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FIVE CENTS

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

No. 20

VOL. I.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1889.

11-tf

The Farmers and Laborers Union.

What is the end of organization among the farmers, whether does it tend, and what

will be the final result? What is the success

sought to be achieved, and by what means will

it be accomplished? These and similar ques-

tions are constantly being presented to those

prominent in the great movement, not only by

city people, but by farmers themselves, mem-

bers of the order, and others. They are ques-

tions that no man has the authority or the

wisdom to answer. The organization is the

result of dire necessity. It is forced upon the

farmers by the imperial law of self-preservation.

The effort of its members and officers to formu-

late an expression of the principles of the

order is only a weak and human effort to in-

terpret, from the evils which beset the class, a

statement of the causes that are productive of

the growing inequality in which the business

of agriculture is gradually losing its prestige

and importance. As these causes are under-

stood, they indicate the remedies necessary.

The policy to be pursued, the immediate ob-

jects for which to contend, must ever be

changing to meet the surrounding conditions.

The fundamental principles are unchangeable

and will be worthy of endorsement while time

shall last; they are the foundation, the basis,

from which may emanate any kind of a con-

test necessary to protect the true interests of

the agriculturists. The declaration of prin-

ciples enunciated in its declaration of purposes

will be found a full and adequate foundation on

which to base any necessary line of action.

This enduring principle and the great scope of

effort for good possible by the organization

should be always kept in view, and when thor-

reform. It advocates general reform based on principles of ultimate truth and eternal justice, and can therefore never become old or useless. Success or failure of local or temporary efforts can never affect these principles; they are everlasting and unchangeable.

For these reasons the members of the order realize that it is a permanent organization that will always keep on doing good; that its object can never be fully accomplished while there is any room for the mental, moral, social, and financial improvement of mankind, and that therefore it is entitled to their fealty and support through success or failure, throughout the balance of their lives. Hence it is not a bombastic hurrah, dependent upon the enthusiasm that may be aroused by the skillful agitation of class prejudice. It is based on the doctrine that man's first duty is to his God, his next to his family, and that, to insure perfect freedom in the enjoyment of his natural rights, he institutes political government, to which he pledges his allegiance. After several hundred years of experiment in different forms of political government he finds the most successful effort in that direction so lacking in perfection as to require an auxiliary in the shape of class organization that will always respond to a call from the government with exact information as to the true interests of that class. In this position it is as permanent as the government itself, and will demonstrate that republican form of government on a large scale can be more successfully carried out when, in addition to the individual as the unit of suffrage, it possesses the class organization as the unit of pecuniary interest from which to call information calculated to direct its wisdom in the affairs of government. How long it will take those who compose the government to properly understand this remains to be demonstrated. Some—perhaps many—will have to receive practical demonstrations of this development of advanced conditions before they will admit it. Like Paul, it may be necessary to knock them blind as bat before they will accept the new dispensation. If that be necessary, there is no doubt it will be effectually done by the farmers of this country, and gracefully done, too. Those who are wise will realize that this great organization of farmers, forced into existence by the necessities of the times, is a true and legitimate child of material progress, and is the latest and highest achievement of modern evolution. It is a permanent and God-fearing force that is destined to be one of the greatest future aids to good government; and that, as the most powerful conservator of peace and good government in existence, all whose motives are pure, and who are friends to humanity, may hail its advent as an event for great rejoicing; and one on which the whole country may be congratulated.

To give some idea of the proportion interest bears to the aggregate general expenses of the Government it may be noted that the ordinary expenditures of the Government in 1880 were \$169,100,000, or \$3.37 per capita. The interest and premium on loans amounted to \$98,600,000, or more than one-half as much as the total of expenses.

Political Economy.

No. 11.

All standard authors upon political economy have recognized and described a "monopoly price." There is a difference between a monopoly and a monopoly price. A monopoly is, in a general way, the manufacture, production, or control of some article, thing, or service of prime necessity, under conditions that prevent a healthy competition. The framers of the Constitution of the United States probably recognized issuing money as the greatest of all monopolies, and therefore made it the function of the General Government. They also probably feared that the carrying of mails might develop into a great monopoly—as the telegraph now has—and, therefore, that was made a function of the General Government also. Insurance in modern times is one of the greatest monopolies. Telephones, gas-works, water-works, street-car lines, express companies, and electric-light plants are all examples of lines of business that are by their very nature monopolies.

A monopoly price, however, is a very different thing, and may attach to a thing of which no person or company has a monopoly. Economists in analyzing rent have fluctuated between the doctrine of ascribing it to a monopoly price and the productive, inherent force of the land, and it is probable that those who gave both a share were the nearest correct. It is usually conceded that a monopoly price may be demanded whenever a limited supply is met by an augmented demand, which may often happen where the supply is a fixed quantity and the demand has no assignable limit, and is always sure to result when the demand is subject to great and sudden fluctuations, and the supply has a definite known limit and possesses no expansive power whatever.

Monopolies in manufacture, production, and service are bad enough, and have been the cause of much legislative experiment on the part of governments. They have always been regarded as evils that should either be controlled or suppressed, and efforts in both these directions have been thoroughly tried, but have been of such doubtful benefit that popular sentiment is now directed to a more efficient and just solution of the problem, which is that society itself should conduct as a part of the public administration of affairs all such lines of business as are essentially monopolies. Many believe that such action on the part of the Government can be made to supersede the necessity of any taxation whatever.

Monopoly price, being usually the result of local conditions and particular seasons, has been harder to analyze and understand. It does not depend on general and stable conditions, like monopoly, but may be the result of different and opposite causes. It may be the result of accident or design. It may be applicable to one locality or to the whole country. It is usually temporary, to such an extent at least that before legislative power could be invoked its object is achieved. Monopoly price is the object of trusts and combines.

The older political economists tell us that it would be impossible for any man or set of

men, even if they possessed a sufficient amount of money, to buy up the greater part of the corn crop so as to demand a monopoly price from the consumer, because the very fact of their making liberal purchases from the farmer would be a stimulated demand that would raise price; and the more they tried to buy, the higher they would have to pay, until they would reach and pass a price at which people would resort to a substitute. It is known, however, in modern times, with many times the number of grain producers and an increase of the product in proportion, and even a greater proportionate increase in number of consumers, men do produce a corner by buying the surplus produced.

While it is true that the power to levy monopoly price for the prime necessities of life, thereby imposing a great burden upon the productive classes, has been such a "will-o'-the-wisp" that the Government could not provide satisfactory rules for its detection and punishment; while politicians claim that the chase is useless, and that it is like the Irishman's flea—when he put his finger on him he wasn't there—speculators have had no trouble at all to understand the perfect and reliable law that governs with such certainty that capital does not hesitate to invest and risk its life on measures calculated to extort monopoly price. The reason laws are not made by the Government that will prevent the extortion of monopoly price is because they do not strike at the root and foundation of the evil. They try to kill the tree by plucking off one leaf at a time, and that two or three years apart. The reason speculators utilize the power to extort monopoly price is because they know where the root is (they planted it from seed labeled Hazard circular), and they utilize the foundation. There is a great secret in connection with this, and yet it is no secret. It is one of those things that a great many men understand and a great many don't; some will and some won't. Surely there can be no harm in telling the truth, and here it is. *Money commands a monopoly price.*

This is true in the United States at the present time for the following reasons: Money is the representative of wealth, and yet there is over fifty times as much wealth in existence in the country as there is money in circulation. It is impossible for anything to represent a thing to its full capacity and then at the same time represent another thing in another place to its full capacity. It can never be a true representative of the wealth that labor has produced till its volume shall represent the actual labor invested in every article of wealth. It requires this, to be a true representative. Any of the large cities possesses a few speculators who can control wealth equal to one-half the volume of money in circulation. Practically all the products of agriculture are ready for market during the last four months of the year. By means of the power to control 50 per cent, or more of the gross value of money in circulation a stridency in the money market is produced that brings an irresistible pressure to bear on the agriculturist, forcing him to sell his produce as soon as it is gathered. The same cause having de-

veloped the monopoly price of money, gives the possessor of money the power to demand an increased quantity of the produce in exchange for it. Thus it is that the Government, by only supplying an inadequate and inflexible quantity of the circulating medium that acts as a representative of wealth, creates a monopoly price, and opens the way for the unscrupulous speculator who may possess a large proportion to increase the monopoly-price power of money, by locking up large sums, and force the producer to turn loose all his crop at a low price and not claim the advance in price that an active demand should stimulate, as claimed by the older economists. The speculator utilizes the monopoly price of money to extort the produce from the producer regardless of demand, and thus secures the bulk of such crops as he wishes to corner. Verily, the secret of monopoly prices of the various articles of prime necessity is in understanding the monopoly price of money which the Government so kindly places at the disposal of those who have, and which they use as a weapon to rob those who have not. Need there longer be any doubt why the rich grow richer and the poor poorer?

The remedy suggested by the necessities is, a volume equal to the gross productive result of labor that shall be flexible enough to at all times correspond with that basis. That is to say, when a crop of seven million bales of cotton has been added to the wealth of the Nation the circulating medium should be increased to exactly that amount in its current value, and when that product is consumed the volume should be contracted accordingly. This is a plain, practical necessity and opens a field for research and study by the modern student. The great problem of the nineteenth century, which threatens the very existence of republican institutions, depends on the introduction of a system that will secure this end. Shall it come from the plow handles? It matters not where it comes from; so it comes.

For the past quarter of a century the crops of the American farmers have, as a rule, been abundant. The farmers have been industrious and economical. They have had the benefit of the most improved machinery, the most intelligent cultivation, and the most carefully compounded fertilizers. Yet, in the face of all this, their condition is growing gloomier and more discouraging each succeeding year. Patient resignation to such conditions will never relieve them, but the most determined intelligent and united action of the farmers themselves is necessary.

It should be thoroughly understood and remembered that taxes are not a debt from the subject to the Government; they are not a payment for any protection received nor for any labor performed by the Government. Taxes are simply and purely forced contributions; and since they are contributions, the only just gauge for them is that each citizen should contribute according to his ability. This fact will be utilized later on in the structure the ECONOMIST is erecting.

Rights and Equality.

BY HARRY HINTON.

"A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!"

Amid the battle din, the drinking sword, and bloody gore the Richard—the black-hearted and murderous Richard—found a grave and the benign Earl of Richmond a crown when neither were proper heirs thereto, for the lineal heirs had been massacred in the Tower or otherwise disposed of. The same rôle is being played nowadays in the common business of the country. Men are heaping up wealth with much contention among themselves, while perhaps the rightful heir either slumbers in his grave or is sequestered in a lowly station. The battle rages, the combat thickens; crying for help some go under; some, riding upon bleeding hearts and desolate homes, gain the goal of their ambition, and the successful warrior has the right to what he gains by the voice of the law. "And the Lord of heaven looked down upon the children of men to see if there was any one that doeth good."

Above the laws of men are the eternal laws of Jehovah, in whom there is no variableness nor shadow of turning. All rights are founded on the obedience to these laws; by disobedience those rights are nullified. All men have equal right to obey these laws and reap their reward. In this alone does there exist any shadow of equality. All men have equal right to obey these laws and reap their reward, both temporal and spiritual. All laws of men which contravene and deny to any man the just reward of his labor, either physical or mental, or which block the way so that an individual can not work to his full capacity and reap the corresponding reward; or any person who denies the power to another person to labor either mentally, physically, or spiritually, and reap a corresponding reward when in his ability to do otherwise, violate the laws of God, destroy the equality of man, and curse the country.

Harry Hinton thinks this is rather "rough on rats." But, in order that our philosophers and economists may clearly apprehend the phrases "equal under the law," "all men are equal," "all men have equal rights under the law," "the equality of all men," "all men have certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness," Harry Hinton has condescended, in his most benign manner, to straighten the question out.

Take a small dose of philosophy: All rights are predicated on law. Put that down as a dogma strong enough to hold the weight of the world, and you have nothing to do but to draw your conclusions, which is very easy. Then where no law exists there are no rights—first conclusion. The rights under the law are such as the law makes them—second conclusion. Each code of laws has its separate rights gained by obedience, and partakes of the nature and character of the laws themselves. Disobedience forfeits all rights guaranteed by every code of laws. Disobedience to a particular law forfeits the right guaranteed by that law. No code of laws of less authority has the right to nullify or obstruct the laws of a higher code. We have many codes of law, each graded as to its authority, and each taking precedence of the other—the eternal laws of Jehovah, the political law, the laws of associations and clubs, the laws (unwritten) of society and custom, and so on.

Cum ita illa sint. Now we have the whole subject surrounded and are able to explain all questions of rights and equality. Man is only equal in one respect, that a code of laws of less authority has no right to nullify or obstruct his rights guaranteed to him by obedience to a code of a higher authority. All rights guaranteed by a higher code are inalienable by a code of less authority. All moral rights are inalienable by the political code, and all political rights are inalienable by any society or social code. These are the inalienable rights, and there are no others. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are not of necessity inalienable rights, for Charles Guiteau's right of life was forfeited and Boss Tweed forfeited his right to liberty and happiness. If you obey all the moral code, you have all the rights guaranteed by that code inalienable. But if you disobey the moral code, you have no rights under the code and no friend but the devil. The political law has a political right to come in and strip you, insomuch as you are a bane to society.

Harry Hinton is fully conscious that he is running counter to many learned statesmen, philosophers, and jurists. Among the many may be mentioned Locke, Blackstone, Burke, and Bishop Paley. When the sewing-machine was first invented it was complicated and cumbersome, but man simplified and improved it very soon; but when some new idea is invented by such men as the above no one simplifies or improves them until they have greatly damaged the human race. They say that we on entering government give up some of our natural rights. "Civil liberty," says Blackstone, "is no other than natural liberty so far retained as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage." So say they all. Man never does and never can give up the rights to civil society granted him by obedience to the laws of Jehovah. He can give up all the privileges which are the fruit of disobedience and belong to the devil. Man does not enter government for the government's good, but for his own good.

Government is a human institution, partakes of man's imperfections, is built for man's benefit, and is amenable to every law of God to which man is amenable. It can not justly alienate the rights of any man not forfeited first by himself. Freedom is obedience to just and rightful law. Obedience to the moral code makes you morally free. Obedience to the civil code, so far as it is just and rightful, makes you politically free; but so far as it contravenes or obstructs the divine law, you become a slave.

"A horse! a horse! My kingdom for a horse." The murderous Richard found a grave and the Earl of Richmond a crown on the bloody field of strife, while the rightful heirs to the British throne were buried or sequestered. How much is this the case among ourselves? We strive to overreach some one in a business transaction and perhaps the very capital by which we are carrying on this strife belongs to neither of us of right. See what a confusion of justice, see what a false notion of right and rights, see what travail and sorrow and wrong, see what profligacy and voluptuousness hard by want and pain. The war continues, the battle roars, the combat thickens and the hero who wins will perhaps wear a crown that belongs to another. Let us sing:

From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strand,
They call us to deliver
Their sons from error's chains.

Here are some stones of Parian whiteness for the corner of your temple, Mr. ECONOMIST.

1. All rights are predicated on existing law
2. All rights gained by obedience to a higher code are inalienable by a lesser code, and in this all men are equal.

3. Disobedience to a higher code forfeits the rights promised by that code and renders the violator subject to a lesser code.

4. Government is a human expedient made for the benefit of the governed, and not of the rulers.

THE lowest price ever paid for cotton in New York was 4 cents, at which price it sold in 1814. The highest was \$1.90, in 1864.

History and Government.

No. 20.

The Greek people having proved their faith in their systems and institutions by their work, their valor, and their devotion, and shown to the world their ability to defend themselves successfully against any power that might be brought against them, it now became their duty to so conduct their affairs as to prove to the world the superiority of their systems, and that they were indeed worthy of the enormous sacrifices made to maintain them.

Indeed, it did appear after the unselfish sacrifices they had made, the evidence they had given of a full devotion to the most exalted virtue and the common welfare, their superiority to the temptations of wealth and selfish advantage, that they would be fully equal to the great requirements made of them, and not only continue to cultivate the especial characteristics which had made them envied of the civilized world, but would, through the stimulus given by their heroic achievements, devote themselves more enthusiastically than ever to the improvement and further development of the institutions to which they owed their exalted position.

After all these people had undergone and suffered, after the bitter lesson experience had taught, it seemed only reasonable that, at least for a time, they would profit by the lesson and so conduct their affairs that the arts of peace would gain a vast impetus before being again disturbed by the rude alarms and reckless ruin of war; yet the facts go to show they and especially their leaders, very soon after the Persians had retired, were overcome to a great extent by the luxurious ease which so suddenly followed their desperate campaigns and severe sufferings.

The reaction which set in seems to have been in a ratio equal to the strain put upon them, and when the necessity for resistance ceased, they, or at least many among the Athenians, seemed to have relapsed into a condition of demoralization that caused no little danger to the stability of the status they had gained, and indeed threatened to destroy all the advantages which had accrued to Greece.

Although the rigid Spartan virtue had been the salvation of Greece, and had during the struggle inspired the Athenians, yet as soon as peace was assured, the Athenians seemed to have relapsed into their habits of indolence and the pursuits of pleasure; to have returned to the enjoyment of the luxury wealth secures and the greed and selfishness that always accompanies mercenary employment. The treasures the Persians had brought into Greece were immense, and out of these grew the greed and selfishness that were to curse Athens. As soon as speculation began, the original equality among the people was destroyed. One class soon began to revel in luxury while the other was reduced to want, and so it was that the original conditions which Solon had attempted to remove were re-established and internal dissension began to curse the state. Again greed and chicanery opened the way to corruption and treachery; wealth became the

stepping-stone to power, and the common welfare was forgotten in the struggle for selfish advancement.

Sparta was spared this curse for a longer time, but at last the blight fell upon her, and the grand accomplishments which might have followed the triumph over despotism were never reached, and the magnificent final triumph was postponed for ages, to be gained by another race in the far remote future, and the world was doomed to centuries of strife and misery; to even retrograde far on the way to barbarism before the spirit that had inspired the Greeks in their great contest should be reawakened, and its high anticipations be realized only after centuries of trying conflict.

However, the object of this investigation is not to state general truths, but follow step by step the events and circumstances as they were developed. To be chronologically correct, it would now be proper to take up the history of Rome, from the founding of the city, which occurred between the times of Lycurgus and Solon, show the influence of Grecian institutions upon the development of this great nation, and bring up its history to the point at which we have arrived in the history of the Greeks; but it will probably be better to go on with the evolution of Greek society to a point where their first grand triumph and their early institutions seem to have lost their inspiring influence, and then go back to Rome and bring up its experiences to a similar point and a like date. Pursuant to this plan we now return to Athens.

No sooner were the Greeks free from the danger threatened by a foreign invader than petty jealousies began to arise between the various states. These petty animosities had, however, always existed, as was natural that they

should between the various separate tribes of a primitive people, but the great common danger had served to unite and bind them together in a common cause, and the glorious results to

which this unity had led should have been a sufficient lesson as to the necessity for their continued fraternity and good-will toward each other. The only excuse that can be offered is the fact that theirs was the first experience any people had ever had under systems similar to theirs, and that their civilization was new, while they themselves were personally influenced by hereditary traits descending to them through a comparatively limited space of time from a semi-barbarous ancestry. The intellectual and moral development of the masses was, of course, very imperfect, and the wonder is that they were able at that early age to accomplish what they did in the way of national progress.

The first discord which arose was between the Athenians and the Lacedemonians, the two states to whom almost entirely is due the success of the Greek arms. This discord grew principally out of the great difference between the characters of these two peoples, the Athenians being a volatile, excitable people, given to the most utter selfishness and to have been overcome by a mania of greed, which utterly destroyed all the noble qualities that had characterized him, and he became capable of the most disgraceful and dishonorable acts to further his selfish designs and personal ambitions. This man had gained, by his upright conduct

and noble devotion, the highest regard of the Athenian people; they listened to him as an unerring adviser, and it was long before his duplicity and hypocrisy were discovered. Had he ultimately succeeded in his selfish designs the history of Greece would have been written differently, and consequently the history of the world.

The Athenians, immediately after their return to their city, began to give themselves up to the pursuit of gain, to the irregularities of a commercial life, to the ornamentation of their public and private buildings, and the increasing of the magnificence of their city. They became exclusively a mercenary people, and gave themselves up to luxury and the pursuit of wealth. This manner of life the Lacedemonians felt, leading, as it invariably does, to the development of selfishness and selfish aspirations, would result in a desire, on the part of the Athenians, to attempt to further their interest by imposing upon the other states of Greece, and the acquiring of a dangerous amount of power.

The Athenians determined to strengthen and extend the walls of the city, and add greatly to the magnificence of their public buildings. They built a fleet and were practically the masters of the seas. The Lacedemonians allowed no walled or fortified towns in their state, relied exclusively upon the valor of their soldiers for their defense, and one of the kings, on being asked where were the walls of his city, pointed to his army and exclaimed: "There are the walls of Sparta." They believed that fortified posts were not only a menace to liberty, but afforded a great advantage to an enemy, should they, by any mishap, fall into their hands. They therefore sent an embassy to Athens to dissuade the Athenians from this undertaking, giving as a reason the danger such a fortification would be to the general confederacy if it should ever fall into the hands of the Persians.

The Athenians at first put a stop to their work, seeing the danger that really was in it to the interest of Greece, but Themistocles, who, after the battle of Salamis and his great exaltation by the people, seemed to have changed his very nature, and developed a sort of mania for selfish advancement, advised the council to deceive the Lacedemonians, and, while they pretended to acquiesce in their request, to go on with the work they had undertaken. The council gave way to Themistocles, and, by deceit and fraud, the Lacedemonians were blinded to the real intent, and the work was finished. Themistocles then informed the Lacedemonians, and declared that Athens was now in condition to keep out any enemy, foreign or domestic, and that the city had a right to consult its own interest, regardless of that of the other states, and without submitting to the control of its neighbors.

During the invasion of the Persians, no man in Greece was more devoted to the common cause or seemed willing to make greater sacrifices than Themistocles. No sooner was peace secured than he seemed to have given way to the most utter selfishness and to have been overcome by a mania of greed, which utterly destroyed all the noble qualities that had characterized him, and he became capable of the most disgraceful and dishonorable acts to further his selfish designs and personal ambitions. This man had gained, by his upright conduct

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Themistocles then took Aristides aside and told him that his plan was to burn the entire fleet belonging to the rest of the Greek states, which was then lying in a neighboring port, and in this way secure to Athens the undisputed sovereignty of the seas.

Aristides was almost overcome with indignation at this black treason to the friends and allies of the Athenians, but he did not deign to reply. He returned to the assembly of the people and merely said that "nothing could be more advantageous for Athens than what Themistocles proposed, but nothing could be more unjust." The people, still retaining a part of their former virtue, unanimously refused to allow Themistocles to carry out his design or to hear what it was.

The minds of the Athenians were by this means turned in the channels of commerce, and through the use of the immense treasure taken from the Persians they became a commercial and mercenary people. Their former leaders had bent all their endeavors to alienate their minds from this channel, and to their success in their undertaking the triumph of the Greek cause is traceable; now they were falling away from their early training, and the final result was to be fatal to all their high anticipations.

Themistocles, having succeeded so far in his designs, began to hope that he would be able to make Athens the mistress of Greece; and, as he felt secure in his ability to seize the regal power of Athens, he would be able to make himself the master and autocrat of this new and rising people. Was it such aspirations which influenced his refusal of the proposals of the Persian monarch, and did he refuse to rule under him merely because he preferred and hoped to rule independent of him—who shall answer? Who shall know the motives which actuate any man? Therefore vigilance should never cease its watch of the conduct of all public men.

Themistocles now began to entertain ideas of the blackest treason to Greece, and his ambition halted at no act that would promise the successful carrying out of his plans. He at last

declared in a full assembly of the people that he had a very important plan to propose, but would not communicate it in public, as the execution required the greatest secrecy and promptness. He therefore asked that they appoint a person to whom he might explain himself; one whose judgment might be relied on, and whose authority might confirm him in his design. Aristides, who was then principal archon, was chosen for the office.

This plan of Themistocles, in having a man in authority appointed, was a shrewd one, because he was uncertain as to how the people might receive his proposition, and should they look unfavorably upon it his influence and prospects would be ruined; while if authorized to act by one of the representative men, and the sense of justice of the people should revolt at the blackness of his crime against their friends, he could relieve himself by pleading that it was done under their authority and ad-

vice; while, should more favorable reception be given, he would be in position to grasp the control of ensuing events and push himself into the position he aspired to occupy.

Themistocles then took Aristides aside and told him that his plan was to burn the entire fleet belonging to the rest of the Greek states, which was then lying in a neighboring port, and in this way secure to Athens the undisputed sovereignty of the seas.

Goldsmith says: "He justly dreaded the consequences of a democratic government."

The fact is that Aristides may have favored this move, and the suggestion as to the effect is entirely uncalled for and gratuitous on the part of the historian, and may have been thrown in as a kind of sop to the aristocratic Cerberus of the time in which Rollin wrote.

That Aristides probably did favor the people seems true from what Rollin further says: "But as he considered, on one hand, that the people were entitled to some regard on account of the valor they had shown in the battles lately gained, and, on the other, that it would be no easy matter to curb and restrain a people who still, in a manner, had their arms in their hands, and who were grown more defiant of restraint than ever from their victories—on these considerations, he thought it proper to observe measures with them and find out some means to satisfy and appease them. He therefore caused a decree to be passed by which it was ordained that all the offices of the government should be open to every class of citizens, and that the archons, who were the chief magistrates of the city and were chosen only out of the richest class, should, in the future, be elected from any class without distinction."

This, although it did not abolish class distinction, was a great stride toward a pure democracy, and a man, even of the poorest class, had the way open to the highest honors among his people. Had Aristides been, as Rollin would lead us to infer, opposed to popular government, he would scarcely have favored this important step toward the securing of it. The fact also proves that although the rich and the commercial classes were given up to mercenary influences, the masses of the people were still jealous of their liberties, and looked with suspicion upon any distinctions which tended to give advantages to one class at the expense of another or all.

From what has been stated, it may be readily comprehended how, as soon as peace was secured, the influence of speculation and mercenary greed began immediately to breed dissension and discord among the Athenians; while the Lacedemonians, who prohibited money entirely, were not in the least disturbed in their perfect unity and were perfectly free from any form of discontent or disturbance. Although great inequality soon began to appear in Athens, the Spartans still dwelt together in fraternal harmony; no man having the least advantage of another.

The lowest price per barrel for flour in New York was paid in 1825, when it was \$3.25. The highest was in 1864, when it was \$11.75. Since 1864 it has declined steadily, until in 1880 it sold as low as \$3.75, almost as low as in 1825; and the highest point it reached in 1880 was \$5.75; now the price ranges about the same. It reached over \$11 but three times—in 1837, 1864, and 1866.

The National Exchange.

BY T. D. HINCKLEY, OF HOYLETON, ILL.

