands and feet, as it were, and are at the mercy of every grafter that can manipulate a primary. Isn't it time for the people to learn the character of the old parties that refuse to trust them? It is up to you.

The case against the manager of the Iroquois theater, in which several hundred people were burned to death because the law providing safety exits was violated, has been dragging in the courts for several years. The manager has just been set free by the court on the ground that the ordinance was unconstitutional. The courts are the safeguard of rich criminals always. Any law to protect the people is unconstitutional. Will you never get next to the face that the courts have become? Under Socialism there will be no rich men with millions to bribe the courts.

Old Reliable—Four 25c pkgs. Nutreto, prepaid to any ex. office in the U. S. for \$1. On request will substitute 1-qt. Nutrol for pkg. Nutreto.

GIRARD MFG. CO.

THE APPEAL STUDY CLUB

Conducted by A. M. SIMONS, 716 Clark Street, Evanston, Illinois

American History for the Workers.

Lesson XV—The First Crisis—1819.

ONE of the sure signs that capitalism had already arrived in the United States was the coming of a crisis in 1819.

Other social stages knew times of general suffering and misery. Savagery, barbarism and feudalism, however, met with such disasters only as a result of pestilence, earthquake, tornado, flood or drought. The famines of capitalism alone are social, not natural, in their origin.

We have seen European restrictions, the embargo and the war, force the growth of manufactures as in a hothouse. When at the close of the European and the American wars England "dumped" her products on American shores to be sold at auction both local and foreign markets were ruined.

Protection in 1816 partially restored the home market, and spurred the already faded manufactures to a short burst of speed. Soon this local market was again filled. Europe, herself in the midst of a depression, could not take the surplus.

Unfavorable weather nearly ruined the crops in England, France and Italy in 1816 and 1817. This precipitated the European crisis, which was due to follow the feverish, war-stimulated production of the previous twenty years.

Other conditions were hastening the end in the United States. A close foreign market demanded the greatest possible extension of the local field. But the continuous opposition of the manufacturers, merchants and ship-owners to westward expansion had still further restricted the market. These divisions of the employing class all sought to prevent their laborers from escaping to the west in sufficient numbers to raise wages. The land speculators, whom we learned to know in revolutionary times, assisted them in this effort, to the extent that they fought all measures designed to enable the settlers to obtain their land directly from the government. Congress decided in 1796 that not less than nine square miles should be sold to any one purchaser. Says Ugo Rabbeno, in his "American Commercial Policy":

"A land policy was introduced which favored all the interests of the capitalists, whether manufacturers—by excluding laborers from the soil and compelling them to work for wages—or agriculturists, by leaving the field open to speculative undertakings on a large scale exclusively.

"Laborers were absolutely prevented from acquiring public lands, whilst hundreds of thousands of acres in separate lots became the property of capitalists or corporations, who either kept them for themselves, constituting enormous estates, or else sold them with great profit to the colonists. . . .

"Later on, when industrial capitalism . . . had made its influence felt, and had obtained protective tariffs, the exclusion of laborers from the soil, which tallied so well with the interests of capitalists, was nevertheless maintained."

Shut out from westward expansion by the greed of the ruling class, and from the markets of the world by adverse industrial conditions, a fairly intense capitalism could develop in the Atlantic coast states.

Into this already compressed labor market a stream of foreign immigration was turned—the first dribblings of that mighty flood which is today bearing across the Atlantic each week more wage slaves than all the ships that sailed the Middle Passage could have transported of negro chattels in a year's time.

We find Nile's "Weekly Register," the great organ of the capitalism of that time, figuring up the value of these immigrants much as the Georgia planter of the same date might have reckoned upon the prospective value of cargoes of "black ivory":

"We venture an opinion that 50,000 persons will have emigrated to the United States from Europe during the year 1816—about one-half of these may be considered as adult males, in the prime and vigor of life; the rest chiefly females not above the middle age, and children.

"The 25,000 men may be estimated to earn on an average for each, one dollar per day for three hundred days in the year—for many of them are mechanics and manufacturers, and few of them are of the unproductive classes—hardly one in a hundred of them have calculated on a livelihood except by manual labor. . . . The aggregate is \$7,500,000 per annum—the women and children may earn a third of this sum; and hence by this emigration we add to the general wealth of this country no less than ten millions a year, in its first stage of production. The profits made on the value of this labor . . . may be safely estimated as being equal to the cost of subsistence of the people, and the ten millions are, therefore, a clear gain."

The finishing touch to this already toppling structure was given by the financial confusion which prevailed. A host of wildcat banks had sprung up, most of which were little more than paper money factories. A horde of counterfeiters, encouraged by the multiplicity of designs of bills, and the crudeness of their manufacture, assisted in this "expansion of the currency." A national bank was chartered by congress in 1816, supposedly to assist in remedying this confusion. Its immediate effect seems rather to have been to twice confound the existing confusion.