In your issue of July 6th Brother J. A. Tett, of Ruston, La., states one important need of our farmer organizations in a very plain and practical manner, and he deserves the thanks of all organized farmers and wealth-producers for his able and business-like exposition of the manner in which co-operation may be employed for the benefit of all wealth-producers. I am inclined to think that one great trouble with all our organizations is that they are not as practical as they should be; that they are controlled to a great extent by men whose high order of intelligence enables them to comprehend at a glance what the ultimate action or result of our organizations must be, but who are not practical or prosaic enough to lead the farmers up to a full accomplishment of the noble end they have in view. They see plainly enough that the final battle, without which our organization will amount to nothing, must be fought in the political arena. They understand that the social and commercial features of our brotherhood can not bring forth their best fruits until after they have co-operated together in controlling the money-issuing, tax-collecting, and corporation-creating power of our Government, and, understanding this, many of them have no patience whatever with the, to them, dry details of trade co-operation. Some of our organizers and lecturers, in their public talks, affect to treat with scorn and contempt the trade feature of our combination, and some of our writers also ridicule the idea that trade co-operation can ever be of benefit to us. I confess that when first initiated into our Farmers Mutual Benefit Association my ideas of its co-operative buying and selling feature were prompted by a feeling of contempt for the, in my thoughtless estimation, narrow-brained contracted policy which made it one of the principal features of our institution. My hasty judgment was strengthened some few weeks afterward when I heard one of our ablest and most eloquent lecturers advance the idea that "none but men with souls of the mustard-seed variety would join our order hoping thereby to buy 'caliker' cheaper, and when he clinched his argument on this point by the assertion that 'the fact that business men, merchants, millers, and traders were constantly failing in business, was sufficient proof to him that the margin of profit upon which they were attempting to do business was so small that they could not sustain themselves,' it seemed to me that he left nothing to be said in favor of the trade feature of our association. He fully understood and earnestly dilated upon the necessity of the farmers taking control of our Governmental affairs, and it is presumed that, looking upon political co-operation as the supreme necessity of the hour, and feeling the need of all the assistance attainable, he sought to gain the goodwill of business men by his conciliatory talk. It seems to me that Brother Corput, in your No. 5, when replying to the question, What is your attitude to the merchants? says, 'That of perfect friendship and comradeship,' adopts tactics very similar to those of our lecturer. But let me explain briefly why I changed my opinion regarding the importance of the co-operative trade feature of our association. Sometime after listening to our lecturer I was appointed a member of the trade committee of our lodge. It is the duty of this committee to contract with some merchant to give him our entire trade at some stipulated rate of profit. We were instructed not to exceed 10 per cent. We finally found a merchant who was willing, in consideration of our combined trade, to sell us goods at a profit of 10 per cent. on each sale. In going

through his bills in order to understand about what our saving would be, we found that his customers had been paying him a profit ranging from 10 per cent. on some articles to as high as 100 per cent. upon others. This discovery set my thinker to going. Our merchant had sold goods no higher than other merchants had. He was not a better or worse buyer on the market than other merchants were. Then other merchants must have got the same rate of profit he had been charging, and yet it is true, as our lecturer said, merchants were going to the wall every day. Why? Why should any man engaged in selling goods at a profit, even though the profit was smaller than made by our merchant, be compelled to suspend business? Obviously, the answer would be, "Because he didn't sell goods enough."

Why didn't he sell goods enough? The answer to this question is also plain. "Because he didn't have customers enough." Why didn't he have customers enough? Up to this point the doctors will all agree in diagnosing the case of their patient, but here they differ. Our brothers of the single-tax, George school will declare the answer to be "because people have not access to natural opportunity and are therefore deprived of their ability to create the wherewithal with which to purchase the goods they need." Our Greenback brothers, who believe that the only essential to our salvation is an abundance of money, will declare the answer to be, "Because our circulating medium is so restricted that the people haven't money enough to make their purchases." It seems to me (I don't class myself as one of the doctors, though) that the reasonable answer to the question would be, "Because the customers of the merchants of a given neighborhood are necessarily limited to the population of that neighborhood, while the number of those who 'seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion,' and who are perfectly willing to eat their bread by the sweat of other men's brows, is practically unlimited. There would be failures among our business men if their margin of profit could be screwed up to and held at 1,000 per cent., not because 1,000 per cent. was not margin enough, but simply because there would be too much competition for the desirable thousand per cent. There is a universal desire among men to avoid the pre-mortal curse of man, "In the sweat of thy face shall thou eat bread," and the cause of ninety-nine of every hundred of the failures of our business men traced back to their first source will be found to have originated in a selfish attempt to get something for nothing. Nature has established certain laws the violation of any of which carries with it certain penalties. A farmer has a good plot of ground upon which he proposes to grow corn. He plows it thoroughly, harrows it well, marks it off both ways, and puts into each cross a shovelful of well-rotted manure, then plants three grains of corn in each hill. The corn sprouts and starts to grow so thrifly that he concludes that he didn't plant it thick enough, and so he goes over the ground and plants three more grains in each hill; these also sprout and start to grow so beautifully as to excite a fear on the part of the farmer that he isn't going to get all he might out of his plot of ground, and so he plants three more grains in each hill, and the upshot of it is that some of that corn will "fail" in business." Some of the stalks will fail to make corn. Why? Each stalk will receive the same treatment. Its roots will be nurtured in the same rich soil. The sun will warm it impartially. Rain will fall on it all alike. Then why shouldn't all the stalks produce corn alike? Simply because nature has decreed that nine stalks of corn can't do business successfully where only three ought to be. So it is in all the affairs of man. Nature fixes metes and bounds which he can not pass. The capac-

ity of mankind to produce the wealth which is necessary to the well-being and happiness of all is limited, and however much the genius of man, by his labor-saving inventions, may annually extend the limit, he can not get beyond it any given year. Since the capacity of man to produce wealth is limited, it naturally follows that his capacity to maintain non-producers is also limited, and hence it further follows that the greater the number of non-producers that must be sustained in any given year the greater is the burden which those who produce the wealth that year must carry. We might issue money to the extent of \$50 per capita, abolish all National banks, do away with all Government taxes, and make our railroads, as well as land, absolutely free; and yet if we permitted our host of non-producers to grow in proportion as our burdens of Government and legalized monopolies were decreased, our lot would be as hard to bear as it now is. But as long as physical exertion is necessary to produce wealth, just that long will the ranks of non-producing, wealth-getting-schemers be found full to overflowing. Eternal vigilance is no more the price of liberty than it is the price which labor will have to pay if it would be rid of the parasitic incubus which is now weighting it into the earth.

In fact, labor has never known what liberty is and never will until it is allowed to enjoy the full fruits of its own production. Co-operation, thorough and complete, is the only policy which will enable wealth-producers, whether they toil in the field, the shop or the mine, to enjoy their own. As Brother Tett has well said, "National co-operation is the key that will unlock the door that leads to freedom to the farmer. With a perfect system of organization and a safe system of National co-operation, we can accomplish our redemption. Without it we need have no hope of timely relief." I would not restrict the benefit which is to come of the freedom which co-operation can give to the farmer alone. Neither is it likely that a man broad-gauged enough, as Brother Tett is, to understand the benefit of co-operation would deem it possible for farmers to obtain the best results from any scheme which did not include the wealth-producing wage-workers, miners, and mechanics of our cities. The occupation of farming is no more necessary to the continued existence of the occupation of our miners, mechanics, and wage-workers than their occupation is necessary to our continued comfort and happiness. It is true that city workers could not live without the food produced by farm labor, but if there be any farmers narrow-minded enough to believe that we can get along without them, let such ask themselves how we would fare if all city production should suddenly cease. If ore-mining and coal-mining should absolutely cease, how long would it be until we would be obliged to clothe ourselves in the skins of animals fastened together with hickory bark? How long would it be until the busy wheels of industry would stand still? How long would it be until we would be obliged to manufacture our flour by pounding our grain between two stones? In fact, brother farmers, how long would it be until the world would lapse into the barbarism of the dark ages if our efforts were no longer seconded by the efforts of wage-workers, miners, and mechanics? The truth of the matter is that the interests of all wealth-producers, not only in this country, but in every part of the world, is the same. It seems to me that we need no better evidence of the truth of this than is offered by the history of the wealth-producers of this country for the last few years. The steady decline in the rate of wages paid to our miners, mechanics, and shop-workers has been accompanied by a steady decline in the prices of our produce, and it is perfectly safe to say that the causes which have

Call for a National Greenback Convention.

Hon. George O. Jones, of New York, has issued a call for a National convention of the Greenback party, to meet at Cincinnati, Ohio, Thursday, September 12, 1889, for the purpose of reorganization "on the principles once advocated by Peter Cooper, and by many of the wisest and ablest newspapers in both the old parties." All are invited to co-operate who desire to aid in rebuilding the party, on the basis of the following propositions:

1. Payment of public debts according to the original contract under which they were issued, carrying on needed public improvements, encouraging an American merchant marine, aiding the manufacture of American cotton and other raw materials at home and their export abroad, under the American flag, and for such other purposes as would strengthen the Government, develop its resources, and promote the welfare of its citizens through the issue of legal-tender notes, greenbacks, until their volume be at least \$50 per capita of population.

2. Limiting the debts of railroad, telegraph, and all other public corporations to the amount actually and in good faith paid by stock and bond holders for the property such corporations represent, and restricting interest and dividends for their use to a fair return on such actual investments.

3. All land to be owned by the Government, by American citizens, or by those who declare their intention to become such, private land ownership limited to occupation and use, and corporate ownership to a sufficient amount only for the convenient operation of its property.

4. Restoring a true spirit of fraternity and nationality among the whole American people through a currency that would make all alike loyal to the Government by being all alike interested in its money and in keeping its volume at such amount as would always secure good wages for labor, good prices for its products, and uniform business prosperity.

All intending to affiliate are requested to meet in their respective Congressional districts on or before Wednesday, September 4th, and appoint one delegate and one alternate. In States and districts where the party is not organized those who approve are invited to attend and participate in the proceedings of the convention.

HERE is a table that gives some idea of the profits in farming in the State of Illinois, and that is reputed as one of the very best corn States in the Union, with the greatest facilities for transportation and the very best improved farm machinery. The estimate is made by Chas. F. Mills, secretary and statistician for the State board of agriculture. The cost of producing an acre of corn is given at \$10.50, and this amount includes rent of land and taxes. The estimate is on the corn crop alone:

BY ROBERT J. WILLIAMS.	
For 1882 a loss of.....	\$1,273,571
For 1883 a loss of.....	8,621,440
For 1884 a loss of.....	11,780,557
For 1885 a loss of.....	10,831,701
For 1886 a loss of.....	19,870,259

Total loss in five years..... \$52,377,528

And two-thirds of the farms which made this loss are mortgaged. The railroads paid a nice dividend, however; their net profit as officially shown was for 1884 \$20,097,554, and other years in proportion.

operated to bring about the one have also operated to bring about the other. Those causes will never be removed until all our wealth-creators co-operate together in their removal. Every organized band of wage-working, wealth-producing miners, mechanics, shopmen, or railroad workers ought to be in quick and sympathetic touch with every organized band of wealth-producing farmers in this country. They by their labor are constantly producing the kind of wealth which we must and will have. We by our labor are steadily creating the kind of wealth without which they can not live. Since this is literally true, does it not follow, as a matter of course, that the more and better wealth they are able to produce the better it ought to be for us, and the more and better wealth we produce the better it ought to be for them? And does it not just as certainly follow that anything which operates to their damage or benefit will speedily show itself as detrimental or beneficial to our interests, and anything which operates for our good or injury will speedily be reciprocated by like effects among them? Since it is absolutely true that we farmers must have the kind of wealth they produce, and that they must have the kind of wealth we produce, and since there has never been a time when the joint productions of our labor have not been much more than sufficient to satisfy all our wants, does it not necessarily follow that the only reason why wage-workers and farmers have "hard times" is because certain men have arrogated to themselves the privilege of dictating the terms upon which our exchanges shall be made? Certainly it does; and from this it necessarily follows that the first work, and the last work, and all of the work necessary to the complete emancipation of our wealth-producers will have to be done in securing the power to dictate the terms upon which they will exchange their products. Of course, to do this completely they must dictate terms to our railroads, the terms upon which money shall be issued, and the terms upon which they will submit to be taxed, and, of course, to do all this they must take complete charge of their government. To do this they must take political action, and just here is where our organizations have demonstrated their lack of practicability. Let the National Exchange be inaugurated by the adoption of Brother Tett's plan of National, State, and county directories. If all labor, as well as farmer, organizations could be included in the directory there could be no better plan to bring all of our widely-scattered wealth-producers into touch with each other. The farmers and laboring men of the North want the sugar and molasses, rice, cotton, and tobacco, which are the natural productions of the South. The farmers and laborers of the South want the corn, bacon, and grain, and horses and mules, which are the natural production of the North.

The idea that Southern farmers ought to raise their own corn and hogs is about on a par with the idea that we of the North ought to produce our own sugar and molasses. And an attempt to carry out these brilliant conceptions has resulted in stocking the South with a race of hogs principally noted for their speed and endurance, and filling our molasses pitchers with stuff called by courtesy molasses. Such ideas originate in the contemptibly selfish belief that one section of our common country can be and ought to be independent of all others, thus practically making one section appear in the light of an enemy of others. A National Exchange by means of which Northern and Southern, Eastern and Western wealth-makers could be brought into direct contact with each other would do more to allay sectional bitterness and strife than any other means that can be invented. It would do more to bring to our wealth-producers a full realization of their power than all the essays that ever were

written on that subject, and it would do more than anything else possibly could to demonstrate in a practical manner the absolute necessity of their taking control of every branch and department of our Government, and is therefore the first step necessary to the accomplishment of the many reforms which are urgently demanded.

BOOK NOTICE.

No. 110 of the Humboldt Library, entitled THE STORY OF CREATION: A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF EVOLUTION, by Edward Clodd, F. R. A. S., is the latest scientific publication received. This little work is certainly a boon to the class whose constant daily duties and responsibilities preclude the possibility of their undertaking the perusal or study of more elaborate works on the subject of evolution. Containing only 120 pages, it conveys more valuable scientific knowledge than may be found in volumes of more elaborate works. It is a compend of astronomical, geological, and biological knowledge, as well as a clear illustration of the theory of evolution which any one can not only easily comprehend but will be deeply interested in.

It is the very book for the people, from which the every-day citizen can gain a complete insight into the greatest discoveries of modern science without that vast amount of labor and expenditure of time heretofore required to gather the same information. The work begins with the origin of the worlds, makes perfectly clear the Nebular Theory and the origin of the Solar systems, the development of planets and their various changes of condition; applies the theory to the origin and development of our earth, explains the great discoveries of geology, recites the history written in the rocks from the earliest formations, and the story they tell of the origin of life; then takes up the theory of evolution, showing the gradual development from the lowest to the highest life forms, then explains social evolution from the first appearance of mind to the highest moral attainment. This little work of Mr. Clodd is an entire library, and no one who desires to be properly informed as to the progress of modern science can afford to do without it. No father of a family should fail to put this work in the hands of his children. No farmhouse in America should be without it. Such publications as the Humboldt Library is issuing will make a nation of scholars of our people if they will only improve the opportunity this company offers. The price of this work is only 30 cents, and a yearly subscription to their monthly publications of such works is only \$1.50. Address Humboldt Publishing Co., 28 Lafayette Place, New York.

Are These Definitions Valid?

BY ROBERT J. WILLIAMS.

A Radical is one who wants or who proposes a remedy, not a palliative, for some evil. A Conservative is one who wants no change or who opposes all attempts to change the existing systems.

A Contractionist is one who upholds the governmental policy of contracting the Nation's money from circulation and thereby forcing the masses into interest and wage slavery.

An Expansionist is one who demands that the Nation shall stop taxation and expand the volume of its money until "interest slavery" has been abolished.

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C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are fifty cents a line nonpareil. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement desired.

The publishers of this paper have given a bond in the sum of \$100,000 to the Farmers and Laborers Union of America that they will faithfully carry out all subscriptions and other contracts.

The Farmers' Associations that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST represents as their national official organ now contain a membership of over one million, and by means of organization and consolidation they expect to number two millions by January 1, 1890.

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SUBSCRIBERS to THE ECONOMIST can have their time commenced with back numbers, by so specifying at the time of subscription. The series of articles by Mr. Hudson, on railways, began with No. 8, and "History and Government" with No. 1.

Back numbers of THE ECONOMIST can be had by application to this office, at 2 cents a copy.

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Postage stamps are an objectionable form of remittance, and should be wrapped in paper in the envelope, ungummed if to be had. Postal notes or money orders are much better.

Clubs of Five.

THE ECONOMIST has arranged with Hon. Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutocracy, or American White Slavery," to distribute that book as a premium to persons sending in clubs of five annual paid subscriptions at \$1 each. The book to be mailed in return is bound in paper, post paid, by the ECONOMIST.

WHILE numbers of our citizens are flattering themselves that they are relieved from the support of an enormous standing army, which burden so afflicts the unfortunate people of European monarchies, it may be of interest to them to note the following figures: According to the statistical abstract for 1887, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, the net ordinary expenditures of the Nation for 1887 were \$220,190,602.72. Of this amount \$38,561,025.85 went for the army, and there was \$75,020,101.79 paid in pensions, and \$15,141,126.80 for the Navy. This makes a total expenditure of \$128,731,254.44, showing about 60 per cent. of the total ordinary expenditure to have gone into the military establishment. Now let us compare these figures with the amounts expended by the great powers of Europe on their armies and navies. Russia expends on both \$165,500,000, or about 35

per cent. of her ordinary expenditures; France \$144,000,000, or 24 per cent.; Germany, \$102,000,000, or 24 per cent.; Great Britain, \$130,000,000, or 31 per cent. The others in smaller proportions. Since this report of the Treasury Department vastly increased appropriations have been made for the Navy and for pensions, the pension appropriation last year being almost ten millions more than for the year cited, and likely to be increased by the next Congress. This shows our expenditure on what is the equivalent of the European standing armies to be almost double that of the most powerful autocratic nation on earth, and more than double that of two of the leading powers of the Continent, while it is almost double the expenditure of Great Britain, and was during the last fiscal year more than double. This being the case, where have we the grounds on which to base our self-gratulation? This is only one of the instances in which our people deceive themselves, and close investigation of all existing conditions will show that this is really a small imposition when the entire account is made up. It is well enough to feel a reasonable pride in our institutions, but it is not best to take the rhetorical declarations of office-seeking demagogues for established fact and howl ourselves hoarse over a triumph that only exists in imagination. First investigate, prove that a claim is true before giving away to frantic demonstrations. So far as financial oppression goes, there is no people on earth much more severely burdened than these same Americans, and the only difference in the oppression here and elsewhere is that it is done more nicely and ingeniously. Indeed, it is accomplished with so much skill and delicate nicety that it somewhat resembles the modern manner of amputating a limb, which is done before the patient discovers it, but he is a cripple for life although he escaped immediate pain.

REPORTS in Georgia papers indicate that National Lecturer Ben Terrell has been doing splendid work, his addresses being listened to by immense throngs, including the wives and daughters of the members.

IT is a striking fact that the Government makes elaborate, expensive, and perfect provision for the training and instruction of the few young men who are expected to serve it as soldiers, and yet the youth of the land receive practically no training in the higher duties of citizenship. The citizen is of vastly more importance than the soldier, and it is proportionally as important that those duties should be fully understood. It does not follow that this instruction should be either at Government expense or under Governmental direction or control, but it does seem that it is quite as important that the citizen should be instructed in his duties and responsibilities to and rights under the Government as that its soldiers should be familiar with theirs. The business of killing men seems to be the only one which has the especial care of the Government in the instruction of youth. Is it not quite as important that our youth be instructed in the best ways to avoid a resort to such means or be taught the most practical and scientific means

by which men may be fed, clothed, and sheltered, and their lives rendered happy and enjoyable?

PRESIDENT H. L. LOUCKS, of the Dakota Territorial Alliance, is conducting a vigorous department in the Ruralist, official organ for the Territory. In the issue of July 20th, defending the resolution of the Alliance to withhold support from the newspapers opposed to the movement, an apt quotation is made from the now celebrated bankers' circular which states that—

It is advisable to do all in your power to sustain all such daily and prominent weekly newspapers, especially the agricultural and religious press, as will oppose the issuing of greenback paper money, and that you also withhold patronage or favor from all who will not oppose the Government issue of money. Let the Government issue the coin and the banks issue the paper money of the country, for then we can better protect each other. To repeal the law creating National bank notes, or to restore to circulation the Government issue of money, will be to provide the people with money and will therefore seriously affect your individual profits as bankers and lenders. See your Member of Congress at once and engage him to support your interest, that we may control legislation.

THE definitions by Robert J. Williams in another column by no means accurately define. If it be the intention to contrast radical and conservative, it were better to accept the common use of the terms. A conservative aims to preserve. John Hampden aimed to preserve the rights of an English citizen, though it implied the radical resort of beheading a king. A conservative believes present evils result from a derangement in existing systems, and that justice may prevail without changing the form of order won by our forefathers; a radical would contend that as injustice now prevails, the Republic of the people is inadequate and must be abolished. The conservative desires remedies; the radical proposes revolution. The conservative demands a reason for a change; the radical is willing to experiment. The terms are also relative, and some conservatives are radical compared with other conservatives. The terms are not necessarily contradictory.

A LETTER from T. A. Clayton, business agent for Louisiana, at New Orleans, dated July 16th, says that within the last six months the progress of the organization has been greater than ever before, and that the ECONOMIST is having wonderful effect in inspiring confidence in its aims and abilities. Bro. Clayton adds:

I have been receiving letters asking me whether there is any cotton bagging to be obtained. The Lane Mills likewise have been receiving a great many similar letters. Their new machinery has been shipped from Lowell, and the first car is due here to-day. They are certain that they will commence shipping out 44-inch bagging next week. Their orders now are close on 2,000,000 yards, and they have booked all that they think safe for delivery up to the 20th of August. We are working in this State to get up funds for the erection of a special cotton-bagging factory, and I think we shall be able to raise sufficient capital.

Several mills besides are engaged in making the bagging, and there was then enough in sight for 4,000,000 bales.

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

BY JAS. F. HUDSON,
Author of "The Railways and the Republic."

No. 13.

SUPERVISION OF THE HIGHWAYS.

The legal character of the railway as a public highway can not be completely reviewed until we have given some attention to the right of the government creating it to regulate its operations. This power is inherent in its character. Like the obligations already discussed, it arises out of the very nature of the public duties intrusted to the railways, and is recognized as an essential condition in the decisions originally defining the character and rights of these corporations. Its absolute necessity to the grant of the right of eminent domain may be perceived by imagining that, in the anti-railway period, a public road or turnpike were created under this grant without any right of regulation remaining to the government by which it was created. It is evident that a turnpike or toll-road which was subject only to the will of the corporation, free from supervision by the Governmental power and independent of all the regulations that legislation might enact, would not have been a public road at all. It would have been private property, and such private property as is entirely inconsistent and incongruous with the exercise of the sovereign power of eminent domain for a public purpose.

The recognition of this fact and its evident deduction that the exercise of the sovereign power in establishing the railways carries with it the right of regulation and the duty of the

Government to see that these highways are operated in accordance with their public character, has been wholly undisputed in all the decisions bearing upon the subject. The earliest decision, that of the New York supreme court, declared that "The legislature may, from time to time, regulate the use of the franchise, and limit the amount of the toll which it shall be lawful to take, unless they have deprived themselves of that power by a legislative contract with the owners of the road." Every court before which the question has since been brought has agreed in affirming the right of the power which creates the highways to regulate them for the maintenance of their public character.

It should be recognized that some of the latest decisions have, as already pointed out, affirmed this right more with reference to their function as common carriers than with regard to their position as owners and operators of a public highway. But it is evident that, if the public character of the common carrier subject him to the regulation of the Government, the far greater public obligation of the grantee of the franchises in the public highway, and the corporations in whose favor the most

extreme act of Governmental power has been exerted, make the right and duty of State regulation far greater and more binding.

It is an interesting fact that while the later decisions of the court have shown a tendency to drift away from the consideration of the railways in their character as public highways, they have tended more and more to the right and duty of regulation by the State and the strict construction of the chartered agreements by which that right might be held to be restricted. Commencing with the declaration already quoted and passing down through the famous granger cases decided by the United States Supreme Court, to even later cases, closing with the decision of the case of the Wabash Railway vs. The State of Illinois, the recognition of the right of regulation has been universal. Beyond that it has no less authoritatively declared that "the legislative contract," to which Chancellor Walworth referred as a possible restriction upon the right of regulation, must be of such distinct character as has so far never been made by any charter granted in this country. What would constitute a contract by which the legislative power granting a railroad charter could bind itself and its successors not to exercise the power of regulation over the public highway so created? With regard to this, reason and the law both agree that the right of the State to regulate its public highways can not be easily abjured by the legislature. The public rights in the management of the creatures of the State are not to be defeated by implied contracts or indirect grants of power. It is the universal rule for construing all such grants by the State, that its power of supervision cannot be waived except by the most direct and plainest terms. This has been clearly declared to be a universal rule of construction, by Justice Swayne, in the following strong language:

The rule of construction in this class of cases is that it shall be construed most strongly against the corporation. Every reasonable doubt is to be resolved adversely. Nothing is to be taken as conceded but what is given in unmistakable terms or by an implication equally clear. Silence is negation and doubt is fatal to the claim. This doctrine is vital to the public welfare. It is axiomatic in the jurisprudence of this court.

This is the rule, that the grant in all charters must be construed strictly against the corporations, and that when there is any doubt it must be resolved in favor of the State; or, in other words, that it must be presumed that the law will preserve the public right as against its creatures. It is thus made clear that no implication or deduction from the charters can establish such a contract as Chancellor Walworth referred to, by which the legislature surrendered its power and duties to regulate the use of the highways for the public welfare. This has been affirmed by all the courts before which this question of such charters has come, and has been repeated by such authorities as Cooley, Greenleaf, and Redfield, as true of all corporations and particularly of railways.

Beyond this, the question has been very pertinently raised that no legislature can, by such contracts, barter away the powers of succeeding legislatures; and Greenleaf quotes the high authority of the Supreme Court in a decision by Chief Justice Taney to the effect that—

Any act of the legislature disabling itself from the exercise of powers intrusted to it for the public good is void, being in effect a covenant to desert its paramount duty to the people.

This view thoroughly coincides with the declaration of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Camden and Amboy case, that no legislature can grant a charter which would create a monopoly.

These principles make it clear that the power of the State over the railways can only be abjured by the most direct and specific language, and especially that nothing could bind the State not to protect the rights of the people on the public highways, short of an explicit agreement on the part of the legislature, to quote the language of the United States Supreme Court, "not to do the acts" which the railway would desire to prevent.

Has any agreement ever been made by the legislature of any State not to regulate the railways so as to preserve their public character? Do the railway charters contain any express agreement on the part of the State that it will not secure by law equal rights for the public on the highways? Or that it will not compel the railways to supply adequate and impartial accommodations to all alike? Have any charters ever been granted in which the legislature declares that neither itself nor its successors shall ever exercise its power to limit or fix the tolls? It is sufficient for all present purposes that no such agreement has ever been produced in any railway charter, and that those grants which have been presented as approaching most closely to such agreements, and as constituting a claim of inviolable charter rights on the part of the railways, have been declared by the highest courts to constitute no such contract. The establishment of this fact in detail corroborates the general affirmations so far made, with the result that at the present time the full right of Government to regulate the railways is practically undisputed by all impartial legal authorities.

The grant in the charter of the right to the corporation to collect toll upon freights and passengers passing over the public highway has been most generally advanced as constituting the contract with which subsequent legislation can not interfere; yet the detail to which the decision of the highest courts have carried the overthrow and denial of that theory leave little or nothing of it to stand upon. In the case of the Winona and St. Peters railroad vs. Blake, which was decided by the Minnesota Supreme Court and upheld by the United States Supreme Court, it was conceded that a railroad charter carried the implication of the right to take toll, although that right was not formally granted in the charter; but this affirmation, which is the most favorable that had been made to the railways with regard to their chartered contracts, expressly declared the power of the State, by subsequent enactment, to fix and limit the tolls which should be taken by the corporation. What appears at first glance to be much

like a charter contract by which the legislature might be restricted in future regulations, is presented by those charters in which the right is given "to charge and receive such tolls and freight as should be for the interest of the corporation," and the further grant of authority "to establish certain tolls and to alter the same from time to time," which was the right advanced in the famous Southern Express cases; and a similar grant involved in the case of Wells, Fargo & Co. vs. The Oregon Railway and Navigation Co., in which the railway was empowered by its charter to collect such "tolls or freight as the corporation itself may prescribe." In both these cases the courts held that by such grants the legislature had neither prevented itself nor its successors from such regulation of the tolls as might in the future be found necessary. It had not covenanted that future legislation should not regulate the tolls and charges, and in the absence of such a direct covenant the grant of power to fix tolls stated in these charters was especially declared to be no more than authority for the corporation to proceed within reasonable limits until the legislature should establish such regulations as it might deem advisable.

One class of charters, which perhaps comprises the majority, does not appear to be covered by these provisions. The instruments fixing a maximum of rates that the railway is authorized to charge appear to contain a specific grant, if anything could convey such a grant, that the railway may charge such rates as do not exceed that maximum. The implication that this grant is so permanent that the maximum can not be changed, is, however, contrary to the fundamental rule of construction already quoted; and the most thorough application of that rule was made by the supreme court of Georgia in a comparatively recent case, which has been upheld by the United States court. The charter in this case clearly fixes the maximum rates of freight which the railway corporation was authorized to charge. The right of the legislature to alter and further to limit those rates was the point at issue. The complaint of the Georgia Railway and Banking Company vs. The Georgia Railway Commissioners was that the commission appointed by a subsequent act of the legislature had established rates much below the limit fixed in the charter of the corporation. Upon this issue the court, in a very strong opinion, showed that no such grant carried with it the understanding that the State would not in future exercise its constitutional privilege of regulating the charges of the railway. "The words of the charter parting with that right must amount to a positive contract, and nothing short of an absolute, direct agreement that the State will not use its rights can, under this rule of law, prevent its doing so."

The review of these decisions shows that the attempt, during the past ten years, to find a railway charter which abjures the legislative power of regulating the highways has been unsuccessful. Whatever carelessness or blindness may have prevailed in the grant of charters to the railways, no legislature has yet been so reckless as to attempt to contract that

neither itself nor its successors should exercise the duty of regulating the channels of transportation created by the grant of the charter. Had there been any such case—if any railway charter had existed in which the legislature expressly contracted on the part of the State that no future legislation should be enacted, either to insure reasonable charges to the public, or to prevent the rule of prejudice and partiality in the operation of these highways for the benefit of a favorite class—the question would still have remained, by virtue of the fundamental principles upon which the charters rest, as declared by the original decisions, that no such alienation of the legislative power could be made. The abuses and monopolies which such a contract would establish would be inconsistent with the public character of the highways to be established by the right of eminent domain, and consequently the wanton violation of the Constitution of the United States.

Upon this point, as affecting the characteristic features of the relation of the public highway to the Government, the unanimous rulings of the courts leaves no room for doubt. The public highways created by legislative enactment are, and always must be, subject to legislative regulation. The right of the people in and upon them can not be alienated, either by the unfaithfulness or the negligence of their representatives. The Constitutional principles protecting the popular rights and maintaining the rule of equality in the operation of all governmental institutions, forbids any such idea as do not exceed that maximum. The implication that this grant is so permanent that the maximum can not be changed, is, however, contrary to the fundamental rule of construction already quoted; and the most thorough application of that rule was made by the supreme court of Georgia in a comparatively recent case, which has been upheld by the United States court. The charter in this case clearly fixes the maximum rates of freight which the railway corporation was authorized to charge. The right of the legislature to alter and further to limit those rates was the point at issue. The complaint of the Georgia Railway and Banking Company vs. The Georgia Railway Commissioners was that the commission appointed by a subsequent act of the legislature had established rates much below the limit fixed in the charter of the corporation. Upon this issue the court, in a very strong opinion, showed that no such grant carried with it the understanding that the State would not in future exercise its constitutional privilege of regulating the charges of the railway. "The words of the charter parting with that right must amount to a positive contract, and nothing short of an absolute, direct agreement that the State will not use its rights can, under this rule of law, prevent its doing so."

While the decision which took away from the State all control of interstate traffic on the railway was somewhat confused in its logic, as

it resulted in the passage of the interstate commerce law, and consequently of the assertion by a single and centralized power extending over the whole country of the intention and authority to regulate railroad transportation, its practical results are not to be quarreled with. As to the theories of Constitutional law which control and govern the operations of the railway, it leaves the question in an equally undoubted shape. The power of the people whether in the National or State government is declared by the unanimous agreement of the courts to be supreme for the regulation of the public highways. No charter contracts have ever been found sufficient to defeat or obstruct that power. The railways created for public purposes by the most extreme act of the popular power concentrated in the legislature, are subject not only to the inherent rights established by their characters of public highways, but to the regulation of governmental power which has in charge the duty of seeing that those rights are preserved and maintained. The few corporation lawyers who have followed the theory of Mr. G. T. Curtis, that "if there is no reserved power of revision or alteration of their charters held by the State, then they are a species of common carriers exempt from legislative regulations of the charters," stand against the rule of construction laid down by Taney, Swayne, and Cooley, and applied to exactly this subject by the leading judges of the State and United States courts. The rule which has prevailed is the necessary deduction from the fundamental principles announced at the inception of the railway. It is at variance with every idea of constitutional government for the benefit of the people governed, for the State to thus take away the property of the private citizen and give it to a corporation, to be used by the latter without any respect for public welfare; or that the Government can thus surrender the subordination of its own creations to public purposes which can alone justify the means employed to give them existence.

Such a thing might be possible to an absolute tyranny. It is impossible in the constitutional government of a free people. It is impossible in a legal sense as irreconcilable with the principles upon which the popular institutions must be founded. It is impossible in a practical sense, since if it obtains permanent force in establishing gigantic corporate influences of as great or greater power than the Government itself, the freedom and independence of the people will be irretrievably lost.

Improving Seed.

BY JEFF. WELBORN, NEW BOSTON, TEX.

Every farmer should improve his own seed. I do not mean that he should take up scrub seed and work it up, but get a small amount, if only a dime's worth, of some improved kind that comes nearest to his ideal and plant on good land that is not liable to suffer from either excessive wet or dry weather. If any manure be used, plow in during fall, or spread on the surface and work in shallow during spring. If land can not be broken until spring some kind of fertilizer in small quantity should go under the drill or close by the side of it, to start the plant off in early spring; but no kind of coarse manure that would not decompose readily should be put under the

drill in the spring. I do not advise heavy manuring for improving seed, but enough to give healthy growth; but I want fast and thorough cultivation, and the land deeply broken two to four months before planted, so that the growth will not be much affected by small excesses of either wet or dry weather, but keep a steady growth from first to last. Shallow plowed land will be affected by both. If too much rain, will have immense stalk growth, which must be suddenly checked when the roots are torn up by the plow (as they surely will be if plowed), or dried out. This in cotton will either cause the shedding of fruit or premature ripening. To make a perfect seed of any kind the land should be broken deep during fall or early winter, with a good supply of vegetable matter turned under; or broken deep by subsoiling and a small quantity of soluble fertilizer or compost under the hill or drill to start the plant off and keep it growing until the soil becomes firm enough for the plant roots to catch in it. Rows should always be wide and only one stalk in a place, with ample room. If rows are narrow we can not give thorough cultivation (in the South, where the soil is packed by heavy rains) without tearing up the roots. Besides, a narrow row is so much more liable to dry out. If a long lint is desired, plant extra early, or we will get excessive stalk growth, for it will be late bearing. This is true of large balls or small seed (large turnout of lint), long-limb kinds, although large turnouts of lint can just as easily be had from cluster kinds. If early maturity be the object, plant little after the usual time. Here in Northeast Texas, to improve any of the long-limb kinds, I would plant the very first of April, and the early kinds about the 15th to 25th of the same month, the object being to keep down long joints and excessive stalk-growth in the former. The other extreme has to be looked after in any prolific kind. To improve for early maturity the plant should never be checked from the time it comes up until fruit is matured. If distance be given, there will be no danger of excess of stalk-growth. While there may be good-sized stalks, it will be well-filled with fruit. Any late varieties would have too much stalk, and fruit would be scattering and the long joints would cause the stalk to be out of proportion and easily thrown down by the wind or other causes.

To be successful we must improve for one thing. It is true, we should try to hold other good qualities as much as we can without interfering with the specific purpose for which we are working. As to what purpose we should improve, every man must be his own judge. Of course, I say every feature should be secondary to early maturity in cotton, and size of ear and quality of grain in corn. I will give one reason, for fear my motive may be misconstrued. Cotton is a tropical plant and is brought North where the seasons are so much shorter. It seems reason should teach us that we should improve for early maturity so as to fit the season best. Corn's home is north of us, where seasons are short, with quick soil (made so by hard freezes), and has been brought South, where seasons are much longer, soils sluggish until late, made so by hard packing rains, minus the freezes. My views are, we should fit our seasons.

The reports from our State experiment stations as to best varieties are conflicting to some extent. This is because the same soil, cultivation, time of planting, etc., suited to one variety will be detrimental to another. If a prolific is planted extra early on common land with ordinary cultivation, the finding will be in excess and the yield will not only be light, but the turnout of lint will be light at the gin, and will sample badly, for it will be very irregular. On the other hand, a late variety planted on rich land a little late will have ex-

cess of stalk, and the lint will be damaged by shade. The food that should have made fruit goes into stalk. We know that four years out of five we will have drought and excessive heat the last of July and until late in August, if not the whole month. If our cotton is full of young bolls and blooms during the term of heat and drought it must shed or the bolls will be very small; but if the stalk has but little fruit on it and land has been well cultivated, it will tide over six or seven weeks without damage. In the event of excessive dry weather it becomes necessary to mulch; the deeper the better. For this reason I believe in planting cotton on very low, flat, wide beds, so I can get a heavy mulch of loose dirt around the stalks without damage to the plants' roots. This is impossible with a narrow row. Do we know when the heated term is most likely to come? Why, to be sure we do; it is from about the 25th of July until about the same time in August, in the northern half of the cotton belt; farther south, earlier. Then if we know when it is coming, and about how long it will last before the nights become cool enough to condense the evaporation and not only return the moisture to the soil, but cool it so then evaporation will be very light. We know that when the fruiting of any plant is under full headway it requires more food and moisture than at any other stage of growth. If the above be true, it is not very plain that we must either have our crop made before this heated term comes, or tide it over and let it make after it has passed, by either planting a later variety early or an early variety very late? I think I have proofs almost sufficient to establish this fact. But I will wait until I have more, for I sent out last spring 500 large packages of cotton seed to different parts of the South and requested one-half to be planted at the usual time of planting, the other half the last week in May or first week in June. Sixteen experiment stations are included. Besides, I have a number of patches here at home. This late planting is for uplands. On bottom lands we could not afford to risk the worms in September. The worms seldom hurt upland cotton (I have not space to give reasons), and, except we fertilize heavily, it is impossible to head this drought or hot term on upland, or along the northern part of the cotton belt. But in the southern portion, or rice land, we can and must, or we are lost, for the heated or drought term is so much longer and worms earlier that the cool nights and worms will more than likely come together.

I did not intend to take up so much of this letter on this part of the subject, as I have written a good deal on it in an article, "When to Plant Cotton." Nor will I give my plan of selecting seed, as it would only be a recapitulation to nearly all of your readers. But I wish to impress it firmly on our people that every farmer should improve his own seed, for it is impossible to keep seed pure, except by careful selecting every year. Besides always having a tendency back to their natural state, they will be mixed both by insects and wind. A whirlwind or storm may mix corn ten miles.

I have been careful to see that everybody within five miles of me planted the same kind I did. But last year one field of my best corn was so badly mixed with yellow that I would use none of it for seed. I suppose it must have been done by whirlwind rising in some field of yellow corn and dropping pollen in our field. I have watched bumble-bees and seen them come out of flowers with the pollen sticking to them. I have for nearly ten years picked every seed with my own hands to plant what I term my pet patch of cotton for improving seed, and know I do not pick a single boll from a stalk that has long limbs or is a dense cluster, but it shows considerable of both. So don't throw away a variety planted on rich land a little late will have ex-

cesses badly it is either because it is too thick on the land or has not been cultivated, or the roots were cut in cultivation, or it is planted so as to strike this heated term. By careful watching we will see which it is, and can change to suit. If a dense cluster, select stalks with fewer bolls in a cluster; give more distance in rows; plant a few days later, or add fertilizer. If corn tries to have too many ears, crowd it up closer; if barren stalks, give more distance; if too tall, plant lower and earlier on deeper prepared land; if too many ears or small stalks, plant later. If too much rotten corn, select firmer ears; but we should go slow here, for corn having most saccharine in it will shrivel and rot worst. The glazed or flinty kinds have most starch, which is the cause of its being flinty. Analysis shows the flinty kinds only have 4 per cent. of fat, while the large, Dent (softer) kinds have 6 per cent. fat, and the sugar corn 8 per cent.; and it is now an undisputed fact wherever tested, the largest varieties are best in every respect whenever the season is long enough for them to make. There are a great many causes for corn rotting that can be remedied, such as being planted on the same land several years in succession, lack of humus in the soil, shallow spring breaking, manuring under hill, sudden drying up of the milk caused by one or possibly all of the above, and we can remedy much cheaper than we can afford to plant the flinty kinds. The first annual report of Kansas experiment station, pages 23 and 24, says: "It should be observed that in point of yield and quality of grain, so far as appearances go, none of these approach the more vigorous growing Dents. A few tests made with moderate areas shows for even the best of the early maturing varieties (flint kinds) a yield of two-thirds to one-half, and even less, of that had from the Dent sorts growing in adjoining plots. As results of natural influences, the corn plant in Kansas assumes the largest proportions; the stalks are coarse and very tall, the leaves are broad and long, if not numerous, while the ear is large and lifted far above the ground."

All this shows clearly to my mind that those natural forces which have chiefly to do with making the corn crop in Kansas all favor the plant of largest growth. Those who advocate the general cultivation as a field crop of the small, flint sorts, evidently are unacquainted with the behavior of these sorts as grown in Kansas. Most of the small growing varieties can not be relied on to yield much more than one-half what constitutes a fair crop.

Now, in connection with this is a tabular show-up of the rainfall of each of the four growing months, May, June, July, and August, with the yield per acre each year from 1874 up to 1888. "In July the crop shows the greatest sensitiveness to the influence of the rain-supply, a dry July being always accompanied by a short corn crop, except in rare cases, where the influence of the July drouth has been lessened by abundant rains late in June and early in August." In July the report shows up that the corn was about as far advanced as our large Southern varieties are in June. With us south of thirty-fourth parallel, June is, we know, the best growing month of the year; the nights are warm but not hot, clods have all slaked down, and moisture is generally ample. Then, to hit the season perfectly, so as to get it all yet not lap over into the drouth, we should improve our corn so we can plant by the 10th of March at latest, and be cutting by the same time in June, or first silks in ninety days from time of planting. We can not fit the season to our crops, but we can fit our crops to the season, for the variety that fits the season best will be almost sure to win. We must dodge one side or the other of this heated term. The proper time to select seed is September and October.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZETZ, OF WOODSTOCK, MD.

MAN'S INFLUENCE ON FOOD-FISHES.

It was a dictum of Professor Huxley, on somewhat insufficient study and somewhat insufficient data, that the influence of man for or against the vast multitude of the food-fishes of the sea amounts to very little. Professor Brooks (Johns Hopkins) now shows the contrary very conclusively, as others have shown it before. Professor Huxley is one of those who is very fond of suggesting to people that they utter no opinions concerning things they have not first taken the trouble to understand. If that injunction were strictly followed the ensuing silence might be oppressive. But who should have thought that the sonorous voice of the redoubtable scientist would on any occasion have been silent if he had taken his own medicine? That our shad fisheries have been first rescued from extinction, then restored to great productiveness, and finally extended to new waters, is a thing to the credit of the labors of the United States Fish Commission, as no sensible man who has taken the trouble to understand the facts in the case will deny. This is not the only instance obtainable from the records of the commission in which man's influence for protection has produced marked results, but it is a striking example to our purpose. Instances of the destructive agency of man on a small or a great scale are not wanting. Salmon rivers have been fished out; some barren ones have been restocked. Cod fisheries have been fished out, other valuable species have been greatly diminished. At this time Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries are filled with schools of small rock fish. The seine haulers are destroying the little fish by millions, many of them less than six inches or even five inches long. The excuse is they are so small they are killed by the seine. What excuse is there for fishing with a seine the mesh of which is small enough to catch and destroy this fry? It is a diabolical shame, and why is it not prohibited by law? There prevails in Maryland a plan of law-making which is thoroughly bad. Whenever a measure is introduced of local application it is referred to the county delegation, or city delegation, or some other local delegation, often consisting of one or two persons only, in the absence or negligence of others. If these men report favorably the bill passes; if unfavorably, no more is heard of it. In this manner a complex, contradictory, costly, absurd system of local laws has come to be enacted, of which two great volumes have been published at the cost of the people, nine out of ten of whom are in no way interested in or affected by the contents of these bulky books. In this way it has come to be that every selfish local interest is able to fasten upon the local representative all responsibility for any legislation hostile to their practices, however selfish and contrary to public policy they may be. The representative knows he can not be again elected if he does his duty, but that some man will be put up to beat him, and will beat him, under pledges to repeal any enactment against the vicious practices of this set of fellows. It is in this manner that the Chesapeake fisheries are permitted to be devastated by illegal plundering and shameful destruction of valueless fry. In this manner the oyster war, so utterly disgraceful to all parties, but especially so to the State authorities, became possible under the operation of silly and bad laws. Malpractice in legislation is most surely followed by criminal evasion of the statutes so framed and enacted. There has been no such state of open lawlessness and piracy upon public property, accompanied by murder,

ous violence, in any civilized country for half a century past as existed in the waters of the Chesapeake Bay last winter. Nothing is more certain than the ultimate and early destruction of every valuable food-supply now furnished by those fisheries without effective intervention on the part of the State, including those waters, with the co-operation of the Federal authorities, so far as their legitimate jurisdiction may be found to extend. There ought to be a conference on the part of all jurisdictions concerned, and concert of action, so as to simplify protective legislation, and render it uniform under all jurisdictions. Then, and not until then, will its enforcement be practicable and efficient.

THE WHEAT CROP.

Over a large wheat-growing area the present season, owing to the immense rainfall, the crop has been greatly damaged. In all low-lying bottom land, islands, and rich alluvions it has been worse than elsewhere. In many States the greater part of all such lands have been submerged, and the loss has been total. In many places destruction of property has been overshadowed by loss of life truly appalling. Even on uplands the wheat crop has suffered greatly from excess of wet, and has been so poorly filled that in some instances the harvest has been abandoned. Wherever the wheat has been heavy the loss has been proportionally greatest, the ultimate cause of the whole trouble being soakage with water and stagnation of air, with the accompanying absence of the direct rays of the sun. It is easy to see that thin grain would dry out better and suffer less, and direct observation proves this to have been generally the case. Mark here a straw pointing in the direction of thin as opposed to thick seeding, some seasons. The actual immediate cause of failure to fill has been much discussed. The farmer's view of it from a practical standpoint, and in accord with the traditions of his fathers, is that the rain washed off the bloom. The botanist's view is that the bloom can't be washed off; as the blossom forms, the pollen is shed and the germ fertilized within the capsule formed by the husk under cover from the rain, and that when the bloom appears externally the work is finished. The mycologist thinks it is scab caused by a fungus.

The farmer's view of it, founded on experience of similar losses in former similar years, and on the belief of his predecessors handed down to him, is not to be lightly set aside. No wide-spread belief of practical men can be safely disregarded except upon decisive proof of its error. Is such decisive proof found in the botanical facts above stated? We think not. An examination of the nature of the capsule formed by the husk does not, we think, favor the idea that by the continual soakage of heavy and constant rains the interior of the capsule can not be invaded by water so as to devitalize either, or both, the pollen and the germ. Submitting samples and inquiries to the National Department of Agriculture, the experts of the section of vegetable pathology reply that they find the failure to fill due partly to a fungus producing scab, the life-history of which is fully known, and no remedy is known or suggested, and partly to failure of fertilization, the most reasonable explanation of which, they think, is the action of rain on the pollen. The Department is busily at work on the life-history of these fungi, and we may reasonably hope for such further successes in discovering remedies as in the case of black rot of grapes, rust of apples, etc. It is the duty of Congress to provide amply for the expenses of these investigations. There is no demagogism here—none of the mire and slime in which the lobbyists and low-grade politicians, like that sow which was washed, delight to be wallowed, as often as they may be cleansed. Lobbyism and low-down politics. Bah! "No man," says Ran-

dolph of Roanoake, "ever touched that pitch and was not defiled." It is a great error to believe there is no statesmanship in Congress. Such men as McKinley and Wilson and Breckinridge are there. Let the public, South and North, irrespective of party, come solidly up to the moral support of such men, and we shall soon see the atmosphere purified. Errors will be committed by the greatest of men. But an industrious, conscientious man, who intends to defend at every hazard justice and truth, as they reveal themselves to his comprehension, does not need to be a so-styled intellectual giant in order to be a statesman. The public business does not so far differ from other sorts of business that it takes an intellectual giant to manage it. One does not need to be a Calhoun, or a Webster, or a Benton, or a Clay to understand that the section of vegetable pathology is cramped in its most useful work for lack of sufficient appropriations, and that it ought to have more money. The writer is one of those who, from beginning to end, advocated the aggrandizement of the Agricultural Department, doing so in some cases against the judgment of his most valued friends. He takes no backward step. On the contrary, he insists that the foundations for the work being now on a proper footing, the work itself shall not dwindle for lack of nourishment, while the organization represent merely the dry bones of a political skeleton. It can not be supposed that his motives are selfish. He has no political aspirations or expectations, and no political influence even in his own party, and would not for the world be accredited with any. In a position to disregard, he does, in fact, equally disregard the smiles and frowns of the great. He recognizes in every public official, from the greatest to the least, not his superior; not, for the time being, his equal, being his servant, and amenable at all times to his criticism so far as his public capacity extends. Such is the spirit of the suggestion here put forth that the work of the Department of Agriculture, being important to all the people of all the States, ought not to be crippled and hindered for lack of reasonable appropriations. The wheat crop is to this Nation, so to speak, the physical basis of its life. Cotton may be king, coal and iron are doubtless princes of the realm, but the queen-mother of civilization is wheat. Mark how the wheat eaters, the tritophagi, dominate the civilization of the modern world. Whatever tends to enable the farmers to put upon the markets of the world a large supply of wheat at a low cost of production is a matter of National concern. It is a matter of international concern. Mark this, furthermore, that in about two more decades there will be right here at home in America 100,000,000 of human mouths clamorous to be filled with bread. "Let the dead past bury its dead" is good doctrine, "Act also in the living present" is good doctrine, nevertheless the wise statesman will keep a weather eye on the future. How long hence will it be before a short wheat crop in the United States will mean a supply insufficient from which to bake the bread of our own hungry millions? And what then? The people must be fed.

HORSEBACK RIDING.

One of the noticeable features of recent times is the steady decline of the use of the saddle-horse, even as far South as Virginia. Many reasons for this fact are obvious enough to arrest the attention of the most careless observer. Others there doubtless are of a more occult nature connected with, and obscured by, the mighty crush of the avalanche-like movements of modern progress. The correlation between the most varied habits of men whereby the disuse of one gradually renders obsolete others not obviously associated with it by any bond of

connection, is a curious, a very interesting, and a very difficult subject of study. When any custom characteristic of robust and manly individuality dies out among a people, it is not an omen of good. That horseback riding is characteristic of a people of robust independence is very true, and the disuse of it an evil sign. No great horseman was ever an insignificant person. There are great occasions when a man who can not sit a horse must appear unfortunate or insignificant. There is, in fact, no accomplishment which a gentleman or lady can possess more elegant and desirable than a fine seat on horseback. The physical ecstasy, the mental exhilaration of a spirited and dashing ride on an elegant and well-managed horse is perhaps unequalled by any kind of human enjoyment. A spirited rider, well mounted, whether man or woman, and who knows how to ride to hounds, finds in the fox chase the *ne plus ultra* of gallant sport. The *gaudia certaminis*, the joy of battle, finds its acme in the saddle. A Rupert, a Scarlett, a Stuart, an Ashby—

"Boldly they rode and well
Into the jaws of death,
Into the mouth of hell."

* * * * *
But Scarlett was far on ahead; he dashed up alone.