All these conditions combined to create one of those periods of almost insane speculation which are now recognized as the final "headlong gallop" of capitalism preceding the crash. The condition after the crash is thus described by Benton in his "Thirty Years' View":

"The years of 1819 and 1820 were a period of gloom and agony. No money, either gold or silver; no paper convertible into specie; no measure or standard of value left remaining. The local banks (all but those of New England), after a brief resumption of specie payments, again sank into a state of suspension. The Bank of the United States, created as a remedy for all these evils, now at the head of the evil, prostrate and helpless, with no power left but that of suing its debtors and selling their property, and purchasing for itself at its own nominal price. No price for property or produce. No sales but those of the sheriff and marshal. No purchaser at the execution sales, but the creditor, or some holder of money. . . . No employment for labor—no demand for labor—no sale for the product of the farm—no sound of hammer, but that of the auctioneer knocking down property. Stop laws—property laws—replevin laws—stay laws—loan office laws—the intervention of the legislator between the creditor and the debtor; this was the business of legislation in three-fourths of the states of the Union—all south and west of New England. No medium of exchange but depreciated paper; no change, even, but little bits of foul paper, marked so many cents, and signed by some tradesman, barber or inn-keeper; exchanges deranged to the extent of fifty or one hundred per cent. Distress the universal cry of the people; relief the universal demand thundred at the doors of all legislatures, state or federal."

By August, 1819, Nile's "Register" was estimating "that there are 20,000 persons daily seeking work in Philadelphia—in New York 10,000 able-bodied men are said to be wandering the streets looking for it, and if we add to them the women who desire something to do, the amount cannot be less than 20,000—in Baltimore there may be about 10,000 persons in unsteady employment, or actually suffering because they cannot get into business."

Soup kitchens were established in the great cities. Most of the municipalities were forced to make appropriations for the relief of the starving workers. However, it must not be supposed, as some writers have told us, that there was no suffering previously. Chronic poverty and misery equally with crises, came in with the first germs of capitalism. Says McMaster of the years immediately preceding 1821:

"Year by year the inmates of workhouses and almshouses increased at a far more rapid rate than the inhabitants of the cities. Winter after winter the same demands were made on the public for contributions to keep the destitute from starvation. In the cities the children of the pauper and dependent classes had now become so numerous as to seriously threaten the peace of the community."

Another characteristic feature of capitalism—fraudulent bankruptcy—made its appearance at this time. In 1816 the governors of Rhode Island and Louisiana urged the necessity of bankruptcy laws in their annual messages. Three years later Nile's "Register" shows that this well established feature of capitalist business morality was fairly well developed:

"Twenty or thirty years ago, if a man failed for \$100,000, the people talked as fearfully of it as, about that time, the old woman did of the fulfillment of Love's Prophecies, who had determined that the world should come to an end before the close of the last century. But now . . . it is not considered decent for a man to break for less than a hundred thousand dollars; and if a person would be thought a respectable bankrupt he ought to owe two or three hundred thousand or more."

Throughout American history "hard times" has always developed a populist movement in whatever portion of the country was in the small farmer stage. The reason for this is evident. In the early years of this social stage these farmers must be in debt to the creditor classes of the portions of the country that have reached the more developed stage of capitalism. During the period we are now considering the "populist belt" was located in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee and eastern Missouri. The legislatures of these states passed laws stopping the collection of debts, inflating the currency, taxing the United States bank, and, in short, a whole system of legislation very much like we heard so much of during the late '80s in Kansas and the other states of the Great Plains region.

We even find a committee of the United States senate advising—"That a loan office be opened and one and a half million dollars be loaned to farmers and manufacturers on land, in such small sums and for such a period of years as would do the greatest good to the greatest number."

One of the results of this crisis was to send a great wave of emigration into the Mississippi valley. No restrictions on land sales could hold back this starving, land-hungry army as it pressed on toward the west. At the beginning of this period the catching of wild horses was still a profitable industry in what is now southern Illinois. Fort Dearborn, on the site of Chicago, had just been rebuilt, after destruction during an Indian massacre. The ranch stage of society was just passing out of Ohio and Indiana into Illinois, and had reached sufficient importance to make Cincinnati a great meat-packing center.

The next few years was to see one of those kaleidoscopic changes in this locality for which American history has become famous.

Answer to Question.

Charles H. Townsend, Seaugus, Mass., asks for the authority on which the statement was made in Lesson IV, that Washington was implicated in the importation of Patinaite Germans into Pennsylvania.

The most accessible reference on this point is A. R. Hart's "American History Told by Contemporaries," pp. 298-311. Further information will be found in F. R. DeFenderfer's "German Immigration Into Pennsylvania Through the Port of Philadelphia From 1760 to 1775," Pt. II, "The Redemptors," and in C. . . . "The Redemptors in Pennsylvania."