The improvement of modern roads, the lightness, cheapness, and general excellence of modern vehicles, and the extraordinary excellence of the American driving horse, are prominent factors in increasing the disuse of the saddle. An excellent road cart and harness complete can now be had for less than the price of a first-class saddle and bridle. It is very plainly indicated that the business horse of the future is to be a harness horse. Even the cowboy sees the handwriting on the wall as the innumerable intricacies of barbed wire multiply on every hand about him. The future of the cavalry seems uncertain. The saber is utterly obsolete as a weapon of war. It can not avail anything against the deadly revolver. Can the revolver avail anything against the repeating rifle? The horse soldier of the future will be, we suspect, merely a mounted infantryman armed with a long-range magazine rifle. General Sheridan's miscalled cavalry of the late war were picked men promoted from the infantry to the mounted service for especial gallantry and skilled marksmanship. They were armed with long-range sixteen-shot magazine rifles. They always dismounted to go into battle; one detailed file held several horses while the others went in and fought on foot. For such soldiery a very low order of horsemanship, and any lunk-headed fool of a horse would suffice. In such a service there will be no Ruperts, no Scarlets, no Stuarts, no Ashbys. Think, moreover, of sending cavalry-mounted swordsmen against Sheridan's dismounted men with magazine rifles, lying behind a stone fence! Doubtless, if the world ever again witnesses the terrific splendors of a great cavalry charge, it will be made under new conditions which the future will establish. Very likely the modern revolver, of which the capabilities are very great, may be the key to the problem which the soldier of the future who is to fight on horseback must solve. Leaving the question of military horsemanship to military men and the developments of the future, and admitting that our coming business horse is a harness horse, what remains of horseback riding? Riding for health and riding for pleasure remains to be considered. Hygienic horsemanship has always had and will always have a small following. Duty riding will never amount to much. To ride well demands patience, skill, nerve, practice. Such demands are not likely to be met by the valitudinarian among a people more and more given up to the luxury and ease born of "modern conven-

iences." Riding for pleasure without some subsidiary pleasure as its object is, we greatly suspect, a thing which will not endure. We think, therefore, that whether horseback riding has a future prospect among us depends on whether we succeed in installing the hunting field in the premier place among our National pastimes and sports. In a future number we propose to have something to say of the saddle-horse suitable for the uses of the rider for health and for pleasure, including an ideal of the American hunter. It is not too much to say that the decline of American horsemanship is a matter of National concern. How a young man who knows how to ride can condescend to go about in a dog cart is a matter of wonder.

FORAGE PLANTS FOR THE SOUTH.

The South produces in great abundance one of the most valuable cattle foods known, in cotton-seed, in several commercial forms. This food is, however, much too concentrated and its nutritive ratio much too high for economical use even in cold climates, and much more so at the South. Something, therefore, to use as a diluent for the cotton-seed is needed.

We think that no plant anywhere near equals Indian corn for that purpose. The habit of growth of the corn plant at the South is in the direction of excessive development of the stalk and leaves, which renders it peculiarly suitable for ensilage to feed out along with the cotton-seed. There is no kind of grass, nor millet, nor any other known forage plant which will produce as much, as good, and as easily cured and handled food as corn. This is especially true at the South, where the long, dry summers are wholly unfavorable to the grasses. In such places as irrigation might be resorted to grasses of almost any sort could be grown, but in that climate the public health would probably be too much endangered by a resort to this practice on a large scale. Corn, however, can be planted for ensilage or cured fodder so as to be ahead of the summer dry season or so late as to mature sufficiently in late autumn. Corn ensilage and cotton-seed ought to enable the Southern planter to feed as much stock as he wishes, and thereby to give back to the soil something in return for what he takes from it.

SOLUBLE AND INSOLUBLE PHOSPHATES.

The Highland Agricultural Society instituted experiments to test the conclusions of Professor Jamieson, of the Aberdeenshire Association. The conclusion reached was that the soluble phosphates produce 6 per cent. greater increase of crop than the insoluble. That is, if say 2 tons of insoluble phosphate will produce \$100 worth of increase, then 2 tons of soluble will produce \$106 worth of increase. But by the tables of valuation in use there will be no Ruperts, no Scarlets, no Stuarts, no Ashbys. Think, moreover, of sending cavalry-mounted swordsmen against Sheridan's dismounted men with magazine rifles, lying behind a stone fence!

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RULINGS OF THE WHEEL.

The following letter from President McCracken explains itself:

OZONE, ARK., July 15, 1889.

BRO. C. W. MACUNE:

DEAR SIR: Yours of July 6th at hand, containing a letter from a brother in Tennessee, who asks for a ruling on the following questions: "Where a county Wheel's corresponding secretary is complained of in his sub-Wheel for words used as corresponding secretary of county Wheel criticising high rates of interest and greedy speculation on the part of some among us, are such charges to be acted upon in the sub-Wheel where his membership is, or in the county Wheel where he holds and exercises the privileges of an officer?"

The above questions by right should have been referred to President J. R. Miles, of Tennessee State Wheel, but I would not hesitate in giving Brother D. L. Little a ruling as issued by the President of the State Wheel of Arkansas in the year 1886, in a very similar case. County Wheels being composed of delegates from the subordinate organizations, the members of the same while in attendance at the county Wheel are amenable to the power that placed them there and that they represent; though county Wheels would have the right to unseat a delegate, he having violated any of the laws of the county Wheel, but could not expel him from the order, as all power emanates from the subordinate organizations. He can get rules for taking evidence, together with the rights and privileges of secretaries, from the President of his State Wheel.

ISAAC McCRAKEN,
President N. A. W. of America.

A KANSAS farmer makes this statement: "I have in sixty acres of grain. It takes twenty-five acres of oats to pay my interest on \$1,000 and it takes two-thirds of my thirty-five acres of corn to carry the other third to market, leaving less than twelve acres to pay my debts, clothe, educate, and feed my family. I have an eighty-acre farm stocked and worth \$3,000, and no other income." This is about the average condition of the farmers of the West and South. Is there any stronger evidence that reform is needed?

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 16:

Much more of interest might and ought to be said of the Capitol, but time and space will not allow; and it is hoped that in the imperfect description given, there is sufficient to convey some idea of the magnificence of the building, in which all are interested, as well as of the value invested in it, the enormous expense of its support, and the maintenance of the branch of government which occupies it. All this expense comes directly from the industry of the country, and it is but right that the people who pay these enormous expenses should inform themselves as to the disposition made of the money they earn and intrust to the integrity of their servants to be judiciously expended.

The amounts given in the foregoing papers are not the entire amount expended, but are sufficient to give a clear idea of the aggregate amount and the proportion the pay of Government employees bears to that received by men of the same class in private life. The great number of Government offices located here makes it necessary to pass rapidly from one to the other, condensing as much as possible what there is to be said, so that all the departments may be reviewed within reasonable time and space. The next building in which the people feel especial interest is the Executive Mansion; or, as it is familiarly known, "The White House." This was the first public building erected in Washington, and has been occupied by all the Presidents of the United States except Washington. When the seat of Government was transferred from Philadelphia, in October, 1800, President John Adams found it at least in a habitable condition. Mrs. Adams made some complaint of the disorder and inconvenience, and that many fires were necessary to counteract the damp, yet she was greatly pleased with the spacious and elegant apartments and soon had them in a presentable condition.

The White House was designed and constructed by James Hoban, a talented young Irishman, who came to the United States at the close of the revolution and settled in Charles-ton, S. C. In March, 1792, the commissioners who had charge of the Capital City advertised in the New York and Philadelphia papers for a plan for a President's house to be erected in the city of Washington, offering a premium of \$500, or a medal at the election of the party submitting the best plan. This was a liberal sum in those days, and a large number of plans were submitted, but the plan of Hoban was decided on and the architect accepted the money instead of the medal, thereby proving his preference for cash above glory. Hoban seems to have made a most favorable impression on the commissioners, as they not only accepted his plan, but they gave him full and absolute authority to construct a President's house at a large salary. The plan was not original with Hoban, but was a reproduction of the design of the palace of the Duke of Leinster at Dublin.

The cornerstone was laid October 13, 1792, with Masonic ceremony. The walls were con-

structed of Virginia sandstone, although the hills of Virginia and Maryland surrounding the Capital were full of marble, and it might have been secured as easily and as cheaply, yet our politically wise progenitors did not seem to be informed on this important subject. Good mechanics were secured in New York and elsewhere, and for a time everything progressed swimmingly. Hoban was interested with in no way and had absolute sway in the construction.

Congress was, at the time, sitting in Philadelphia. There was much sullenness and displeasure because the Capital City had been located on the Potomac at the desire of the Southern States, and they refused to make any further appropriation for the White House. In consequence of this refusal building operations were suspended for nearly two years. Hoban went to New York, where there was a demand for good architects, and declared that he would never return. The commissioners, who were doing gratuitous and thankless work in looking after the interests of the new National City, were indignant, and one of them resigned.

It began to look as though the building of the Capital City was to end in failure. At last President Washington, who always took great personal interest in the founding of the new city, prevailed on Congress to make an appropriation and a sufficient sum was appropriated to complete the White House. Hoban again took charge, and in the latter part of 1799 the house was ready for occupancy.

Up to the time the first occupant—President Adams—took possession it had cost about \$250,000. There is good reason to believe that Washington selected the site of the building and made many suggestions which gave the house its present appearance. He objected to some of Hoban's ideas of construction and decoration as rather extravagant, but gave way to him, and he was permitted to complete the building unmolested. The satirists of the time called the White House "The President's Palace," evidencing the bitter opposition of the people of the time to anything that tended to extravagance, show, or luxury. Mark the change in the sentiment of the present time.

The building is of classic design and severely plain, being without ornamentation of any kind. The exterior walls are perfectly plain, of smooth sandstone, without carving of any description, except plain moldings and bracket over the first-story windows. The character of the architecture is Ionic, and the north front is without pilasters. The entire building is composed of two stories and a basement, but the basement does not show above ground on the north front, giving the appearance of only two stories. The wall rises to the cornice without a single ornament.

The cornice is plain ogee molding and frieze, surmounted by plain block brackets. The whole is surmounted by a balustrade. A splendid gable portico is projected from the center, supported by ten massive Ionic columns and four pilasters; all of these splendid columns are monoliths.

The carriage-way passes beneath this portico, allowing visitors to descend under cover at the

door. The east and west walls are relieved by pilasters with Ionic capitals.

The south front is also relieved by pilasters and a semi-circular portico is projected from the center, the roof supported by six Ionic columns. The roof is flat, and the cornice and balustrade are merely continued around it. This front shows all three stories, as the house stands on an elevation which slopes toward the south.

This south front overlooks the beautifully-kept and shaded grounds, which slope gracefully to a perfectly level lawn.

The White House overlooks, from this front, the magnificent park of a thousand acres which extends from the Capitol to the Potomac, and in which are located several of the Government Departments, also the Washington Monument, which stands almost directly in front of this portico, and almost half a mile away. The distant view of the hills beyond the Potomac from this south front is one of the most beautiful landscapes one could conceive, and the south breezes from the broad surface of the river are, in summer, especially refreshing and delightful.

The north front overlooks Lafayette park, which has already been described. The grounds on this front are extensive, and kept in the most perfect order, the grass being most luxuriant and of a velvety softness. In the center of the grounds a beautiful fountain is always in full play. The grounds extend from one street to another on each side, and on the East is the Treasury building, on the west the War, State and Navy building; these departments being convenient of access to the President.

The appearance of the White House from the street is massive and imposing, although without any display; being rigidly plain it is in perfect keeping with the idea of democratic simplicity, and yet so imposing as to impress the observer with the dignity it represents.

In the middle of President Madison's second term the British troops invaded the city and fired the White House. There is quite an interesting incident connected with this occasion.

After the battle of Bladensburg, August 24, 1814, the President left Washington for a place of safety in Maryland, but his wife, Dolly Paine Madison, with true American pluck, remained in the White House. She had invited some friends to dinner that evening, and, not believing that the British would reach the city before the next day, she went on with her preparations for the party. The guests were seated at the table when a servant rushed in, wild with terror, and announced that the British were on Capitol Hill, not a mile away. Then there was rushing to and fro, and guests left unceremoniously, without the least regard to etiquette. The plundering and burning of the Capitol delayed the enemy, and in the meantime Mrs.

Madison gathered together what clothing she might need, had the horses harnessed to the carriage, and made a hasty retreat to a farm house across the Potomac. The British soldiers arrived at the White House about half an hour after the guests had departed, and found in the East Room an elegant dinner already set out for them. There was everything the market of

Washington could supply, fruits, ices, and wines. After they had enjoyed the feast the soldiers set fire to the house. The fire, however, did little damage, as it was soon extinguished by a heavy rain, which began just as the British marched away, and continued all night. Some of the rooms were partially burned and others damaged by smoke, but little or no injury was done to the walls.

What's the Matter?

President J. Burrows, in the Farmer's Voice, of July 13, furnishes an able paper on the commercial disease, from which the following extracts will be found instructive:

What are the symptoms? More frequent failures in business; idle labor all over the country, with a corresponding increase of tramps; a million idle men competing for work at starvation wages; the continued shrinking of values; an enormous accumulation of debt; low prices of the products of labor all along the line. * * *

We find closely allied with these bad symptoms a wonderful power for recuperation. We find, while labor is idle or working for starvation wages, while business men are failing and farmers are universally in debt, and while all classes of men are forced to do business on a debt basis, the production of wealth for the past twenty years has never been exceeded in any like period in the world's history. * * *

For the man whose income is five millions a year, there is an over-production. For the poor woman working for starvation wages, there is a fearful and demoralizing under-production. * * *

Our diagnosis leads us, then, to the irresistible conclusion that unequal distribution is the disease we must attack. * * *

The prime factors of all productions are land, labor, and money-capital. The economists say "land, labor, and capital;" I say "money-capital." Money is a representative of all wealth, and hence of all forms of capital; it is therefore the comprehensive term, inclusive of all other terms. It is in fact not capital, but money-capital, which controls not only all other forms of capital, but all other factors of production. * * *

Money is an artificial creation of mankind.

There never has existed since the world began

any form of money that was not created by law. In fact, without law money can have no existence. Its two most important functions, that of liquidating debt and accumulating by interest, are expressly conferred by law.

It is the highest expression of the power of the law. Law, through the agency of money, exercises a wider control over the welfare and destinies of man than through any other agency whatever. Through its law-given power to liquidate debt money is exchangeable for, and a legal representative of, all wealth. Its other powers are to measure values and accumulate by interest.

Land has none of these powers. Labor has none of these powers. As distinctive factors of production the law confers no powers whatever upon either land or labor, while it does confer absolutely on money the power to liquidate debts and accumulate by interest. Money, therefore, is the transcendent power which controls the other factors, exchanges the other factors, determines the value of the other factors, and therefore determines the income which may be derived from the other factors in rent or wages. Therefore, money, being the creation of man by law, and receiving its effective powers by law, may be modified and controlled by law.

The prime factors of all distribution are rent, wages, and interest, these being the natural derivatives of land, labor, and money-

capital. Let us briefly analyze these factors of distribution and see if we can not discover the cause of increasing poverty amid advancing wealth—the source of the communal sickness which seems to be afflicting us—the power that gives Astor and Vanderbilt their annual millions, and their neighbors, the poor sewing women, their daily starvation.

Rent is the amount of money the use of land will command. It is determined by the money value of the land; that is, by the amount of money the land can be exchanged for; and the rate per cent. of interest money will command.

These are determined primarily, and on an average by the volume of money existing in a country relative to the land and the exchangeable commodities of that country. The volume of money is determined by law, modified only in a small degree by the balance of trade. Therefore rent, as a factor of distribution, is entirely subordinate to and controlled by money, which is the creation of law. Therefore rent may be controlled by law through its control of the volume of money-capital.

Wages is the amount of money received by labor as compensation for its exercise in the production of wealth. The economists say that this is determined by competition—that is, by the number of laborers relative to the number of employers. This may be conceded, with the reservation that the number of employers, and the ability of laborers to employ themselves, is determined by the volume of money relative to land and its products, or the natural opportunity—to labor. If such money volume be relatively small, business will stagnate, opportunities for self-employment be diminished, employers become fewer, laborers more plentiful, and wages lower. If such money volume is relatively large, business will be active, the production of wealth stimulated, opportunities for self-employment multiplied, employers increased in numbers, and wages higher. The money volume being determined by law, wages are also indirectly determined by law, modified of course to a certain extent by local circumstances, such as calamities, wars, drouths, etc.

Money issued by the people in their sovereign capacity reaches the people only through the hands of corporations, and bears an exorbitant interest. There is said to be \$30,000,000,000 of debt in the United States. At 6 per cent. this takes \$1,800,000,000 annually of the earnings of labor from the pockets of the laborers and transfers it to the pockets of those who "toil not, neither do they spin," but who control money, and continually transmute it into some form of interest-bearing securities.

Thus we have found the seat of our commercial disease. It is the seizure by the money interests of every legal avenue for the accumulation of money through interest. This is the secret of Vanderbilt's wealth, and the sewing woman's poverty. It is the grip the classes have upon the masses. It is what's the matter.

What is interest? Interest is the rate per cent. allowed by law for the use of money-capital. This rate per cent. is determined by the method and conditions upon which money is issued by the Government, and by its volume relative to population and production.

Interest is the controlling factor of distribution. Its rate determines what proportion of the earnings of labor shall be paid for the use of capital, and what proportion shall be retained as wages. Interest and rent are nearly synonymous terms, rent being interest paid for the use of capital in other forms than money, and interest being the amount paid for capital in the form of money. Viewed in this light, there are only two purposes to which the product of labor can be applied, one being rent or interest, the other being wages. Whatever increases one must diminish the other.

I have said that interest has no existence apart from labor. Money of itself produces nothing. If the mere possession of money produces interest, no burden would be imposed upon anybody at any rate of interest. But it is not the money, but the notes, mortgages, bonds, etc., into which money is transmuted which bear interest, and labor has to create the wealth and sell it to obtain the money to pay the interest. Hence money, through interest, controls labor and products of labor.

Interest is a great accumulator. There is no known legitimate business that will so rapidly and surely accumulate wealth as money loaned at 7 per cent. interest. For example, suppose A at twenty-one years of age owns a farm of 100 acres which he rents at 7 per cent. payable in land. At the age of ninety-one he can bequeath to his posterity 127 farms from the mere rent of the first one.

The present money system has the prescriptive right of old age. It has nothing more. It is a hoary-headed monster. Old things are passing away, and all things becoming new. In these latter days, single days develop more progress than ages have done before. The inventive force of humanity is not spent, but is only just coming into play.

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17-9

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A deposit of 25 per cent. must accompany all orders; unless same come through responsible business houses or banks, or else be accompanied by a certificate of bank or responsible business house, stating they will pay our sight draft for the amount of the Bagging when shipped.

The Bagging is put up in rolls of about 50 yards each.

It is desirable in order to make payments easier to direct your orders to be shipped twice a month, say from August to December. To avoid mistakes, make your shipping directions very plain.

We are probably the only mill making the Bagging 44 inches wide this season, for which reason we think we will be overcrowded with orders soon; it is desirable, therefore, if you wish your orders booked in time that you place them at once.

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11-11

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A purchaser for my FARM of 720 acres; 300 acres fenced, 150 acres in cultivation. Good dwelling house, with ten rooms; good barn; lasting water; 150 acres in timber, balance prairie; grass and soil good; corn, cotton, wheat, and oats are the principal crops. No better location for a fine farm or a mule ranch. Everything new an first class. For further information call on or address J. W. DUNN, Boaz P. O., Coryell County, Texas. 17-9

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The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS ALLIANCE, AGRICULTURAL WHEEL, AND FARMERS UNION.

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NO. 21.

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VOL. 1.

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culation on 1st of January, 1888, was \$246,000,000. It seems to be annually declining. It has fallen over \$100,000,000 below the amount of outstanding greenbacks. Under the existing conditions of law, or for reasons outside of the terms of the laws applicable to them, the National banks can not be relied upon to supply an adequate amount of paper currency to supplement coin. It may be the circulation department is the least profitable part of their business. The State banks of issue were taxed out of existence to give them an open, non-competitive field.

Some most potent influences must have pervaded the halls of Congress and insinuated some of the legislation under review. It is hard to explain to a plain mind what argument or inducement prevailed with Congress, two years after the passage of the refunding law (making the new securities, principal and interest, payable in coin), to initiate a crusade against silver, which then constituted nearly one-half of our metallic money.

It needs explanation, if it be possible, why Congress should undertake an elaborate codification and amendment of the coinage mint laws when gold and silver had been out of circulation for more than twelve years, and when the subject could not insure the careful thought of either Congress or the people. Wall street and State street, the great money centers of the East, where the bonds, National, State, and corporate, are owned and controlled, where interest and income-on-securities and stocks of all kinds are concentrated, have been all along hostile to silver and greenbacks. In 1872 this influence was strong enough to stop the coinage of legal-tender silver. In 1873 it obtained from Congress a pledge to pay every kind of public debt in coin. In 1875 it was potent enough to have enacted a measure, that would, within five years after the resumption of specie payment, have withdrawn the greenback from use as money. The text for these writings are the reports and documents put out by the Treasury Department. The late Secretary of the Treasury, in his report of 22d January last, congratulated the country on the near completion of a new vault of capacity to store \$100,000,000 of silver. He said, in effect, that if this business of storing up silver went on much longer we would find ourselves burdened with an overstock and would embarrass ourselves with a debased coin. He announced that the country had reached that stage of wealth when it can safely dispense with silver altogether.

It is true that there is a plethora of silver in the vaults of Washington and New York. Not, however, for the cause stated by the late Secretary and his predecessors, but because those officials have continuously disobeyed the law. Nor is there a pretext for doubt or uncertainty in their interpretation. The law is as follows:

"The coin (so collected) shall be set apart as a special fund and applied as follows: First, to the payment in coin on the bonds and notes of the United States; second, to the purchase or payment of 1 per cent. of the entire debt of the United States to be made within each year, and the residue to be paid into the Treasury." (Act March 3, 1863.)

Coin, in the sense of this law, means both gold and silver. At the date of every law of Congress by virtue of which bonds were sold, both gold and silver were full legal tender, and the judgment. The laws by virtue of which the three or four first series of bonds were sold were silent as to the kind of money in which the principal was payable; they were not made payable in coin.

The statute (1863) makes the notes of the United States (greenbacks) "lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts,

public and private, within the United States, except for duties on imports and interest on the public debt." (Sec. 3.) These statutory words are indorsed on every note put in circulation. A bond of the United States is no more a legal obligation, and entitled to no greater privileges, than the salary of an officer or an auditor's account for work or service done, unless by law a discrimination is made.

There is an aspect of the silver question, not referred to in my first paper, of grave importance.

Since so very large a portion of the accumulated wealth of the country has been absorbed by a few persons compared with the mass of the people, these few, in order to increase their power over production and property, have been untiring in their efforts to establish gold exclusively as the basis of currency. Since the partial resumption of the coinage of full legal-tender silver dollars, the successive Secretaries of the Treasury have referred in their reports to the Congress, with apparent alarm, to the increasing accumulation of silver in the

circulation. A bond of the United States is no more a legal obligation, and entitled to no greater privileges, than the salary of an officer or an auditor's account for work or service done, unless by law a discrimination is made.

If more silver is collected at the custom-houses than gold, it is too plain to be disputed that the holders of interest-bearing securities are bound to accept in payment of interest every dollar of it if the Secretary of the Treasury so prefers. More than that, if silver flows into the Treasury in larger quantities than gold, the Secretary ought to disburse more of it than gold, so as to keep up an equilibrium. The creditor has no just grounds to complain if his interest and principal are paid in the funds set apart by law for that purpose.

There is not now a single bond of the United States, held by any body, which may not be paid, principal and interest, in silver, by virtue of the law which created it, if the Treasury officials choose so to do. It is with them, and them alone, to liquidate in the one metal or the other, or both, as they may choose, or as the exigencies of the Treasury may require.

I repeat the statement, that every outstanding bond is payable by law in gold and silver, either or both. I repeat, with emphasis, the declaration—that it was the plain-duty of the Secretaries of the Treasury not to pile up silver in the vaults when it could and should have been paid out to the public creditors. It is very hard for the candid mind to resist the conclusion that the Treasury Department has been in co-operation with the bondholders to discredit silver and ultimately force its entire demonetization; to call in and cancel greenbacks and compel the country to do its business with gold and United States bank notes. That means contraction and permanent low prices, a lessening of the ability to pay taxes and obligations by the debtor class from 20 to 30 per cent., and a still further absorption of the railroads and land by the capitalists.

Let us look for a moment at the power of the United States over the currency, prices and values. They coin money, fix the value, and declare what kind of money shall be a legal tender. They are the largest operators in it. They collect and disburse vast sums annually. In the mere sense of handling annual revenues they wield great power over the currency. The currency is compounded of coin, bank-notes, and greenbacks. If the Treasury discriminates against one part of the currency, it necessarily brings on that part of it suspicion and distrust. It pertains to the sovereignty of every country to declare what shall be money, to impress upon it the national authority of a tender for all debts.

There are in circulation \$340,460,000 of greenbacks. They float at par with coin and bank-notes, they rest for security on the good faith and credit of the United States, and their ability to discharge all obligations except in

which the principal was payable; they were not made payable in coin.

The statute (1863) makes the notes of the United States (greenbacks) "lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts,

interest and principal of the public debt. There never was a greater absurdity, it seems to me, put forth from high authority, than that more than \$75,000,000 in silver can not be kept in circulation. One Secretary of the Treasury put the amount at one dollar to each inhabitant. Silver has in all the markets of the world an intrinsic value as bullion—simply as metal. If stricken down by the United States as money, every coin would at once be worth a price as metal.

Silver is one of the universal money metals of the world. It is the exclusive money of over 400,000,000 of people. The bank-note goes, because it is convertible into coin. The greenback goes, because it will pay all private debts, and, largely, public dues. To say that silver dollars only to a very small amount, can be kept in circulation, if impressed with all the advantages (as to tender), is past comprehension. Paper currency is local, confined to the country that makes it. Coin has a universal value, and settles all international balances. As the Treasury Department has been administered, the interest-bearing bonds have been practically changed into gold obligations for the purpose, as it would seem, of floating them in the stock exchanges of Europe.

So much of the accumulated wealth of centuries have been concentrated in the hands of the titled and privileged classes of Europe that prime gold securities will find ready investors at 2½ to 3 per cent. It is not strange, then, that our 4 per cent. bonds have been pushed up to a premium of 28 per cent.

* * *

It has occurred to the writer that some supplementary remarks touching a portion of the discussion in my first paper may be necessary, in order to obviate misconception, and give a more accurate idea of part of the legislation therein referred to.

The Bland act of 1872 suspended the further coinage of the standard silver dollar, but did not take away the legal-tender quality from silver coined previous to its passage. The "trade" dollar which it authorized was a new coin for domestic use, containing more grains of the metal (by eight grains) than the old dollar, and not less, as stated in my first paper.

The subsequent limitation of the coinage of the "trade" dollar to the export demand eliminated it altogether from the home currency; and the surplus above export demand has been melted down into bullion, as appears in reports of Director of the Mint.

The Bland act restored a limited coinage of the standard dollar, full legal tender.

It follows that part of our silver is full legal tender, and part is not. The Director of the Mint, in his report of the 17th July, 1888, stated the sum total of silver coins in the United States at \$373,500,632, of which \$166,401,632 was not full legal tender.

On page 40 of the report is a table showing the total amount of coins of both metals, and also the location:

Gold certificates.....	\$127,744,451
Silver certificates.....	185,194,993

law of value—demand and supply—has, in a measure, been abrogated. We are approaching the time when the delegates from capital can meet in a parlor in New York and fix the price of everything that the earth yields.

Year by year more of the land passes from the freeholders, who become tenant farmers. The holdings by tenants for rent is largely on the increase. The transportation system—the railroads—are for the most part owned and controlled by a few capitalists. Freights are adjusted to pay interest on bonds for construction, exaggerated estimated cost of building, and dividends on stock, much of which has been watered. As yet, no adequate means to bridle the rapacity of these great corporations has been devised either by Congress or the State legislatures. The supervisory laws by Congress and the States are but little more than efforts to make them perform obligations and duties to the public already imposed by the common law. In dealing with them, legislative power has been timid and weak.

Nothing will arrest and check the forces and tendencies at work but a thorough arousing of the masses of the people to a comprehension of the situation. Thorough organization and co-operation are needed; first, to a study of the economical laws and principles involved; and, second, for united and persistent action for a reformation which will result in a more diffused education and intelligence and the establishment of a more equal and just distribution of the profits of production between those who handle its fruits, as carriers, bankers, merchants, and those who create it. Then, and not until then, will wealth more equally and justly distribute itself among all classes, and trusts and combines come to an end.

Cotton Bagging.

The following letter from the State agent for Louisiana is published for information of the readers of the ECONOMIST:

NEW ORLEANS, July 23, 1889.
Editor National Economist, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: I understand that a great many country merchants are endeavoring to persuade their customers from using cotton bagging by maintaining that there will be a loss of 80 to 90 cents a bale, as was the case last year, on account of the difference in weight. In order to finally settle this point, I would ask you to kindly insert in your paper that I have made arrangements with responsible buyers here in New Orleans, by which I shall be able to obtain full market prices for all cotton covered with cotton bagging, and at the same time an allowance of eight pounds per bale extra weight, to be paid for at the market price of the cotton.

Any one shipping cotton to me to dispose of will get the full market value for it according to its grade, and will be paid for these eight pounds extra. I trust members of the order will not allow themselves to be intimidated by parties interested in pushing the sale of jute bagging, as I can dispose of any quantity of cotton that may come to me on the terms I have indicated.

Yours fraternally,
T. A. CLAYTON.

Later information is that Brother Clayton made his first shipment of new 44-inch Odenheimer bagging Tuesday, July 30th, and that the mills are now running night and day.

History and Government.

No. 21.

The Greeks, having re-established their independence, inspired by a spirit of generosity and sympathy for their unfortunate fellow-countrymen who were still suffering under the yoke of Oriental despotism, determined to fit out an expedition to deliver the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the islands of the archipelago from their allegiance to the Persian power.

Pausanias was the commander of the Lacedemonian fleet, and Aristides and Cimon that of the Athenians. Cimon was the son of Miltiades, who, it will be remembered, won the battle of Marathon, and was afterward so unjustly persecuted. Cimon's devotion to the cause of his father, and his noble sacrifices in his behalf, he having allowed himself to be imprisoned in order to restore his father's honor, had gained for him the admiration of the Athenian people; and his subsequent conduct had fully proved the nobility of his nature and the high order of his intellect, as well as his great integrity and unquestionable patriotism and devotion to the cause of the people.

From the results of this undertaking another most striking example is given, illustrating most forcibly the danger of placing unquestioned reliance in any man, no matter how honorable and noble his former life may have been; that human nature is fickle, and men liable to the most extreme and unaccountable revulsions of their very natures.

It is especially demonstrated that the best and most conscientious men are as liable to become unbalanced by brilliant success as well as great misfortune, and that the only safety for the people lies in a constant and vigilant watching of their own interests; keeping their affairs absolutely in their own hands and preserving the power to check instantly any indication on the part of their servants and representatives of an inclination to arrogate to themselves an undue importance or conception that they personally are indispensable as directors or controllers of public affairs.

Just as soon as the spirit of personal aggrandizement develops in the character of any public servant, right then is the time to strip him of his honors and return him to his place in the ranks of the people. There should never be a moment's delay, not a moment's hesitation, for the liberties of the people depend upon the perfectly unselfish devotion of their representatives to the common good.

The world has suffered untold evils, and rivers of blood have been shed through the neglect of the people upon this important point, and the resting of implicit faith in men who in the beginning of their careers were truly devoted to the common cause, but whose very natures have been changed by the adulation of the people and the glamour of successes gained under their nominal leadership, but really by the harmonious and intelligent action of the people. No man can achieve success as a leader except his efforts be seconded heartily by the people, and even an ordinary executive ability may triumph over apparently insurmountable obstacles if

earnestly and enthusiastically supported by popular action.

The tendency of our nature is too much toward hero worship; there is too much inclination to give all honor and credit to the temporary leader and too little to the support he receives.

Harmonious and determined action of an intelligent mass will succeed often under the weakest leadership, while the most able and intelligent leader often fails on account of the insufficient and half-hearted support of those he would benefit. Thus it often occurs that weak and inefficient men arrive at posts of the highest honor and distinction and receive the adulations of the people. Such men are liable to become dazzled by success, to overestimate themselves and their importance, and in their egotism and arrogance to work the greatest misfortunes to the commonwealth.

Pausanias, who was already dazzled by the prospects of his future grandeur, began to show from this time the most marked change in his habits and manner. The modest and frugal manners of the Spartans; the subjection of all to the most rigid and impartial laws, which spared no man nor unequally respected any, but were inexorable and inflexible to the greatest as well as the most humble, became most repulsive to the now inspiring intriguer. Having enjoyed such great honors, high commands, and delightful luxury, he could not bear the thought of going back to Sparta and living on terms of perfect equality with the masses of the citizens. He went so far as to lay aside the dress, manners, and customs of his country and assume the dress and haughtiness of the Persian nobility, and to imitate them in their expensive luxuries and voluptuous magnificence. He treated the allies with the greatest rudeness and insolence, spoke to the officers with the greatest arrogance and assumption of superiority and disdain. This conduct naturally excited the indignation and resentment, not only of the officers but of the soldiers, and even the Spartans refused to recognize such unreasonable assumptions on the part of their leader.

The early lives of Pausanias and Themistocles seemed to prove the purest inspirations and the most unselfish devotion, the highest motives and the most exalted patriotism, and yet their achievements unbalanced their characters, and led them into the most disgraceful treachery and the assumption of the very characteristics which they had so unreservedly condemned on the part of the Persians.

Indeed, it seems almost incredible that the heroes of Platea, and especially Pausanias, who had been reared under the austere system of the Spartans, and had spurned the treasures of the Persians; had, indeed, gone so far as to caution his generals and his people against being contaminated by Persian gold, should himself have been overcome by the glitter of wealth and the glamour of power so far as to be led to betray his own people, whose heroism had won for him all that he enjoyed of fame, and in a cause that he now attempted to defeat by the basest treason and ingratitude.

The facts in this disgraceful episode are as follows: The Greek fleet first sailed to the island of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty; then, steering toward the Hellespont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, now Constantinople, which they took, with a great number of prisoners, the larger part of whom were the richest and most prominent families of Persia. The riches which thus fell into the hands of the victorious Greeks were enormous, a perfect deluge of wealth overflowed Greece, corrupted the manners and tainted the very natures of the people. The Athenians were already seriously demoralized by the spirit of speculation and money-getting, but, after this, even some of the Spartans showed the evil influences of the temptation before them, and Pausanias, although the leader of this austere and rigidly-virtuous people, seems to have been deeply infected by it.

Being overcome by his dishonorable ambitions, Pausanias secretly devised a means to liberate the most influential of the Persian prisoners, and sent them with a proposition to Xerxes, while he gave out the report that they had made their escape. In the letter sent by Pausanias, he made the proposal to Xerxes to deliver into his hands the city of Sparta, and with it all of Greece, on condition that the Persian monarch would give him his daughter in marriage.

Xerxes accepted this proposal, and sent to him large sums of money with which to corrupt such influential Greeks as he might think himself capable of influencing. The agent of the Persian King in this conspiracy was Artabazus, who was appointed governor of all the sea-coast of Asia Minor.

Pausanias, who was already dazzled by the prospects of his future grandeur, began to show from this time the most marked change in his habits and manner. The modest and frugal manners of the Spartans; the subjection of all to the most rigid and impartial laws, which spared no man nor unequally respected any, but were inexorable and inflexible to the greatest as well as the most humble, became most repulsive to the now inspiring intriguer. Having enjoyed such great honors, high commands, and delightful luxury, he could not bear the thought of going back to Sparta and living on terms of perfect equality with the masses of the citizens. He went so far as to lay aside the dress, manners, and customs of his country and assume the dress and haughtiness of the Persian nobility, and to imitate them in their expensive luxuries and voluptuous magnificence. He treated the allies with the greatest rudeness and insolence, spoke to the officers with the greatest arrogance and assumption of superiority and disdain. This conduct naturally excited the indignation and resentment, not only of the officers but of the soldiers, and even the Spartans refused to recognize such unreasonable assumptions on the part of their leader.

The early lives of Pausanias and Themistocles seemed to prove the purest inspirations and the most unselfish devotion, the highest motives and the most exalted patriotism, and yet their achievements unbalanced their characters, and led them into the most disgraceful treachery and the assumption of the very characteristics which they had so unreservedly condemned on the part of the Persians.

Indeed, it seems almost incredible that the heroes of Platea, and especially Pausanias, who had been reared under the austere system of the Spartans, and had spurned the treasures of the Persians; had, indeed, gone so far as to caution his generals and his people against being contaminated by Persian gold, should himself have been overcome by the glitter of wealth and the glamour of power so far as to be led to betray his own people, whose heroism had won for him all that he enjoyed of fame, and in a cause that he now attempted to defeat by the basest treason and ingratitude.

The facts in this disgraceful episode are as follows: The Greek fleet first sailed to the island of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty; then, steering toward the Hellespont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, now Constantinople, which they took, with a great number of prisoners, the larger part of whom were the richest and most prominent families of Persia. The riches which thus fell into the hands of the victorious Greeks were enormous, a perfect deluge of wealth overflowed Greece, corrupted the manners and tainted the very natures of the people. The Athenians were already seriously demoralized by the spirit of speculation and money-getting, but, after this, even some of the Spartans showed the evil influences of the temptation before them, and Pausanias, although the leader of this austere and rigidly-virtuous people, seems to have been deeply infected by it.

This action greatly increased the advantage and influence of Athens, the Spartans, as a people, still true to the precepts of their institutions, showed a greatness of char-

acter and justness of spirit which can not be too highly appreciated, for when they were convinced that their commander had by his arrogance, haughtiness, and insolence lost the confidence and respect of the allies, they willingly and cheerfully renounced the exalted position they had held and did not ask that their generals should again be intrusted with messages between the two conspirators; he therefore carried the letter to the Ephori. This august body was so fearful of doing an act of injustice that they considered even this evidence insufficient before the law, and decided to corroborate it by the evidence of Pausanias himself.

The Argilian, by instruction of the ephori, went to the temple of Neptune at Tænarus, and claimed asylum, as it was unlawful to seize even the greatest criminal while claiming asylum in a temple. Two places of hiding had been arranged where the Ephori and some Spartans as witnesses secreted themselves. Pausanias was then informed that his slave had sought asylum in this temple, and as soon as he learned the fact he went there to learn what reason had caused him to act in the manner he did.

Not having sufficient evidence to convict him of having carried on a conspiracy with Xerxes he was acquitted on his first trial. After this acquittal he returned to Byzantium on his own volition, without asking the consent of the republic, and again began his correspondence with Artabazus.

As he was guilty of many of his former arrogant and insolent acts, the Athenians compelled him to leave, and he retired to Coloneæ, a small city of the Troad. There he received an order from the ephori to return to Sparta on pain of being declared a public enemy and a traitor to his country. He complied with this order and returned home, hoping by means of his money to corrupt a sufficient number to enable him to accomplish his designs. On his arrival at Sparta he was thrown into prison and soon afterward brought to trial for his conduct.

The charge brought against him was supported by many significant circumstances which justified strong presumptions of guilt. Several of his slaves confessed that he had promised them their liberty in case they would assist him in his designs and aid in the execution of his projects. However, the laws of Sparta were so tempered with justice and a sacred regard for the rights of every man that they preferred to err on the side of mercy, and it was an established custom of the Ephori never to pronounce sentence of death against a Spartan without full and direct proof of his guilt; besides, Pausanias was exercising the duties of king, as the guardian and nearest relative of Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was then in his minority.

When he set out on his last expedition no man in Greece probably was farther from even a thought of selfish interest than Pausanias, and yet he was overcome probably before he himself comprehended the fact. Avarice, like a disease, seizes on a man unawares, and, like severe physical disorders which are almost always fatal to life, this moral disease is surely fatal to virtue and honor. The evils to be feared from prosperity and success are no less dangerous than those threatened by misfortune; both should be equally guarded against by a people jealous of their liberties and the best interests of their country. So far from its being wise to trust any man implicitly, it is the part of wisdom to keep a close watch upon ourselves, and weigh every act and opinion, lest we be deceived in the real animus that moves us.

Thus Pausanias again escaped the fatal consequences of his treachery, as he was a second time acquitted by the Ephori. Soon after this second acquittal, and while the Ephori were apparently powerless to punish the most heinous crime for want of sufficient evidence, a certain Helot, who was called the Argilian, came before them and brought a letter which had been written by Pausanias himself to the King of Persia, and which this slave was to have carried to Artabazus. The

Argilian, having noticed that none of his fellow-slaves who had been sent on similar missions ever returned, opened the letter and found that Artabazus had been instructed to kill him as soon as he had delivered the letter, and that this was the fate of all bearers of messages between the two conspirators; he therefore carried the letter to the Ephori. This august body was so fearful of doing an act of injustice that they considered even this evidence insufficient before the law, and decided to corroborate it by the evidence of Pausanias himself.

Nor was Pausanias alone in this heinous crime against the welfare of the Greek people. His associate in the great honors won in former services to the people was also implicated.

Themistocles, who was then in banishment on account of the danger feared from his uncontrollable ambition and his base treachery to the interests of Greece, was involved in this black design of Pausanias. He had withdrawn to Argos, and was there when Pausanias was prosecuted for treason. It is claimed that Themistocles resisted the proposals of Pausanias to unite with him in betraying the Greeks into the power of the Persians, but whether he did or not he was equally guilty, from the fact that he concealed the designs of the traitor, and having thus concealed the conspiracy it is but reasonable to suppose that he would have benefited by it had it succeeded.

After the death of Pausanias several letters and other evidences were found among his papers which excited violent suspicions against Themistocles. The Lacedemonians sent deputies to Athens to lay charges against him and have sentence of death passed upon him, and many of the Athenians joined in these accusations. Themistocles denied the charges by letter, but the people were so convinced of his guilt that they sent officers to seize him and bring him to Athens to be tried by the council of Greece. Themistocles learned of this move and fled from one place to another, pursued by the Athenians and Lacedemonians, until finally he went to Admetus, king of the Molossians, who had been refused aid by Themistocles when he was in power at Athens, and not only refused but treated with disdain.

When Themistocles arrived at the palace the king was absent, but the queen received him very hospitably and advised him as to the best manner to bring his request before the king. As soon as Admetus arrived, Themistocles took the youngest son of the king in his arms and seated himself among the household gods, then he pleaded in the most abject and servile manner for the protection of the king.

Admetus was astonished to see the greatest general of Greece and the conqueror of Asia in so humble a position, and promised him his protection, and when the Athenians and Lacedemonians came to demand him he refused to deliver him up.

This is probably one of the earliest extradition cases in history.

While he was at this court one of his friends in Athens managed to send his wife and children to him; for which act that friend was afterward condemned to death. His friends attempted to gather up what they could of his fortune, in order to send it to him; but what they found was confiscated and turned into the public treasury. This amount was about \$120,000, and was but a fraction of the immense wealth of Themistocles, who, when the Persian war ended, was a poor man, showing that his life from that time had been given up to the accumulation of wealth, and that this was done by any means which promised success.

Question Column.
The following request comes from Goldsboro', N. C.:

1. Will you please send me some statistics showing the amount of different crops raised for the few past years, also the amount of mortgages on homes in different States?

2. Why are the agriculturists of the country in a depressed condition?

1. In the production of the six principal cereals the United States stands first among the nations of the earth. This is true not only as to total production, but also as to product per inhabitant. Naturally, also, this country has the largest surplus above the requirements of its population, and makes the largest contribution toward supplying the deficiencies of other nations, and just here comes in the answer to your second question. The unjust distribution of this vast product caused by discriminating and unfair legislation in favor of a class causes the evils complained of. In a nutshell, it is the appropriation by a speculative, non-producing class (aided by rascally legislation) of an unjust portion of these created values that causes the hardships the producers complain of. A careful perusal of the back numbers of the ECONOMIST will give information on this subject. The question is too broad to be answered briefly, and the various sources from which the evil is fed are too numerous even to be referred to. Read the ECONOMIST, and the subject will be put before you at length; that is its mission and duty.

The total production of grain in the United States since 1850 is as follows:

1850	867,453,967 bush., or 37.40 bush. per capita.
1860	1,239,039,947 " 39.40 " "
1870	1,387,299,158 " 35.98 " "
1880	2,697,580,239 " 53.79 " "

This per capita is for the total population. The proportion of the various cereals is as follows:

WHEAT.
1850 100,485,944 bush., or 4.8 bush. per capita.
1860 173,104,924 " 5.6 " "
1870 287,745,626 " 7.5 " "
1880 459,498,187 " 9.2 " "

CORN.
1850 592,071,104 bush., or 25 bush. per capita.
1860 838,792,742 " 27 " "
1870 760,944,649 " 19 " "
1880 1,754,591,576 " 35 " "

The average product for 1880 per acre was 28 bushels. The crop of oats for 1880 was 407,858,999 bushels; average per acre, 25 bushels. The increase of the crop between 1870 and 1880 was 25 per cent.; between 1860 and 1870, over 63 per cent.; and between 1850 and 1860, 18 per cent.

The amount of hay cut in 1880 was 35,205,712 tons. There were produced the same year 169,458,539 bushels of Irish potatoes, or an average of 3 2-5 bushels per capita for every man, woman, and child in the country. Sweet potatoes, 33,378,693 bushels; all produced in the Southern States.

COTTON BALES.
1850 2,006,706
1860 4,668,770
1870 3,154,946
1880 5,757,397
1887 6,505,087

The tobacco crop for the census year was 473,661,157 pounds.

As to the amount of mortgages on farms in various States, there is no authority from which we can get the information in such form as is desired, but reference to the file of the ECONOMIST will give pretty much what is known on the subject. The Ohio and Illinois Bureaus of Statistics furnish the data for those States. Later articles will go further into the matter.

G. W. WHITE asks:

1. Will you please give the relative strength of the National Farmers Alliance, National Agricultural Wheel, and Farmers and Laborers Union?

2. In how many States are the different orders organized at present?

3. How many State Exchanges are in operation?

4. What is the average commercial value of a bale of cotton weighing 500 pounds, good middling in quality, or what would said bale of cotton bring in the hands of the merchant after being manufactured into the various grades of cotton fabrics?

5. The membership of the organizations is increasing at such a rapid rate that it is almost impossible to keep up with the numbers. The Wheel on February 15, 1887, had a registered membership of 500,000, and has since that time gone on increasing at a wonderful rate; it now numbers probably 800,000. The Alliance has shown even more wonderful progress, and now numbers probably over 1,000,000 members. The Farmers and Laborers Union of America is the name adopted for the consolidated organization of the various industrial orders, and when perfected, which will be the

case in December most probably, the united

order will muster over 2,000,000 members, and then the work will only be fairly begun.

6. The various orders are organized in all the Southern and very nearly all of the Western and Northwestern States. The directory in the ECONOMIST offers valuable suggestions.

7. There are only four perfectly-organized State Exchanges, but a majority of the States organized have State business agents, which is the first step toward the organization of an Exchange.

8. This question is rather comprehensive in its scope, as the value of the product of a bale of cotton would depend upon the kind of merchandise produced from it, and these various products, differing as widely as they do both in quantity and in price, would give a wide range between the maximum and minimum values. The best that can be done is to give the total value of product of the world from cotton, and this divided by the average number of bales produced per year would give an idea of the value per bale in manufactured product.

9. The farms of the Northwestern States, valued at about \$5,000,000,000, are mortgaged for near \$3,000,000,000.

10. The contest to-day is not a contest between parties, but a contest between the people and the moneyed oligarchy that controls all departments of government, finance, and transportation, and seeks to control even the private interests of the individual. It is the people against the power of concentrated wealth.

the hands of the retailer, or more according to the size of his profit.

A correspondent from Ridgeway, Hopkins County, Texas, asks:

1. When were the National bank charters renewed?

2. Who, of the Texas delegation, voted for such renewal, if any?

3. When was the first National Republican convention held?

4. What was the date of the meeting of the first Democratic convention?

5. The renewal of the National bank charters was effected by act of Congress passed May 19, 1882, after a long and hot debate.

6. All the Texas delegation voted against the bill, except Roger Q. Mills and Columbus Upson, both of whom failed to vote on the bill at all. Mr. Culberson was especially energetic in his opposition to the measure.

7. The first Republican convention was held in 1856, and nominated John C. Fremont as the candidate for President. He received 1,341,264 votes. Buchanan was elected, receiving 1,838,169 votes, while Fillmore, the American candidate, received 874,534 votes.

The electoral vote stood, Buchanan, 174;

Fremont, 114; Fillmore, 8. The Free Soil party had run Hale for President four years earlier.

8. The convention system was not introduced into National politics until 1832, when Andrew Jackson was nominated by the Democrats, although prior to this time the convention system had been in vogue in State elections. The origin of the Democratic party is, however, long prior to the convention system of nominations. The electoral vote for Washington was unanimous on both occasions of his candidacy, in 1789 and in 1792, but in 1792 a party, led by Thomas Jefferson, opposed the Federalists, under Alexander Hamilton, whose plan was to enact tariff laws, as they claimed, "to encourage manufactures," to transform the war debt into a National debt, and charter a United States bank. This party, led by Jefferson, was called the Republican. A faction of this party split off on the question of aid to France, but Washington's proclamation of neutrality between France and her enemies united the Republicans and Democrats under the name of Democratic-Republican party, by which title it was known until 1812, and after 1812 as the Democratic party.

9. This question is rather comprehensive in its scope, as the value of the product of a bale of cotton would depend upon the kind of merchandise produced from it, and these various products, differing as widely as they do both in quantity and in price, would give a wide range between the maximum and minimum values. The best that can be done is to give the total value of product of the world from cotton, and this divided by the average number of bales produced per year would give an idea of the value per bale in manufactured product. The entire value of manufactured cotton produced by England, America, and the Continent of Europe is, in round numbers, about \$1,500,000,000 per year. The average of raw cotton to produce this value is about 6,000,000 bales. This would give an average product of \$250 per bale. This estimate includes all kinds of goods, the cheapest as well as the most costly. This is the value at the factory; add to it about 25 per cent. for transportation and profits and you have \$312.50 per bale in

FOR each one hundred miles of railroad operated in the United States there are 21 locomotives, 15 passenger cars, 5 baggage, mail, and express cars, and 675 freight cars of all kinds. There are nearly 150,000 miles of road in operation.

10. The farms of the Northwestern States, valued at about \$5,000,000,000, are mortgaged for near \$3,000,000,000.

11. The contest to-day is not a contest between parties, but a contest between the people and the moneyed oligarchy that controls all departments of government, finance, and transportation, and seeks to control even the private interests of the individual. It is the people against the power of concentrated wealth.

Shall the Farmers Succeed?

BY J. A. TETTS, OF RUSTON, LA.

The above question is no doubt in the minds of many besides the farmers themselves, and means much to all the laboring classes as well as to those who live by their brains. It is one that should engage the thoughts of every member of any honest labor organization, and one that every man of them ought to be able to answer satisfactorily to himself so far as his exertion is necessary to success. Every member of the class should be able to feel that he has done and will continue to do his part, and that if there is any failure it can not be ascribed to any want of fidelity in him.

It is the duty of every man to study the causes that are operating against the workingman, to study the remedies to be used, and then to do his whole duty in applying those remedies.

Children are taught in school to execrate the name of Benedict Arnold, but the man who understands his duty and lets his selfishness or prejudices stand in the way of his doing his whole duty in the now raging war is a worse traitor than Arnold, for Arnold only proposed to betray a band of men into the hands of a king who was their past ruler, while the present traitor would for a very small price sell his friends and his own posterity into a slavery worse than death. I put it thus strongly, for no one knows on what a brittle thread the future destiny of the middle and poorer classes hangs. The united effort of every man might be necessary to win, and then the failure of a few to do their duty may lose us the fight.

The bonds that bind us have not been suddenly spun and thrown around us, but have been the work of years of patient plotting and wonderful skill. If we are to make a success of undoing them we must have equal patience, skill, and concert of action. There can be no doubt that all of the trouble can be traced to unjust legislation, and a blind submission on the part of the people. The mass of the working people have not troubled their heads about the policies of parties, but have left all this to their very kind and considerate friends, the politicians, and when elections come around have marched up to the polls like valiant soldiers and entered the carnage under their wise leaders, whooping themselves hoarse when victory perched on their banners, then peacefully retired, leaving the victorious candidates to run the Government as best suited them, till another slaughtering time came around. This has been the course for years—ever since I can remember—and I don't know how much longer. Now, the question arises, Are such voters competent to govern? Is a Democratic or Republican Government safe in the hands of such a class of voters? I say no. Men who think nothing of the consequences of their ballots should not be allowed to cast them, for they, like fire-arms, are dangerous in the hands of the ignorant (now don't get your back up at me, for I have been just as unworthy as you), and we must either think or quit voting. We must either educate ourselves up to the point where we can cast an honest, intelligent vote—no matter what party name the candidate sails under—or we must quit hoping for a change for the better. Politics should not rule the labor organizations, but the labor organizations should rule politics. We must not let parties dictate to us, but we must dictate to parties. Not long since, I read a communication in which the writer said that the only hope of labor was through the regular politician, as he alone could bring the realization. God help us if this be true, for I believe it is through him we must fail, if we do fail. He has been the bane of the workingman, and to him we owe our crushed and poverty-stricken condition. It was he who brought on the late war; it was he who sold the soul of a crippled Nation,

the laboring man has. Just as well trust the devil to show the road to heaven as to trust the politician to labor for the benefit of the producer. "He ain't built that way." We must educate ourselves in the duties of citizens of a democratic country, the effects of legislation, the power of the ballot, the needs of the people, the distribution of products, the cost of manufacture, the cost of transportation—in fact, we must learn the relation we bear to the balance of the world. We must also learn that to neglect our duties as citizens leaves us a prey to the chicanery of those who live by their wits and the power of their own and combined capital. We must learn that any carelessness on our part will surely lead to loss, and continued neglect will lead to slavery.

The Alliance, the Wheel, the Union, and all similar institutions are good schools in which all such lessons may be taught, and if the pupil be intelligent he will soon find that he is learning fast. When he has passed "Baker," he will begin to split open in the back, and after a few more lessons, his old hard-shell partisanism will slip off like the shell of a locust; he will see that he has been a fool three-thirds of his life, and wonders if everybody else knew it before he did. He will begin to look around for some way to begin reform, and the first thing that strikes him is the idea that there are too many ready to show him the way, but when he views those pointed out he will find most of them like the side-tracks on railroads—leave the main track here, but come back into it just over yonder. He will wander around for advice, and he will find that there is still no definite line laid out that leads to certain success; he finally comes to the conclusion that he knows just as much about the best way as anybody else; and, dear brother, that is just what you think, don't you? Well, I have been there; I know just how many Union men feel; because I know how I have felt, from the first up to the present, and I will now give you "my remedy for a burn." We are organized for mutual benefit. We united ourselves together because neither of us could effect much change for the better by himself. We know that if every man had his plan for bettering our condition we would be no better off than we were before we organized, so we agreed that all plans should be submitted for debate, and the one decided on by the majority we were to take as our plan; thus we agreed that the majority should rule. In selecting men to represent us in our county, State, and National meetings, it is reasonable to suppose that we vote for our truest and wisest men, for we would trust our cause in the hands of no others. Well, these our representatives, elected by ourselves, have adopted what to them in their wisdom seemed the best plan of action, and my opinion is that if we are to do anything worthy the name we bear we must carry out the line of action mapped out by them. We need not expect to see the results of our work the first few weeks, for the opposition is a wide-awake and an unscrupulous enemy, and will use every stratagem to beat us. They will do everything to weaken our faith in our leaders—to seduce us from the path of our duty, and to make us lose faith in the final success of our undertaking. They will buy up our weak brethren with a few cheap goods, as Jacob bought Esau's birthright.

Some of our brethren will be bought with kindness, others driven from us with ridicule.

Some will quit from lack of perseverance, others from ignorance. Some will use the order for selfish motives, and others will join it for curiosity.

All these are an injury to the true friends of labor, and we will do much better when they have all fallen by the wayside. Our duty is plain. We must march in line and only

count on the assistance of those who are marching with us. Protestations of fidelity are cheap, and any man, however poor a Union man, can use them. The way we must judge them is by their works. Let us have more work and less promises.

South Carolina State Alliance.

The meeting at Columbia, July 24th, minutes of which are at hand, was attended by delegates from thirty-one of the thirty-five counties of the State. The counties not represented were Charleston, Beaufort, Hampton, and Georgetown. The president, E. T. Stackhouse, and secretary, J. W. Reid, were re-elected. Installation was by National Lecturer Ben Terrell, who also delivered a very interesting address. Of the total receipts, \$5,609.08, there remained on hand \$2,285.66.

The question of cotton bagging came up, and the action at Birmingham was heartily indorsed. The announcement that eight pounds would be allowed on cotton wrapped in cotton bagging not exceeding three-quarters of a pound weight per yard, by the New York and New Orleans exchanges, was supplemented by a letter from the Darlington Manufacturing Company, to the effect that 10 cents per 100 pounds would be paid for such cotton over the same grade covered with same quantity of jute. It was ascertained, on call of roll of counties, that 1,825,000 yards of bagging would be required to cover the cotton of members represented. The action of the National cotton committee was indorsed, and all possible aid promised. The following resolution expresses the sentiment of the body:

Resolved, That the members of the State Alliance, in convention assembled, do earnestly appeal to every sub-Alliance in the State to make every effort to secure the same, and that they use only cotton bagging, or if sufficient quantity of cotton bagging can not be obtained they will use any substitute—pine straw, or even common homespun—but jute.

A resolution recommends that county Alliances pass a resolution to use no fertilizers put up in other than cotton sacks.

The vote to adopt report of the committee recommending the ratification of the constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America was 23 to 12. Thus, South Carolina enters into the scheme of consolidation.

A plan for an Alliance Exchange was adopted, which is based upon a capital stock of \$50,000, shares to be held by subordinate Alliances, to begin when 10 per cent. shall have been raised. Control is provided for by trustees from each sub-Alliance, who shall meet when the respective county Alliances meet, who in turn name State trustees,

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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C. W. MACCUNE, EDITOR.

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Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are fifth cent to line unprinted. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement desired.

The publishers of this paper have given a bond in the sum of \$50,000 to the President of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America that they will faithfully carry out all subscriptions and other contracts.

The Farmers Association that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST represents as their national official organ now contain a membership of over one million, and by means of organization and consolidation they expect to number two millions by January 1, 1890.

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SUBSCRIBERS to THE ECONOMIST can have their time-commenced with back numbers, by so specifying at the time of subscription. The series of articles by Mr. Hudson, on railways, began with No. 8, and "History and Government" with No. 1.

Back numbers of THE ECONOMIST can be had by application to this office, at 2 cents a copy.

Subscribers who desire their papers changed from one post-office to another must mention the old as well as the new address.

Clubs of Five.

THE ECONOMIST has arranged with Hon. Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutocracy, or American White Slavery," to distribute that book as a premium to persons sending in clubs of five annual paid subscriptions at \$1 each. The book to be mailed in return is bound in paper, post paid, by the ECONOMIST.

THE Natchitoches (La.) Parish Union sends for publication resolutions favoring consolidation and urging its adoption; indorsing THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST as the ablest exponent of the cause, and urging the brotherhood to subscribe for and read it; to use cotton bagging permanently if to be obtained, in conformity with the decision of the Birmingham conference.

THE aggregate profits of the bondholders up to 1869, when they got the principal made payable in gold, amounted to \$1,012,536,204.

This land of modern political ideas has had its prophets as well as Israel of old, and their prophetic declarations are no less true than those of whom we have account in Holy Writ. Thomas H. Benton, in his time, made this prophecy in the Senate of the United States:

The bank has thrown herself into the political arena to control the Presidential election. If she succeeds in that election, she will wish to consolidate her power by getting control of all other elections. Government of States, judges of courts, Representatives, Senators in Congress, all must belong to her. The Senate

especially must belong to her, for there lies the power to confirm nominations and try impeachments. To get possession of the Senate the legislatures of a majority of the States will have to be secured. The whole Government will fall into the hands of the money power, an oligarchy will be established, but that oligarchy will ripen in a few years into a monarchy.

Is this not prophecy?

THE average circulation of bank notes for the past twenty years has been about \$300,000,000. The interest rated at 10 per cent. would be \$30,000,000 per year, making a total of \$600,000,000 paid by the people in the last twenty years to National banks in interest for the same money that the Government lends to the banks at 1 per cent., leaving a profit of \$540,000,000 in the hands of banks, practically a free gift of the Government from the hard earnings of the people, for which they receive no return.

MONEY is power, and the concentration of money is the concentration of power. The taking of the money from the hands of the people and the concentrating of it in the hands of a favored class by action of law is but the transfer of power from the hands of the people into the hands of an oligarchy; it is a process of centralization, the final result of which is imperialism.

UNDER present conditions it may be said that man is allowed the pursuit of happiness, but the pursuit is all that he is allowed.

THE ECONOMIST frequently receives calls for statistical information which should be accessible to all seekers after information, and which is sometimes not to be had by any. The census calculations of the United States are voluminous, and sometimes accurate, but the omission of many important subjects of inquiry impair their value greatly, while some data are so incomplete as to create doubt as to the reliability of others as a basis for information. It is gratifying to note that enlarged scope has been provided for the next compilation. The proposed investigation of recorded debts and rates of interest will do more for the student of economics than anything which suggests itself to the writer; and as it can be made to cover any number of years in the past, information will be available from which to establish the financial condition of the people as to independence of debt, now and heretofore. It is doubtful if the creditor class will relish the deductions possible from the probable result.

THE manufacture of silk has reached a higher development in the United States than many are aware. In 1880 there were 38 establishments having a total capital of \$19,125,300, employing 31,337 hands, and disbursing annually \$9,146,705 in wages. The net value of the material used was \$18,569,166, and of the products \$34,519,723.

THE value of all the boots and shoes manufactured in the United States in 1880 was \$166,050,352.

THE value of the products of the woolen manufacturers for the year 1880 aggregated \$160,606,721. This is a little less than the value of cotton products for the same year, which was \$192,090,110.

THE total product of the fisheries was returned for 1880 at \$22,405,018. The New England product is the most important and is estimated at \$10,014,645.

payment of a bonus or subscription of local capital to a joint stock enterprise. This is seemingly fair enough, and the advantages of the diversity of production are such as to justify the aid of any community, but is it not possible there is a scheme behind to sell obsolete machinery? No enterprise can succeed without the best equipment, and in purchasing machinery the rule is golden, to get the best.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN's address to the Tennessee State Alliance is worthy of consideration by the whole order. Not only in Tennessee, but in several other States, greater peace and contentment have followed the advent of the Alliance. The average price of the great staple, cotton, has been advanced materially, which helps the immense section engaged in its production. What he says so tersely of the balance of trade is true, whether "under protection or free trade, or any compromise of the two."

A DOSE of the concentrated extract of popular vote is the remedy required to relieve the malady that afflicts the Nation.

THE true progress of society consists in the steady advancement toward a just appropriation of wages, the giving to every man of that to which his industry entitles him. Were this done there would be no poverty and all would have the opportunity for intellectual improvement, with which would come moral development and social happiness.

THE total weight of bank-note paper manufactured in the United States in 1880 was 296,000 pounds; of printing paper, 298,354,000 pounds.

THE combined steam-power of the State of New York aggregates 234,795 horse-power, and of Pennsylvania 402,132. This is by far the highest aggregate of power in any State. Pennsylvania has, combined water and steam, an aggregate of 512,408 horse-power. There was an increase in this State of 40.80 per cent. in ten years from 1870 to 1880.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Bureaus of Labor Statistics.

FREQUENT letters come to the ECONOMIST containing the request for statistics. Up to this time there have been created one National and 21 State bureaus of statistics, the results of whose investigations should be accessible by addressing as given in the list below. Most of the States have done little, but several have really performed creditable work, among the most notable being those of Michigan (1880), Ohio (1888), and Illinois (1880), the first dealing with wage-labor and the latter two with farm mortgages. The addresses may have changed in some of the States since date of the compilation which we copy, one year ago:

Bureau of Labor, Washington, D. C.: Established January 18, 1885. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner, Washington, D. C.

Bureau of Statistics of Labor, of Massachusetts: Established June, 1869. Carroll D. Wright, Chief, Boston, Mass.

Bureau of Industrial Statistics, of Pennsylvania: Established 1872. Prof. Albert S. Bolles, Chief, Harrisburg, Pa.

Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection, of Missouri: Established 1876. Enlarged 1883. Oscar Kochitzky, Commissioner, Jefferson City, Mo.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Ohio: Established 1877. A. D. Fassett, Commissioner, Columbus, Ohio.

Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries, of New Jersey: Established March, 1878. James Bishop, Chief, Trenton, N. J.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Illinois: Established 1879. John S. Lord, Secretary, Springfield, Ill.

Bureau of Statistics, of Indiana: Wm. A. Peelle, Jr., Chief, Indianapolis, Ind.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of New York: Established 1883. Charles F. Peck, Commissioner, Albany, N. Y.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of California: Established 1883. J. J. Tobin, Commissioner, San Francisco, Cal.

Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, of Michigan: Established March, 1883. Alfred H. Heath, Commissioner, Lansing, Mich.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Wisconsin: Established April, 1883. Frank A. Flower, Commissioner, Madison, Wis.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Iowa: Established March, 1884. E. R. Hutchins, Commissioner, Des Moines, Iowa.

Bureau of Statistics of Labor, of Maryland: Established 1884. Thomas C. Weeks, Chief, Baltimore, Md.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Kansas: Established May, 1885. Frank H. Betton, Commissioner, Topeka, Kas.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Connecticut: Established April, 1885. Samuel H. Hotchkiss, Commissioner, Hartford, Conn.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Maine: Established March, 1887. Samuel W. Matthews, Commissioner, Augusta, Me.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Minnesota: Established March, 1887. John Lamb, Commissioner, St. Paul, Minn.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Colorado: Established March, 1887. Secretary of State, ex officio Commissioner; C. J. Driscoll, Deputy Commissioner, Denver, Col.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of North Carolina: Established March, 1887. W. N. Jones, Commissioner, Raleigh, N. C.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, of Rhode Island: Established April, 1887. J. B. Bowditch, Commissioner, Providence, R. I.

Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, of Nebraska: Established 1887. John Jenkins, Commissioner, Lincoln, Neb.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

RAILWAYS.

Their Uses and Abuses.

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

BY JAS. F. HUDSON,
Author of "The Railways and the Republic."

No. 14.

The stage reached in this consideration of the railway problem warrants a review of the ground gone over in order to present in condensed form the one fundamental point which they have so far aimed to establish. That is, that the railway abuses which threaten the interest of the public and heap up great fortunes in the hands of a privileged few are not permitted by the oversight or blindness of the law. They are opposed and forbidden, not only by the general and abstract principles of our constitutional polity, but by the conditions under

which the railways obtain their charters and by the principles governing the operation of the charters, as defined and constructed by the highest judicial authority in the land. If this point is appreciated at its proper value, the way will be made clear to the deduction that the remedy for such evils lies, not in experiments on new and possibly unrepentant theories, which imply a general reform and even abandonment of our present social structure, but rather in insistence upon the principles which prevail in our constitutional legislation and the enforcement of the conditions by which the railway system obtained its very existence in this country.

The vital character of this point is emphasized by the fact which these articles first enlarged upon, namely, that the fundamental theory of this Government and its primary purpose is to secure to the masses of people equal chances for securing the reward of effort, and the general distribution of the advantages of wealth. Against that principle, which inspires life and virtue into the entire mass of our constitutional enactments, was put the fact, that the actual operation of the railway system has been such as to seriously infringe upon the popular welfare, and to almost completely destroy the democracy and independence of commerce. This inevitably suggests the inquiry, whether the legislation creating the rail-

ways was so forgetful of the principles that inspire our Constitution, and whether the courts that have construed that legislation have so ignored the doctrines of equality and public right as to permit, either by statutory enactments or by judicial decisions, such a complete reversal and overthrow of the very foundation of our democratic system. In other words, the question as bearing upon the adherence of legislative and judicial authority to the principles of

republican government is whether any color has been given by law to the abuses of discrimination and pooling which create a favored class in commerce and finance at the expense of the whole people.

The investigation of the legal status of the railways has shown us that there is not, and never has been, any shadow of a justification in the law for these abuses. On the contrary, we have seen that by the judicial declaration of the significance and conditions of their charters, such abuses always have been a wanton violation of their contract obligations, and that, beyond the actual violation of the conditions by which the railways obtain their being, any attempt upon the part of the legislatures to authorize by special charters the perpetration of such abuses in the railway system would have been void and null, as contrary to the Constitutional provisions under which alone the creation of railroads by the right of eminent domain can be permitted.

This is the essential deduction from the theory of the public highway as laid down with overwhelming unanimity by all the courts that have ruled upon it during the last half-century.

In the fact that every judicial declaration upon the legal steps by which the railways obtain their rights of way has asserted the railways to be public highways, subject to the conditions by which public highways must be operated, responsible for the maintenance of the public rights upon the highway; and bound by every obligation of freedom and impartiality of use which pertain to that character, the whole question of the legality, or, rather, illegality, of the evils of discrimination, preferential rates, combinations to maintain arbitrary charges and to prevent competition, is decided.

These public rights and public obligations attaching to the railway question are founded in reason and justice. Our laws as construed by the highest courts have committed no such absurdity as to suppose that a representative Government can invest corporations with an irresponsible power over commerce greater than that intrusted to the Government itself. If our institutions permitted such an anomaly, it would call for Constitutional changes to make it impossible. The preservation of popular rights, the prime object of our Government, is incompatible with the growth of irresponsible power, whether in the shape of feudal aristocracies or corporate plutocracies. It has been abundantly declared by the highest judicial tribunals, in defining the fundamental principles of law which must necessarily govern all railway corporations, that no such powers can be tolerated.

These principles have been shown to be clearly declared and directly applied by authoritative judicial decisions. When they are fully comprehended, it is easy to perceive that the following rules as governing the operations of the railways have all the force and obligations of Constitutional provisions:

1. The railway is an improved and modern public highway for the class of transportation and travel adapted to its character, just as canals and turnpikes were public highways for the transportation and travel to which they were adapted. It owes its existence to the exertion by the Government of its sovereign power to establish highways for public use.

2. The sovereign right of eminent domain by which State legislation has called the rail-

way system into existence could not be used for the creation of a system of private ownership or for any purpose save that of the public advantage. If the State legislature should attempt to exert this power for the benefit of a monopoly, or to establish a system of private use, such legislation would be null and void as in conflict with the Constitution of the United States.

3. The corporations to which the construction and conduct of these public highways are intrusted by the State can use their franchises for gain by methods consistent with their public character; but the controlling purpose and consideration in their creation is the public use. To permit the pecuniary object of these enterprises to supersede their public obligations, makes private interest superior to public welfare, defeats the end for which they are created, destroys their public character, and renders the acts by which they were created unconstitutional and void.

4. The nature of a public highway carries with it the right and duty of the Government which creates it to supervise and regulate its operations so as to guard and maintain its public use. Every grant of a franchise in the highways is subject to this reserved power of the State; and any surrender by the legislature of this power would be subject to the doubt whether the law-making power can divest itself or its successors of the right and duty to protect the public interests.

5. The fundamental and characteristic feature of all public highways is the right of all persons to use it upon equal terms. Both as public highways and as common carriers, the railways are bound to absolute impartiality. Discriminations of any character which create a prejudice as between shippers or passengers, and give one individual or class an advantage over another, are violations of the conditions upon which their charters are granted.

6. A no less fundamental and effectual condition of the public highway is the freedom of use which pertains to all the public desiring to use the highway upon the payment of the stated and reasonable tolls. Any combination calculated to restrict their freedom or to divert traffic from one highway for the benefit of another is destructive of the character of the highway and, as one court has put it, "a conspiracy to grasp commerce."

These principles establish the pivotal point, that the abuses against which State constitutions have established provisions; and interstate regulations have established prohibitions and penalties, were not, prior to those enactments, permitted by the silence of the laws. They stand in the light of wanton and persistent defiance and nullification of the conditions imposed by the Constitution, as those upon which they accepted their grants of corporate life.

The Interstate Commerce Law makes a statutory prohibition of the evils of discrimination, secret rates, unreasonable charges and pooling, and the country is now engaged in the experiment as to whether that kind of regulation will prove to be an adequate remedy. Nearly a score of State constitutions prohibit discrimination between shippers and passengers. It is not endowed by the State with

ent railroads are forbidden by the constitutions of at least ten States, while rebates and drawbacks and the long and short haul abuse are prohibited in other State constitutions. All these efforts to curb railway abuses are cogent parts of the railway problem; but back of them all is the vital fact which we wish to insist upon at this point of the argument, that these abuses were prohibited before either these State constitutions were adopted or the interstate commerce law was framed. Their prohibition was a part of the original covenant between the people and the railway, without which the railways could never have obtained their existence. Much is heard, in this connection, of vested rights under an inviolable contract between the Government and the corporation; but the one vested right which is beyond dispute is the right of the public that the railways shall be used and operated subject to all the public obligations attaching to the character of a highway; and the one part of the contract that should be inviolable is the contract of the corporation that it will respect, in the conduct of its property, every public right that is inherent in the character of the highway.

The principles of law and the charter conditions upon which the railways were created, are sufficient, if they had been respected and carried out in good faith, to have prevented every one of the great abuses which have demoralized commerce, built up monopolies, and created this corporate issue. These conditions, as established at the inception of the railway system, and defined in all their details by the highest court, were unmistakable and free from all shadow of doubt. The railway was created by law to fulfill a public purpose, that of affording an improved highway of transportation upon equal grounds to all persons whom it can serve. For the honest and impartial discharge of that duty it has the right to exercise the necessary powers. It can make such charges as will yield it a fair profit upon its *bona fide* investment; but it is obliged to distribute the burden of its charges evenly among all its patrons, in proportion to the service rendered. It possesses no power in its charter to enter into contracts with other highways by which it will be freed from the loss of business that will follow, if it does not make such charges as are fixed by the operation of free and legitimate competition between the various railroads. It is designed to overcome the obstacle of distance; but it should overcome that obstacle for the benefit of all and should not include in its purposes that of bringing one locality nearer than another to the central market, and to make the latter support it in doing so. It may own and control a franchise in its tracks and rights of way; but it has no right to own legislatures or to control courts and public offices, in order that they may do its bidding. It should not assume the functions of a commercial Providence which exalts one vessel to honor and condemns another to dishonor. It must not be a political guild to sway by its capital and its commercial power the business of the people. It is not a modern baron with supreme power over the property and prosperity of its subjects. It is not endowed by the State with

the power to rule the business of the Nation, dictating in what manner or over what routes the people shall carry on their commerce, or the amount of business that they shall transact. A creature of the State, it must not become a conspirator against commerce, either by building up monopolies for its favorites, or by organizing them for its own profit.

This is the intent of the law to which every railroad is subject, and such are the necessary deductions from the charter obligations which every one of them assume in accepting its corporate existence. Yet we are confronted with the fact, embodied in the almost universal railway practices of the past twenty years, that these principles of law have been violated, and that the charter obligations, the contract between the State and the corporation, have been nullified by the action of the corporations themselves. This puts the railway abuses, by which great fortunes have been built up, in the hands of the favored few, in their true light of a gigantic and wholesale defiance of the law. The gravity of the case is thus set before the public in its strongest character. The fact that the greatest aggregations of capital, exerting the widest power upon our commerce, and constituting one of the strongest and most dreaded social and political influences, has been engaged, almost without exception, in practices which ignore legal obligations and defy the conditions of their existence, is one of the most significant and disturbing evidences of the rise of the moneyed class which holds itself superior to the obligations that bind society together. When the great corporations nullify the most solemn obligations of their fundamental contracts, and when the eminently respectable and powerful class that is behind those corporations does not esteem it necessary to respect the laws to which their corporate wealth owes its very existence, what hope is there that respect for law and obedience to the enactments that secure the stability of society as a whole can be secured, especially from the classes which are more ignorant of social duties and less interested in the stability and maintenance of our republican future?

There is still an immense field for study and discussion with regard to the especial conditions under which the great corporation interests have been permitted, with almost universal impunity, to perpetrate wanton violations of the law, now admitted to have been almost universal practices, before an attempt was made to restrain them by the interstate commerce law and separate State enactments. But while we shall need to go into this subject in all its details in order to clearly understand the source of the illegal and dangerous railway powers, and to see how the remedy can be efficiently and thoroughly applied, it is worth while to perceive at the start that the great abuses were violations of the legal character with which the acts of Government creating the railways invested every corporation. All the discriminations that have concentrated great fortunes in the hands of favored shippers at the expense of their competitors and the public; all the pooling and combination schemes for the support

of dishonestly inflated stock, and to secure to railway stockholders the advantage of emancipation from the competition that regulates the earnings of the great mass of the people, are direct and irreconcilable infractions of the obligations of the railways as public highways. This is the point of primary importance in the consideration of the question, for the clearer demonstration of which the previous articles have examined all the legal obligations with which the court and laws have surrounded the railway corporations of the land.

The abuses of railway corporations are not due to any failure in our republican system, or to blindness in the application of constitutional principles to the granting of railway charters, but they arise exclusively from the nullification of these principles by the corporations, and from the neglect and fatuity of the public in permitting these violations to go on unchecked.

Sec. 10. All distribution of seed plants, trees, etc., all orders for experiments not requiring an expert, must be directed to the State department of agriculture on requisition as to amount and kind in relation to seeds, etc., and the State department shall distribute said seeds, etc., on requisition from the county board, which shall distribute them to the township boards, who shall be required to report thereon, and on all experiments and methods which may be ordered by the superior boards.

Sec. 11. The Department of Agriculture may order any number of experiments or of new methods and direct the same to the State department of agriculture, which shall have them performed through the township boards.

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Sec. 18. All the township boards of the county meeting in convention shall constitute the county board of agriculture.

Sec. 19. The county boards of agriculture shall have power to choose representatives to meet at the State capital, which assembly shall be called the State board of agriculture, and representation may be chosen as the State legislature may direct.

Sec. 20. The State boards of agriculture shall severally have the power to select representatives according to Congressional representation, who shall meet at a place appointed by the General Government, and shall be denominated the National Board of Agriculture.

Sec. 21. The township boards shall be at the service of both the State and National departments of agriculture, to make experiments on seeds, plants, and trees, and gather statistics, to do such other work as these departments may desire, and make their report as directed.

Sec. 22. The expense of work done for the State shall be paid for by the State, and the expense of work done for the Government shall be paid for by the Government.

Sec. 23. The county board shall hear reports from the township boards and epitomize them and report to the State board, the expenses of which board shall be paid out of the State treasury.

Sec. 24. The State board shall sit not longer than twenty days, and shall digest the reports from the counties and consider all questions of importance to agriculture, and its expenses shall be paid out of the State treasury.

Sec. 25. The National Board of Agriculture shall receive reports from the several States,

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APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY, OF WOODSTOCK, MD.

ORCHARD GRASS.

Among the grasses and forage plants which may be most highly recommended is orchard grass for any locality where on trial it may be found to do well. It is especially adapted to withstand drought, and hence will doubtless prove suitable to localities further to the south than any other species of equal value. Say from southern Maryland coastwise as far as South Carolina, there are very many farms where it may be introduced to great advantage. Even in the best blue-grass regions, if well managed, it will increase the grazing capacity of the very best farms. For hay, if cut and cured at the proper time, which is fully thirty days earlier than for timothy, it is equal in value to any other known grass. There exists against it a prejudice in the markets, partly due to unintelligent management of the crop, partly to its naturally coarse appearance, and, when too old, its harsh, stalky feel, and partly to the say so of grooms and stable-boys about livery stables. The writer knows of his own experience that the hay made from orchard grass cut when in full blossom, which will be in the locality of central Maryland from May 1st to 10th, is as good hay as the best of timothy; by analysis as nutritious, as greedily taken by all animals, and as fragrant and pleasant to handle and feed as any hay made. As to bulk, it will make 30 per cent. more the best seasons, and 100 per cent. more the worst seasons, than timothy on the same land. If allowed to stand later than May 10th, or until the bloom is shed, it deteriorates very rapidly in quality. All grasses lose quality after the bloom is shed, but orchard grass more rapidly and completely than any other. The present season the writer cut a very heavy growth of orchard grass May 5th. On May 17th the aftermath averaged ten inches high. On that day a horse of about 1,200 pounds weight was tethered on a lot of one-twelfth acre, which he grazed down in seven days, by which time the first portion on which he grazed had grown seven inches, and he was again put on that, advancing as he grazed it down, which he finished in six days, by which time the first portion again afforded a full bite. A continuation of this experiment shows that either when cut or grazed off close to the ground, the aftermath of orchard grass grows again at the rate of one inch per day for the first ten days, the land being good and the season wet. It further shows that one-eighth acre of orchard grass grazed by tethering will keep a good-sized horse all summer; at least the horse put on it May 17th has had no other food, and is still grazing it to-day, July 17th, and has improved in condition all the time. If cut May 5th to roth for hay and the aftermath allowed to grow to, say, August 1st, it will again cut about a ton to the acre, which, cured without too much sun, dries bright and green and makes a forage for which any animal will leave the best timothy or any other forage, which is the very best forage we have ever fed to highly bred sheep, and at lambing time nearly equal to green grass for the production of a full flow of milk. The latter part of September another similar cutting may be had, and then a full mat will be left on the land at the approach of winter. The next spring it will afford a full bite for stock ten to fifteen days earlier than any other grass, especially if the season be generally backward. This is a grass which has been written down by some as coarse and worthless. Surely, without experience, or, what is worse, with careless and unskillful experience in the use of it. There is

nothing in practical affairs more harmful than the erroneous conclusions founded on careless and unskillful experience. Experience may be either the best or the worst of teachers. As long ago as the time of General Washington, orchard grass was well known in this country, and Washington, with his accustomed sagacity, saw its good qualities and wrote and spoke highly in its praise. He suggested that as it came in blossom yearly at the same time with red clover it would do well to seed them together, and he had found that the hay so made was in fact most excellent and much relished by all kinds of stock. Nevertheless, we think the best way is to seed orchard grass by itself. It takes two bushels of seed to the acre, and as the seed is generally worth at least a dollar and a half a bushel, it is rather expensive seeding. However, no grass seed is more easily grown and saved. Good land will produce twenty bushels per acre. Let it stand until the seed is fairly ripe, about the 1st of July, but avoid the error of common practice—letting it stand until dead-ripe and then shocking up for the straw to rot before threshing. By this mode much of the seed will be lost and the whole of it deteriorate in quality. As soon as the seed is just ripe cut the grass and tie in moderate sized bundles. Set them up in small shocks. As soon as thought dry enough haul into barrack or stack, and at any time after a few weeks' drying, thresh out. The seed falls out of the pug with great facility, and the greater part may be gotten out by merely shaking the bundle and holding by the butts and striking with a small stick. It may be done on a larger scale by placing the bundles on a good floor and threshing with flails, or it may be threshed with any kind of grain-thresher in ordinary use. Those who intend to cultivate this grass should save their own seed and sow two bushels at least per acre. Put stock on it to graze as soon as it gives a bite in spring; take them off May 1st; mow for hay June 1st to 10th; for seed, as soon as ripe graze or mow the aftermath to October 1st, and then leave the late aftermath to protect the ground in winter. We are fully convinced that no other grass equals this in value if managed with skill and intelligence. No grass is worth much unless so managed. In ordinary farm practice very loose and ill-considered methods prevail in our dealings with that most important of crops. It is true, moreover, that much which is ill judged and unwise has been written in this behalf by mere theorists who, having no practical experience of any value, fall into error themselves, and what is more unfortunate, mislead others.

THE SADDLE HORSE.

First, he must be a good horse. Second, he must be well bred. Third, he must be good-tempered. Fourth, he must be sure-footed. Fifth, he must be well broken. The points usually characteristic of a good horse are well known to horsemen, and for learners and beginners are to be found in all the books. It is not generally known or admitted, but it is true, that there are some good horses that have no good points; they are faulty at every point from nose to heel, and yet they are pleasant and valuable saddle horses. It is true, also, that there are some horses which have not a bad point except that they are not good for anything. This is as much as to say that there is not a man alive who can infallibly judge of a horse without putting his performance to the test. As a very general rule, however, a good horse has good points and a bad horse bad points, but there are, perhaps, striking exceptions to all general rules in horsemanship. It is being true that the business horse of the period is a harness horse, it follows that the old-fashioned, slow-gaited, easy-going, business saddle horse is no more wanted. No sort of fancy

gaits will, perhaps, ever again be thought desirable either in a lady's or a gentleman's riding horse. The walk, the trot, and the gallop will be chiefly called for. The so-styled pace or side-at-a-time gait will be condemned entirely, and most justly, for very few horses can go that gait either agreeably or safely to the rider. Whatever else may be said of this way of going, certainly no lady will say that there is any poetry of motion about it, either under the saddle or in harness. It is the fashion also to condemn all forms of single footing. This we believe to be a very great mistake. We have heard persons of limited experience say "they will all fall down." If persons of this opinion will go to Blue Grass Kentucky and say to the skilled horsemen of that magnificent country, "I despise the single-foot gait, your single footers will all fall down," it would be interesting to hear what would follow. The writer has himself ridden and trained in this gait, for the saddle, a great many young and old horses, not one of which ever fell down under him. The gait here referred to is that known in Virginia and Kentucky as racking. Horses with bad shoulders and low action hardly ever go this gait. They generally exhibit more knee action than trotters; their shoulders are well placed and powerfully muscled; their withers are high; their elbows well developed and truly placed; their forearm strong and well out from under the brisket; their feet in action come down flat and firm with the heel down first or as soon as the toes; the face is carried perpendicular to the ground, the crest a little arched; the haunches well under the horse. Why should such a horse fall down? He will not fall down. No gait the horse goes displays more easy and elegant action; none so delightful to the rider; none easier on the horse. No gait shows off a handsome woman in the saddle to so great an advantage, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary. The writer is of opinion that for a saddle horse no other gait is at all comparable to the despised rack for its ease, com-
fort, elegance to both horse and rider.

There is a single-foot gait commonly styled the fox trot or dog trot. It is a sort of degraded rack, in its best form scarcely distinguishable from that gait. We have known horses do it a mile in four minutes, but it has to suit a horse remarkably well if he goes it at that rate. Commonly it is a six mile per hour way of going. The limit of speed of the genuine rack seems to be about 2:35. The writer owns a mare about 20 years old capable of doing it now in 2:40. The average dog trotter is a low-shouldered, short-necked, thick-shouldered beast without knee action, and sticks his toe into the ground. These are the fellows that "all fall down" and they may be relied on to do it to a certainty. Horses of that form fall down no matter what gait they go.

There is one sort of horse worse and more dangerous yet, viz., the weed of the thoroughbred stables. He is a long-legged beast, full sixteen hands high, out at the elbows, in at the toes, over at the knees. He has a long, loose neck, big weak eyes, a scant mane, no forelock, and a Roman nose. He is long coupled, flat ribbed, steep behind, slim tail set low and carried between his legs. He is spavined, cow hocked, weak ankle, splay footed, with a flat, weak foot. Frequently Washington lately are to be seen delicate-looking, half-grown girls mounted on a beast of that sort, looking "so really English; don't you know?" Nothing is so hideously unsightly, "don't you know," and at the same time it is really dangerous. No man, in his senses ought to permit his child to be so mounted.

Fashionable or unfashionable, such folly should be met flat-footed by a parental veto.

However, in a future number we may have a word to ladies on horseback. There are some who think the thoroughbred the *ne plus ultra* of a saddler. With them we do not at all agree

neither in style, action, temper, or any other respect are they suitable for a gentleman's or lady's riding. They are bred and trained to the qualities adapted to the race-course, and for that only are they fit. A very small number of them would make excellent hunters. It is not to be denied that they could be so selected, bred, and trained as to make saddle horses, but they have not been. A mare of good temper, style, and action for the saddle, bred to a level-headed thoroughbred sire, such as old Revenue was, or his sire, Trustee, might certainly be expected to produce a horse suitable for the hunting-field and to carry either a lady or a gentleman. Two or three top crosses to thoroughbred sires will produce constantly improving stock if the crosses be made to sires selected with skill and judgment. Jonesboro, for example, was a great hurdler, but he could not have been comfortably ridden even by a good horseman in a steep chase, or, still less, a fox chase, for he would most probably have become quite ungovernable. The action of many thoroughbreds is low and such as would certainly be dangerous in the hurly burly of a desperate chase over rough country. The only hunters we have in America are chance horses. None of them have been bred designedly for that purpose. We think they might be profitably bred in future.

THE WORK OF M. PASTEUR.

In the current issue of that excellent journal, the *American Field*, we find an account of a very remarkable meeting held in London, July 1st instant. The meeting was in support of M. Pasteur and scientific methods and results, and partly to report a resolution in favor of the extermination of rabies by repressive legislation. The *Field's* article is very interesting, and we should be glad to transfer it entire to our columns but for present lack of space. There are some persons in England, as in this and other countries, who are bitter opponents of Pasteur. Among them appears the Lord Chief Justice of England, who appears to have been ill-mannered enough and foolish enough to disregard the Huxleyan injunction to take the trouble to understand a matter before we begin to make deliverances upon it, and has delivered himself of some outrageously insulting attacks upon M. Pasteur. At this meeting Prof. Michael Foster, secretary of the Royal Society, moved, and Dr. Lander Brunton seconded, that this meeting requests the Lord Mayor to start a fund, for the double purpose of making a suitable donation to the Institute Pasteur and of making provision for the expenses of British subjects bitten by rabid animals who are unable to pay the cash of a journey to Paris. Prof. Ray Lankester supported this motion, and said it was in large measure the outcome of the unjustifiable terms in which the Lord Chief Justice recently spoke of M. Pasteur. Some of them thought proper that the insult leveled by the Lord Chief Justice at the head of M. Pasteur be wiped out. The intellect and intelligence of the country were on the side of M. Pasteur. The Prince of Wales sent two hundred guineas to the Pasteur fund. It is a small figure the Lord Chief Justice cuts in this business. Professor Huxley sent a letter of regrets expressing high appreciation of the immense value of the work of M. Pasteur, not only in the cause of science, but also to commerce, as represented by the silk-grower, the brewer, and the wine merchant, and also to human life protected by his inoculations, as well as the lower animals. Statistics show that Pasteur has treated 7,000 persons bitten by rabid animals, among them many of the terrible bites of rabid wolves. Of these wolf-bites, formerly more than 80 per cent. died; about 16 per cent. of dog-bites died. Apply this latter rate to the whole 7,000, the mortality should have been over 1,000. It has been stated by the bitterest

of Pasteur's opponents that 161 of his patients have died. And beyond all dispute he must be credited with the saving of above 900 lives. The final results of the life-work of this most marvelously gifted man can by no means be forecast. It does not appear even to have been equaled by any man who ever has lived. It is painful to reflect that the bitterest and most persistent opposition he has encountered has emanated from university circles, whose influence appears to have excluded him from the honors of the French Academy until long after he had become greater than the Academy, and more renowned than any university. Pasteur's methods in science have even been styled unscientific. His methods, indeed, have been peculiarly his own, marvelously simple and perfectly adapted to the end proposed; but they have been strictly Baconian methods; and to call them unscientific is mere foolishness, when it is not possible to deny that they have been successful in finding out and demonstrating new scientific matter of immense importance.

SCIENTIFIC DEGREES IN AGRICULTURE.

Dickinson College has recognized the workers in scientific agriculture by conferring the degree M. Sc. on Capt. L. N. Conrad, professor of agriculture in Maryland Agricultural College. It is important that agricultural science should thus be recognized as on a permanent and secure footing. We do not, in general, personally think much of this sort of thing, but it is common practice, and gentlemen prominent and active in connection with either the practice or teaching of scientific agriculture should not be overlooked when honors of this sort are going around. Captain Conrad is an alumnus of Dickinson, and has been teaching in colleges of agriculture for many years. He is a man of superior abilities and culture and well deserves this honor. The course of agriculture in the Maryland Agricultural College is one of the best taught in any of our agricultural schools. Agriculture, as a learned profession, must be recognized. It is bound to force recognition as such in the end, and those who first accord it will be in time recognized upon it, and has delivered himself of some outrageously insulting attacks upon M. Pasteur. At this meeting Prof. Michael Foster, secretary of the Royal Society, moved, and Dr. Lander Brunton seconded, that this meeting requests the Lord Mayor to start a fund, for the double purpose of making a suitable donation to the Institute Pasteur and of making provision for the expenses of British subjects bitten by rabid animals who are unable to pay the cash of a journey to Paris. Prof. Ray Lankester supported this motion, and said it was in large measure the outcome of the unjustifiable terms in which the Lord Chief Justice recently spoke of M. Pasteur. Some of them thought proper that the insult leveled by the Lord Chief Justice at the head of M. Pasteur be wiped out. The intellect and intelligence of the country were on the side of M. Pasteur. The Prince of Wales sent two hundred guineas to the Pasteur fund. It is a small figure the Lord Chief Justice cuts in this business. Professor Huxley sent a letter of regrets expressing high appreciation of the immense value of the work of M. Pasteur, not only in the cause of science, but also to commerce, as represented by the silk-grower, the brewer, and the wine merchant, and also to human life protected by his inoculations, as well as the lower animals. Statistics show that Pasteur has treated 7,000 persons bitten by rabid animals, among them many of the terrible bites of rabid wolves. Of these wolf-bites, formerly more than 80 per cent. died; about 16 per cent. of dog-bites died. Apply this latter rate to the whole 7,000, the mortality should have been over 1,000. It has been stated by the bitterest

HERE is a statement from which some idea of the profits of banking may be drawn and it is from no questionable authority. William H. English, of Indiana, president of a National bank in Indianapolis, and the nominee for Vice-President of the United States on the Democratic ticket of 1880, made the following report to the stockholders of his bank:

I congratulate the stockholders of our enterprise. The bank has been in operation fourteen years under my control, with a capital of \$500,000. In the meantime, it has voluntarily returned \$500,000 of capital stock back to its stockholders, besides paying them in dividend \$1,496,450, part of which was in gold, and I now turn it over to you with a capital unimpaired and \$327,000 of the undivided earnings on hand. To this might be added the premiums of United States bonds, at present prices amounting to \$36,000, besides quite a large amount for destroyed bills.

All the items of profit aggregated \$2,383,250 accumulated in fourteen years from an original capital of half a million, or \$170,232,15 per year.

THE weight of the butter manufactured in the factories alone in the United States in 1880, was 16,471,163 pounds. In 1887 the total value of all the butter made was estimated by the Agricultural Department at \$200,000,000,

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 17.

When the red-coats evacuated the city the President and Mrs. Madison returned and took up their residence in a large brick mansion known as the Octagon House, which was erected in 1798, and is still standing. Here they lived until the expiration of President Madison's term, and President Monroe, his successor, occupied the same house until 1817, when the White House was restored and refurnished under the direction of Hoban. The treaty of Ghent was signed in the Octagon House while the President occupied it.

President Monroe gave a reception in the White House on New Year's Day 1818. This was the first time the White House was thrown open after its reconstruction.

The grand portico on the north front was not a part of the original design, but was added in 1829, during Andrew Jackson's administration.

Since the time of Jackson's administration the history of the White House has been merely the history of the various administrations which have succeeded each other. Up to the present time nearly one million of dollars have been expended upon the building.

What are called the "State Parlors" of the White House, which are the only rooms open to the public, are situated on the first floor.

They are known as the East Room, the Blue Room, the Green Room and the Red Room. The East Room is the largest of all and extends entirely across the building on the first floor at the east end. It is eighty feet long and forty feet wide. Until 1837 all the state dinners were given in this room and the official receptions were held there. The design and ornamentation of this room are classic Greek, and it is very rich and elegant in all its appointments.

Visitors to the White House in daytime are allowed to enter the East Room at pleasure, but the other parlors are closed except when an usher escorts parties through them at certain intervals during the morning.

The ceiling consists of three great panels, separated by deep cornices and friezes supported at each end by fluted columns set upon elegant pedestals and surmounted by Corinthian capitals. These cross cornices unite with the wall cornice and thus form the panels. These cornices are elaborately carved and finished in white and gold, as are all the finishings of the room. The flats of the ceiling panels are most exquisitely decorated in fresco, the design being light and the color delicate.

Around the walls are eight marble mantels, elegantly carved and gilded, and each of these is surmounted by a plate-glass mirror extending to the ceiling and framed in massive gilt moldings, crested with the eagle of America. The walls are frescoed in the same design as the ceiling.

Pendant from the ceiling, in the center of each panel, are three magnificent chandeliers; a mass of gilt and crystal, which, in the evening, flood the room with mellow light, while the crystal pendants scintillate like diamonds flashing with prismatic color. The furniture is of ebony, upholstered in plush of old-gold color. In the center is a pyramidal divan of the same design and color. On the floor is a

splendid Axminster carpet made especially for this purpose, and matching the furniture and walls in color.

There are three broad windows at each end, and these and the doors are draped in hangings to match the upholstery and carpet.

Between the mirrors, on the wall spaces, are life-size, full-length portraits of Washington and his wife, Lafayette and Lincoln. This magnificent room is certainly worthy to be the reception-room of the Nation.

The Green Room has its walls finished in Nile green, with sprays of gold, its cornices and fittings to match. The furniture is upholstered in green satin, and the carpet and hangings match throughout.

The Blue Room, where the President holds his state receptions, is oval in shape, and its walls and ceiling are tinted with what is called "robin's-egg blue," flecked with sprays of silver.

Pendant from the center is a beautiful chandelier of crystal and silver, and from the walls project brackets with pendants of what would be taken for opal, so perfect is the color-effect. The upholstering is blue on gilt-work, and the carpet and hangings match. When the President holds a reception the guests enter this room from the cloak-rooms and are presented by the Marshal of the District of Columbia.

After paying their respects they retire to the other state parlors. When President Cleveland was married, the ceremony was performed in this room.

The Red Room has its walls painted in Pompeian red, and the ceiling is decorated with bronze and copper stars. At the windows are crimson plush curtains, the furniture is upholstered in the same material, and the carpet is in tone with all. The room is used as a family sitting-room at night, and in winter has a most comfortable appearance.

Visitors to the White House in daytime are allowed to enter the East Room at pleasure, but the other parlors are closed except when an usher escorts parties through them at certain intervals during the morning.

The parlors all open on a corridor extending across the main hall from east to west, and separated from the entrance hall by a screen of jeweled glass, which is very beautiful. The walls of this corridor are hung with portraits of the various Presidents and many of their wives.

Leading from the corridor is the grand dining-room in which the state dinners are given—that is, dinners to the members of the Cabinet, the Justices of the Supreme Court, Senators, Representatives, foreign Ministers, and other distinguished persons. These dinners take place once or twice a week during the winter and are given at the President's expense.

This is a most serious drain upon the President's salary and is one of the reasons why it is necessary that he should receive so large an amount. There is no reasonable excuse for this extravagance and the people should be relieved of it. The vast amounts spent in these splendid entertainments are merely in fact an appropriation by Congress from the money raised through taxation of the industry of the country to provide costly luxuries for officials to feast on in

imitation of the royal feasts among the monarchies of Europe. All this reveling and display is uncalled for, vastly expensive and of no possible benefit to the people. It is nothing more nor less than burdening the people, the majority of whom have a hard struggle to provide a frugal support, to enable their servants to revel in splendor. If this unnecessary expense were taken from the President his salary would be sufficient even if reduced one-half, and, besides, he would be relieved of what surely must be a burdensome and onerous obligation to any man but a "gourmand" or a "bon vivant."

To say the least such luxury and display are certainly not in keeping with the idea of democratic simplicity, especially when thousands who share the expense of this debauchery have a hard struggle to provide plain food for their families. This entertaining so magnificently at the expense of others may be satisfactory in a monarchy, but it does seem that an American citizen would feel that he was doing a heinous wrong to his fellow-citizens to waste their hard earnings in gormandizing and guzzling with benefit to no one, but injury to many.

It is useless to say that this is at the President's expense, because custom compels the President to do it, and his salary is calculated, estimating a certain proportion to be used in this way, consequently that amount is an appropriation by Congress for feasting and drinking at the cost of the people. The President is elected to perform the duties of the Executive office, not to act as caterer to royster public servants. Social entertainments and displays of costly trappings are no part of the duties of a public officer. If the President chooses to entertain his friends, that is his affair; but that he should be expected to feast and wine a mob of officials at stated intervals is wrong *per se* and an imposition on both the President and the tax-payers.

All these entertainments, all the table service, the china, silver, and linen, is provided by the Government, but the food and wine are furnished by the President. The expenditure in this way is something beyond what any plain citizen would dream, each dinner costing about a thousand dollars. Usually there are twelve courses served, and as many as fifty-four guests can sit at the table when it is fully extended, although, generally, there are about forty persons invited.

The State Dining-Room presents a magnificent appearance when lighted on one of these occasions, and the scene would be more in keeping with the surroundings of royal insignia and feudal halls than the simplicity of a democratic Executive's home.

The second story of the White House contains the business offices of the President and his private apartments. The Library Room, where the President receives his callers during the day, and the Cabinet Room, where the members of the Cabinet consult with the President every Tuesday and Friday, are the principal rooms.

The Library Room is a large, oval room, with two long windows looking out upon the south; it contains mahogany furniture uphol-

stered in red leather. There are numerous book-cases around the room, also portraits of the Presidents. The President uses a massive desk, constructed of oak timber taken from the ship Resolute, which was sent to the Arctic regions in 1852 by the English Government in search of Sir John Franklin. The desk was presented to the United States by the English Government in 1881 for use in the White House.

The Cabinet Room has a long table, around which the Secretaries of Departments sit when in consultation with the President. The Conservatory is a most important and expensive attachment to the White House, but space forbids any description. It is sufficient to say that it is very extensive and contains almost every rare flower known in the world.

The cost of "running" the White House is a matter of no little moment. The yearly expenses are about \$100,000, exclusive of the President's salary of \$50,000. The private secretary of the President has a salary of \$3,250, and his assistant \$2,250. Two executive clerks \$2,000 each, and six other clerks, who receive \$1,200 to \$1,800 each; a shorthand writer, \$1,800, to attend to the President's correspondence. The steward has \$1,800; and two day ushers, \$1,400 and \$1,200. Besides this force, there are five messengers, two doorkeepers, and one night usher, with salaries of \$1,200 each; a watchman, \$900; fireman, \$864. All these are paid by the Government. The cooks and servants are paid by the President. It costs \$15,000 per year to light the White House and grounds; the green-houses cost \$6,000. The other numerous expenses aggregate over \$20,000 more.

With all this magnificence and cost the politicians and speculators are not yet satisfied, but it is proposed to build on the west end of the main building a residence for the President's family, of marble, and on the east end a conservatory and gallery of historical paintings. This would add greatly to the grandeur of the structure; but the question is, what do the people who have it to pay for think of the project?

It is a poor argument to induce labor to be content with the husks of what it produces to attempt to show that its condition might have been worse. Labor knows that its condition ought to be better and that it would be if justice were done. It is little comfort to a man in distress to tell him that some one else died of starvation, and therefore, being still alive, he is much better off and should not complain.

HUNDREDS of millions of dollars from England have invaded our country, seized our mines, our manufactures, our lands, and are now laying tribute on our people to a foreign power. Could an army of invasion accomplish more?

TENNESSEE has consolidated the State Wheel and Alliance under name of Farmers and Laborers Union of Tennessee, and elected J. P. Buchanan president. The National consolidation was indorsed without a dissenting voice.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE FARMER AND MECHANIC.

The Body and Soul of the Social System.

Bad as things are, we have some faith in these people. They know how to reason. The professional man may reason badly and lose his cases, but he has his salaries, his fees, and the perquisites of his trade to fall back on. The politician may not reason at all, and yet be "borne into office upon the blind, mad wave of passion and prejudice." Then others have to contend not with educated habit, as often wrong as right, but with natural laws. The soil, the climate, the seeds, the season, as well as the methods of extenuation, must all be taken into the account. The mechanic (by mechanic we mean every man engaged in an honest and useful occupation, which requires creative power to invent, or imitative skill to pattern to order, to beautify) must work under the eye of the sternest of masters, the square and compass, and study profoundly in order to catch proportions and curves, the laws of beauty. If they would only reason about politics, what a change would come. What is politics? What ought it to be? Politics is a big gambling game outside of and independent of all other business. You elect a man to office, and is he a representative of the people? No; he is only a spoke in the party wheel. What is party? An agent paid an immense salary by the public to do business for private corporations and pretentious individuals. What is party policy? To divide the people, to put them to wrangle about useless and immaterial issues, and, while they are pummeling one another, to take their cattle, their lands, their wages, their merchandise.

Twixt tweedledee and tweedledum,
If you get little, I'll get some;
Or, vote for me or for the other,
For, damn it, they're both one another.
You still will vote for our master,
Who will your lands with mortgage plaster,
And cut your wages to a toll
That scarce will buy your bread and coal.
Twixt tweedledee and tweedledum,
This is the politician's sum.

To illustrate. One hundred men are appointed to market all the cattle and grain for the State of Illinois. They are smart men. They get in with a hundred smart men in the big cities. They make bogus sales and bogus returns. They are not suspected, because they are honorable men. They get immensely rich, and who the devil couldn't be? They soon have money enough to buy not only the cattle and grain, but the lands also, with the people thrown in. The city fellows, their partners, in the meantime own the big cities. These men at the outset were public agents doing a lawful public business for the public convenience; in the end they are public robbers, plundering the people under the guise of public business. A few big proprietors joining in with the overseers to take all. A legitimate, free government—that is, public agents restricted to the honest transactions of necessary public business—may be carried on for one-tenth part of the cost of the present machine. Let us have it so that we may all have pleasant homes and plenty left for education, amusement, and social enjoyment. The gods made us men and women; our fellow-men have made us beasts of burden. The gods, as if in anger, have turned the zephyrs into cyclones and the showers into wasteful floods. Let us beware.

YOUNG AMERICA.

NOTE.—"To persuade my countrymen, as far as I may, that it is not in a splendid government supported by powerful monopolies and autocratic establishments they will find happiness and their liberties be protected, but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all and granting favors to none."—Andrew Jackson.

Just How It Is.

Written for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST by LINN TANNER.

Throughout this mighty Nation,
And pervading every station,
There is a strong agitation
And a feeling of great dread;
The toilers all are asking,
Why the few in wealth are basking,
While the many they are tasking
Find it hard to pay for bread?

"Tis because the politicians
Have proved themselves poor physicians
In keeping faith or good conditions
With those who live by daily toil.
On every side we see depression
Caused by wealthy men's aggression,
Who form great trusts, which cause oppression
To honest tillers of the soil.

The toilers have asked for legislation
By the Congress of this Nation,
Which would have much improved their station,
But their petitions were in vain.
So now they have formed an Alliance,
In which they place a strong reliance
That it will force a quick compliance
With every right they claim.

'Tis for this the toilers are advising,
And fast we find them organizing.
A plan, we know, they are devising.
On which all toilers can agree.
They know that by co-operation
They can regain their proper station,
As noble, freemen in this Nation,
Where none should dwell but who are free.

CHENNAUVILLE, LA., July 27, 1889.

Appling County, Georgia.

The following resolutions have been sent to the ECONOMIST for publication:

Resolved, That the Farmers Alliance of Appling County, Ga., does most heartily indorse our State Exchange, believing, as we do, that our greatest relief will come through it when it is put in operation.

Resolved, That the Farmers Alliance of Appling County, Ga., does fully indorse the resolution passed by our State Alliance recommending the use of cotton cloth for cotton covering, and we now pledge ourselves to use no other until our State Alliance changes that resolution.

Unanimously adopted.

Clubbing Rates.

The regular subscription price of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is \$1 per year. But clubbing rates have been agreed upon with the following papers, whereby both can be secured at reduced rates. Other papers will from time to time be added to the list:

	Club Price	Regular Price	of both.
"Progressive Farmer," of Raleigh, N. C., official organ of State Alliance	\$1 00	\$1 75	
"Toller," Nashville, Tenn., official organ Agricultural Wheel	1 00	1 65	
"Dakota Ruralist," Aberdeen, Dak.	1 00	1 25	
"The Forum"	5 00	5 00	
"Memphis Appeal"	1 00	1 50	
"Georgia Farmer"	50	1 10	
St. Louis "Home Circle"	50	1 10	
"Sunny Democrat," Vicksburg, Miss.	2 00	2 50	
McKinley, N. C., "Times"	1 50	1 85	
Shelby, Ga., "Sentinel"	1 50	1 00	
"Alabama Enquirer"	1 00	1 60	
Chicago, "Express"	1 00	1 60	
Westville, Miss., "News"	1 00	1 75	
"American Swineherd," Alexandria, So. Dakota	50	1 10	
"American Farmer," Chicago	1 10	1 10	
"Western Rural," Chicago	1 65	2 15	
"Dispatch," Montgomery, Ala.	1 00	1 60	
"New Farmer," Winona, Miss.			
"Southern Mercury," official organ Farmers State Alliance of Texas	1 00	1 60	
"Farmer's Voice," Chicago	1 00	1 50	
The "Indianapolis Leader"	1 00	1 50	

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17-9t

The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS ALLIANCE, AGRICULTURAL WHEEL, AND FARMERS UNION.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

SINGLE COPY, FIVE CENTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 1889.

No. 22.

The Modern Plan of Conquest.

The final object of conquest has always been the furthering of pecuniary and financial interests. Sometimes the immediate cause has been, apparently, of a different nature, but followed to the primal origin, it is always found based upon financial benefit, to be derived either by additional gain direct, or the preservation of sources of revenue already existing, but threatened with interruption or destruction. The desire for the extension of power is nothing more than the greed of gain, and the securing of the ability to levy tribute and increase revenue.

Later on, when nations became commercial, and ideas of *meum* and *tuum* more clearly defined, private enterprises of subjects of various powers developed into vast pecuniary interests, which were of immense importance to the various nations to which their originators were subject. To protect these commercial interests, or rather to maintain them in the manner in which they existed, nations became involved in war, which often resulted in the entire subjugation of one by another.

England's conquest of India grew out of the commercial operations of the East India Company, and history gives other instances which the reader will readily recall, the result of all being merely the money revenue secured by the victor, no other reason or result being apparent.

Now, if the same result can be brought about by any other means than armed force, is it not practically as much invasion and conquest as though the victors won amid clash of arms and roar of cannon upon the field of battle? Is the victory any less complete because unstained by blood or unheralded by the pomp and circumstance of war?

If this be true, then Americans to-day are living witnesses to one of the most gigantic invasions and grandest conquests the history of the world records. To-day the invasion of America is an accomplished fact, and the conquest has proceeded far on the road to complete success.

First, the desire grew in the hearts of autocratic rulers, whose personal will could call into action all the powers of nations and apply them in any direction. This inclination naturally turned in the way of rapine and compelled submission by force of all within its reach. This example, having been early set, was subsequently followed by all forms of government succeeding the original autocracy, and the results were appropriated by the nation in the same manner.

The Roman conquerors did not say to their unfortunate victims, "reform your religion, change your form of government and your social organization, improve your status morally, intellectually, and socially, and we will be satisfied, having thus raised you from degradation to enlightenment." No, they merely said, "now, we do not desire to interfere with your religion, moral or social ideas, or political

tenets; all we want is revenue, tribute to add to our riches. Live just such lives as may be most agreeable to you, be just as ignorant, savage, brutal, immoral, as you please, Rome will not interfere; all we require is that you pay us tribute, and to secure that we will station garrisons among you, officers to collect the tribute we demand, and you must pay their expenses in addition to the tax, which we will enjoy in Rome after our own fancy."

This invasion and conquest of America is no idle dream, but a stern and startling reality. Our newly-constructed navy can lend us no aid through its walls of steel and ponderous engines of destruction. Our coast defenses are powerless, and their monster guns may still remain a nesting-place where birds may build in peace. The enemy has already passed these barriers, and has firm footing upon our soil. The fatal breach was in our laws, and through this he entered.

It needed not the thunder of alien cannon to effect this breach. The wiles of the traitor were more potent, more secret, and more sure. The breach was made while the people slept the sleep of confidence, of trust, and of imaginary security.

Traitors in the halls of Congress stealthily gave admittance to alien and capitalistic gold, and the invader entered in the quiet hours of the night of peace and apparent tranquillity. He fixed his hold in the lands of the people, and through these will demand the tribute his arms could never have compelled.

The lands of the nation are to be used for the subjugation of the people and the levying upon them of onerous taxes and tribute to foreign lands, while the government of the people will be the power used to enforce the collection of these demands.

The granting by Congress to aliens of the right to own lands in this country was the blackest treason to the nation, and the men who took part in and favored it deserve the punishment due to traitors. It originated in mercenary greed, was nurtured in fraud and corruption, and accomplished by the basest treachery to the nation and the people, and the day will come when the name of Benedict Arnold, the traitor, will be honorable beside those of the men who betrayed American liberty through the trust the people placed in them into the power of alien lords for gold. They will be, as they should, infamous before the deceived and betrayed people whose interests they were entrusted to guard.

This alien ownership of land amounts to no more nor less than an invasion and conquest, and to-day more American land pays tribute to English lords than is contained in the whole of



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Ireland and Scotland combined, and England thrown into the bargain. England could never hope to make a conquest of this great nation by force of arms, but she has resorted to a surer, a more silent, a more deadly plan. Capital is the engine to be used to accomplish her conquest, and interest, profits and rents are the shackles with which Americans are to be bound. Our Government will be the power used to enforce the collection and American tribute will, indeed does now, flow as regularly into the coffers of the English aristocracy as does the tribute from Ireland or India.

The English plan of operation has always been the same. The land is the object of their attack; having seized this, and holding it under their system of tenure, it is an easy matter to demand tribute in the shape of rent; and so the aristocratic plunderers sit in their castle halls amid every luxury and elegance, and revel in the wealth that pours in upon them in the shape of rent for lands of which they are "the owners." In this way every clime pays its tribute to the "great land proprietors of the world." The foreigner is wise enough to know that when once he gets a man to acknowledge his ownership of the land and right to demand pay for its use, that man is his slave. He takes no trouble to secure any stronger hold.

Knowing the value of their land system for the accomplishment of their ends, the alien aristocrat gathers to himself a sufficiency of land to yield him a satisfactory revenue and then sits down to enjoy life in ease and plenty. The English land system is the most perfect conception for the accomplishment of the English idea of class dominion that could have been devised, and the English aristocrat is a land-grabber by instinct.

The Irish people have borne the yoke until they can bear no more. The people of England and Scotland have tired of the oppression of these harpies, and land reform is the cry of the hour. There is no longer honor or profit in being a landlord in Ireland. The Land Restoration Leagues of England and Scotland have reached such proportions that the harpies see the end of their oppression plainly written.

The industrial classes throughout Europe, who for ages have been robbed by this barbarous relic of the dark ages, are awakening to the imposition which has so long made them slaves and mere creatures of the will of others.

The birds of prey, the human wolves who prey upon their fellows recognize the conditions surrounding them and are seeking out other lands upon which to fix their talons. The broad fields of America offered the greatest temptation. The people had for generations been free. They were ignorant, to a great extent, of the evils and oppression that had so long afflicted the people of Europe. By the exercise of a little shrewdness these lands could be seized upon in vast holdings, and enormous tribute levied while the people were ignorant of the ultimate design.

The capacity of the country was unlimited, the industry of the people proverbial. Here was a grand field in which to enact against the villainous schemes which had been operated in Europe. But the people were brave, their numbers almost irresistible. Force was

PLAN OF A STATE EXCHANGE.

Adopted by the South Carolina State Alliance
July 25, 1889.

The action of the Virginia Alliance in making the South Carolina Exchange the model of their business effort, was properly contingent upon the full examination and comparison of that plan with those of other States, and power was given the committee to substitute, combine, or change its features so as to meet the changed conditions under which it must operate. That a general desire to see what that plan is in detail may be gratified, the ECONOMIST here presents it in full:

Article 1. The name of the corporation shall be the "Farmers Alliance Exchange of South Carolina, Limited," and by that name it shall have power and authority to exist and enjoy succession for the full term of ninety-nine (99) years.

Art. 2. The domicil of the corporation shall be in a city or town in the State of South Carolina, to be chosen and appointed as the domicile by the corporators of said Exchange; and all citations or other legal processes shall be served upon the president of said corporation, or in case of his absence or inability to act, upon the vice-president, and in case of the absence of both, upon the secretary.

Art. 3. The purposes for which this corporation is organized are to conduct a general mercantile and brokerage business, and to act as agent for the purchase and sale of all kinds of farm supplies and products, and to do all that appertains to the receiving, handling, forwarding, and marketing of said products, and the purchase of supplies; to erect, manage, and operate warehouses, stock yards, grain elevators and packing establishments; to manufacture guano or other fertilizers, and all other such enterprises as may be found necessary or advisable to their profit and betterment.

Art. 4. The capital stock of this corporation is hereby fixed at the sum of fifty-thousand dollars (\$50,000), divided into one thousand (1,000) shares of fifty dollars (\$50) each, with liberty to begin business whenever \$5,000 of the capital stock shall have been subscribed. No subordinate Alliance holding stock shall ever be held liable or responsible for the contracts or faults of this corporation in any further sum than the unpaid balance due on the shares of stock held by it, nor shall any mere informality in organization have the effect of rendering this charter null, or of exposing a subordinate Alliance holding stock to any liability beyond the amount of its stock.

Art. 5. This capital stock shall be a sacred trust fund used only for the purchase of goods. It shall not be used to pay salaries or for any other purpose. All orders from individuals must go through the sub-trustee and from him through the county trustee and the State agent.

Art. 6. Subscriptions to shares of capital stock shall be made in the name of subordinate Alliances and not in the name of individual members thereof. Application for shares of stock must be accompanied by 25 per cent in cash of the amount of stock subscribed; the balance to be paid when called for; when certificate of stock shall be issued as soon as the full amount subscribed for shall be paid for.

Art. 7. It is hereby understood and agreed that each sub-Alliance adopting this exchange system and thereby ratifying this plan, is firmly bound to subscribe for and make settlement on stock, as above specified, to the number of shares due from it, under the following schedule of ability, i.e., those having less than thirty-five (35) members shall be apportioned one share; thirty-five to sixty-five members, two shares; sixty-five to ninety-five members, three shares; all over ninety-five members, four shares.

It is but natural that we should feel a pride in the beauty of our country, in the size of our cities, in the magnitude of our commerce, and the vastness of our wealth. We should not forget, however, that the true glory of a nation does not consist in the extent of its dominion, the fertility of its soil, the splendor of its architecture, or the extent of its commerce, but in the moral and intellectual development of its people.

shares: *Provided*, That this shall not prevent any Alliance from taking as many shares as it chooses.

Art. 8. Each sub-Alliance taking stock in this corporation shall be entitled to one trustee stockholder, who shall be elected annually at the time of the regular election of officers. The first trustee stockholder shall be elected by each sub-Alliance when it decides to subscribe for stock, and shall serve till the next annual election. When three trustee stockholders shall have been elected, they may proceed to organize and elect a county trustee stockholder. He shall represent his Alliance in the meetings of the trustee-stockholders from and for all the sub-Alliances in that county, and shall be entitled to as many votes as he represents shares of stock. The county convention of trustee-stockholders shall, at a regular annual meeting, to be held after the county meeting in July and before the State meeting, elect from their number one delegate, who shall be known as county trustee-stockholder, and who shall be authorized to represent the stock held in that county in State meetings of the trustee-stockholders of the corporation, and shall be entitled to as many votes as he represents shares of stock. Each trustee stockholder shall be the representative of the Exchange in his Alliance, and shall give bond in the sum of \$500 for the faithful performance of his duty.

Art. 9. The county trustee stockholders shall hold an annual meeting at the same time and place as the Farmers' State Alliance of South Carolina: *Provided*, That the board of directors shall have the power to call a meeting whenever in their judgment it is necessary.

Art. 10. The county board of trustee stockholders shall elect a business agent. The trustee stockholders in each county shall at the regular annual meeting elect a board of directors of not more than seven from their number to serve for one year, who shall supervise the work of the county agent, fix the amount of pay he is to receive and of the bond he is to furnish for the proper discharge of his duty.

Art. 11. The State trustee stockholders shall elect annually nine (9) from their number as a State board of directors, one (1) for each Congressional district and two (2) for State at large, five (5) of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The State board of directors shall elect from their number a president, vice-president, and secretary and treasurer. They may employ and discharge such assistants as they deem necessary, fixing the amounts of their remuneration and of their bonds; they shall enact such by-laws and regulations as they deem requisite for the proper management of the business of the corporation, subject to approval by the next meeting of the stockholders; such by-laws and regulations to have full force of law till said meeting.

Art. 12. No profits shall be made except what is sufficient to pay running expenses.

Art. 13. This act of incorporation may be modified, changed, or altered, or said corporation may be dissolved with the consent of three-fourths of the stock represented, and a majority of the amount thereof issued, at any general meeting of the stockholders of said corporation, convened for such purpose, after thirty days' notice of such meeting shall have been given in two daily papers published in the State and in the State official organ.

Art. 14. Whenever this corporation may be dissolved, either by limitation of its charter or from any other cause, the stock shall be returned through the county and sub-trustees to the original contributors.

Art. 15. The compensation of the sub- and county trustees shall be fixed by the sub- and county Alliances respectively.

Art. 16. The capital stock of this corporation may at any time be increased by a two-thirds vote of the stockholders to any amount not exceeding \$200,000.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

History and Government.

No. 22.

While the treachery of Pausanias and Themistocles demonstrates to us the great evils to be feared from the growth of selfishness and avarice and that a commercial and mercenary system tends especially to develop these dangerous characteristics, yet the life of Aristides proves that an innate love of virtue and a proper system of education will enable men to resist these dangerous influences and triumph over the temptations that lead so surely to the final destruction of any social system which tends to the development and encouragement of these villainous traits.

The only difference between such a society and a savage state is the character of the weapons used in the struggle for existence; the result is ever the same, a brutal triumph of the strong who selfishly consume the product wrested from the weak, who must suffer for the need of what has been seized from them.

It makes little difference to the hungry man, or the father who hears his children cry for food or sees them exposed to the bitter blasts of winter, whether the robbery from which he suffers was accomplished by force of arms or by a recognized system of speculation, supported by law and custom. He suffers just as keenly as though the evil were not recognized by society as the result of an approved system of business.

(?)

Mercenary speculation is nothing more nor less than a recognized and legalized system of robbery, a defining of a means by which might may be recognized as right; and modern speculative systems are only a changing of the primitive manner of perpetrating robbery and reducing others to virtual slavery. In the one case force was resorted to, and in the other shrewdness and chicanery accomplish the same result. Selfishness is the impelling motive in both cases; hence a modern speculator is nothing more nor less than a civilized savage operating under recognized and legalized methods.

It has been clearly demonstrated that the safety and independence of the Greek people was due almost entirely to their devotion to the common cause, their willingness to sacrifice selfish interests to the common good, their scorn of wealth, and their unparalleled patriotism. As soon as this regard for the common weal was lost in the struggle for selfish advancement and mercenary profit, evils began to afflict the body politic; and as the race for wealth grew intense and all absorbing just in that proportion did misfortunes, dissensions and oppression afflict the people.

From this, then, it becomes evident that the evils from which the Greek social system suffered grew primarily from two characteristics peculiar to our nature, selfishness and avarice, or rather from the one characteristic, selfishness, as avarice grows out of selfishness and is but one of its evils.

It then becomes evident that the system which tends to destroy or curb this natural evil instinct is the one which is likely to bring the most good to the society adopting it. Mercenary occupations are especially adapted to the development of this characteristic, and consequently, commercial societies are more exposed to the misfortunes growing out of it than those not so much given up to mercenary struggles.

Money, then, has merely replaced the club and spear of the savage, and the only distinction between the civilized man and the savage is the character of weapon used in his exploitings; the object and occupation of both being the same—the seizure and appropriation of the goods and services of others to the selfish use of the successful plunderer.

But there is a true civilization, and it results from the elimination of the one characteristic of our nature which alone is the part of us that is brutal, that is, the trait of selfishness. Eliminate this curse, and man is immediately exalted; the brute is eliminated from his nature, and he becomes immediately a superior being. His higher attributes assert themselves, his aspirations become noble, his spiritual nature rapidly develops, and his greatest pleasure is found rather in giving than in taking, in extending aid rather than in causing suffering.

This is the true aim of civilization, the true trend of progress.

The society, then, the institutions of which tend most effectively to eradicate this instinct of selfishness, and to replace it with a spirit of philanthropy, a devotion to the general good of all, a desire to add to the comfort and happiness of all fellow-citizens, and an ignoring of

self and selfish advantages is the society nearest allied to true progress; while the system which develops and encourages selfishness and the accomplishment of purely selfish interests, is only a phase of barbarism.

What has already been reviewed of the history of Greece goes to prove that all the evils from which that people suffered grew from this spirit of selfishness operating in various channels, but almost invariably excited by and growing out of avarice and mercenary greed. That Sparta, where this sentiment was entirely crushed and replaced by a noble devotion to the common welfare, was alone free from internal dissension, and that it was due to her alone that the mercenary states were not utterly destroyed, is strong proof of the correctness of the position taken. It is clear that Athens, given up as she was to commerce and mercenary speculation, was continually subject to turmoil, dissensions, and oppressions of her people, and that these evils grew out of the fact that her people were rendered callous by a mercenary struggle, the tendency of which was to develop to the greatest extent the spirit of selfishness. It also clearly is evident that it is impossible to control the evil effects resulting from a mercenary social system by legislative enactment, but that where the spirit of selfish advancement is encouraged the very law-making power itself is likely to be perverted and made an instrument in the hands of a few, by means of which they may more readily appropriate to themselves the results of the industry and exertions of others.

It becomes evident, then, that there is something more than wise legislation necessary to secure to a people impartial justice and a security in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, as well as to forward their advance on the road of progress and insure to them the best and most agreeable conditions of life.

A society that would be stable and harmonious, that would preserve a lasting peace and contentment among its members, can not expect to accomplish this great good by merely establishing rules of action to govern arbitrarily all who must live under its provisions. It becomes necessary to carefully prepare and fit each individual for the responsibilities, duties, and requirements that will rest upon him as a member of that society, and no individual should be admitted to full fellowship until thus duly qualified.

This preparation consists in the proper education of the child, beginning in infancy, and by careful training and teaching eliminating from his character such inclinations and attributes as, if left uncontrolled, would develop into a character dangerous to the common good and comfort of the whole, and above all to impress upon each and every one his paramount duty to his fellows above every other obligation.

The welfare of society thus becoming the highest aim of each member, it would be an easy task to devise the simple code of laws that would be necessary to control a society so constituted.

Men are but creatures of education, and the history of Sparta proves that it is not impossi-

ble to instil this high regard for the common welfare into the youth of a nation until it becomes their greatest pride to make sacrifices even of their lives for the good of their fellows.

The low instincts of selfishness being crushed the energy and genius of the people may be turned to more exalted aims, and the advancement of the commonwealth to a high rank of enlightenment and scientific progress would be an undertaking far more admirable than the individual massing of the wealth created by the general industry and the depriving of the producers of the comforts it would have secured.

Plato said that "to raise a state to true happiness it must be made *virtuous, not rich.*" The society which makes wealth the standard of merit appeals only to the beastly instincts of man, and sows the seed that will eventually ripen in the corruption and degradation of its people. It puts in operation a force that will surely counteract and overthrow every exertion made for the moral advancement of its people, and fixes a limit to the endurance of its institutions.

The struggle for personal gain is so much energy expended toward the destruction of society, while the same amount of energy expended in elevating the general intellectual and moral level would be of almost incalculable benefit in aiding the progress of the race and developing a state of general happiness and social content.

All the good which ever came to Greece came from this spirit of devotion to the common weal, and all the evil resulted from the mercenary struggle for selfish interests, and this truth is not confined to Greece, as will be clearly perceived as we proceed with our investigations.

Education, then, and a careful development of the moral natures of men, an instilling into the hearts of the young a proper sense of their obligations to their fellow-men is the first step toward the erection of a stable and truly progressive civilized society, and this first step neglected, the savage instinct of self-interest allowed to develop, it becomes impossible to control the evil inclinations, and society becomes merely a savage warfare, the struggle varying in its character and thus producing more or less discomfort and suffering, but never a condition of general content.

Under the modern commercial system no society can ever be truly said to be at peace, because when not combined in a struggle against some other society or nation, the people are engaged in a struggle among themselves, from which grows up bitterness, envy, hate, malice, injustice, oppression, and all the evils human nature is heir to, while if the combined energy of the people was exercised in the common advancement and with a due regard to the rights and comforts of all, the resulting good would be beyond calculation.

The commercial system is merely a system of plundering, and when a nation is said to be at peace its people are merely occupied in plundering each other instead of a common enemy.

This struggle, then, for self, in which all

societies are engaged, is a condition of perpetual warfare, while if the national energy was exerted in harmony for the good of all it would be expended in the advancement of society generally and the good of man, instead of being entirely wasted in the endeavor to prey on one another.

This idea must not be confounded with the idea of a community of property by any means, but merely a rectifying of the system of commerce and the elimination of the idea of speculation or the profiting by the misfortunes or necessities of others; the mere inculcation of the principle that a man is entitled to the full product of his labor, and that in all exchanges he must receive equal value for what he gives; that to profit by another's ignorance, necessity, or weakness is dishonorable, and that wealth is in no way honorable, as the possession of an undue share by one is evidence that others have been wronged out of what is justly theirs and must suffer from its loss; that honor can only be earned through service to the common cause, and credit is due only for services rendered, and not because of the gathering together for selfish enjoyment the results of the labors of others.

Every society produces enough to keep all its members in comfort and a surplus to spare, but the result of our mercenary system is that a few enjoy the greatest luxury while a far greater number are deprived of even necessary comforts. Were men taught that it was contemptible and dishonorable to thus pamper themselves while their fellows suffered and that true nobility of soul would scorn such action, that true honor lay in assisting their fellow-citizens to better their condition rather than reducing them to pauperism, there would be no desire to accumulate beyond comfort and no possibility of the existence of poverty. There would be no need for legislation restraining the avarice of men and the general level of intelligence and morality would be raised. Wars of conquest for tribute or for commercial supremacy could never occur, and peace would offer the opportunity for greater exertion in the fields of science and general knowledge.

Education, then, is the foundation-stone of a truly stable and just society, and it is here that all social reforms should begin. When men are thus prepared to enter on a higher plane of social duty, then it will be time enough to consider the character of legislation necessary to perpetuate this system in its greatest perfection, but so long as men are governed by purely selfish motives and mercenary interests it is useless to hope for the establishment of justice or the highest results from the exercise of human genius.

No great good to the race or advancement of civilization ever grew out of mercenary ambition. All progress has been made through the self-sacrifice, true philanthropy, and virtuous aspirations of men whose characters were devoid of the least mercenary taint, and every advance so made has been retarded and hindered by the selfishness and greed of the mercenary and speculative class.

Sparta, with this characteristic of her people entirely destroyed, was the soul of Greece.

From her the Greek people drew all those noble inspirations which rendered them capable of the great actions they performed. Sparta knew no poverty or wealth, no luxury or suffering, no dissension or internal strife, no jealousies or bickerings among her people, and for centuries prospered and flourished; holding the most honorable position among the greatest people of the earth, and all the while was occupied in conciliating and settling the dissensions and strife that were constantly growing up between the people of the commercial states where mercenary ambition was the only inspiration; and thus she continued until her people were corrupted by the evil that finally brought ruin to all alike.

It must, then, be admitted that selfishness is the prime cause of all social discord, and that this characteristic is especially developed and strengthened by a mercenary life. That a commercial society, being given up to mercenary occupation, is most likely to become corrupt and the people to be subject to oppression, and consequently exposed to the evils of internal strife and the great sufferings it entails, as well as the probability of overthrow, or at least frequent changes of its conditions.

The true remedy then seems to be in the removal of the prime cause of these evils and the turning of the ambitions of the people from these purely selfish and mercenary incentives to higher and more honorable aims and aspirations; to make virtuous and philanthropic actions the only honorable achievements, and the accumulation of wealth undesirable, if not disgraceful.

This can only be accomplished by a proper and rigid education of the young in this direction, and a united action on the part of the masses to counteract and render futile the endeavors of the speculative and mercenary class to impress their sentiments, characteristic selfishness and heartlessness upon the character of the people generally.

The large majority of the people are naturally inclined to a generous sentiment toward their fellows, and it is only the dire necessity put upon them by the conduct of the speculative element to protect themselves that renders them apparently selfish and often unjust in their conduct. Relieved of this influence, it is likely that the masses would readily ignore the false teachings of a mercenary system, and, acting together for the accomplishment of an understood purpose, they could easily control this intensely selfish and mercenary element and bring to bear a powerful influence upon public opinion and prejudices.

The evil element in society being thus, as it were, isolated, would soon fall into contempt, and a healthy revulsion of sentiment could be then directed in the way of a higher and more civilized system of popular co-operation and a promising beginning be made toward the establishment of a social system more in harmony with the enlightenment of the age, with universal justice, the dignity and independence of the citizen, and the happiness and true welfare of the race.

So long as our legislatures are occupied entirely with the granting of franchises and im-

munities to speculative and mercenary schemes, with providing means for the collection of debts and the enforcement of pecuniary obligations, with merely aiding money-gatherers in compelling tribute from the people, little can be expected from that source toward the progress and improvement of society, the advancement of the common good, or the cause of civilization. The people must look to themselves alone for help, and by united and well-directed action destroy this spirit of mercenary, selfish interest and replace it with a nobler ambition and higher appreciation of the common welfare and the happiness and comfort of their fellow-citizens.

What higher aim could an honorable man have than the bettering of the condition of his kind? How contemptible all selfish aims appear in comparison!

ADDRESS OF PRES'T J. P. BUCHANAN

To the Tennessee State Alliance at Nashville, July 23.

Fellow-Laborers in the Great Agricultural Interest of Tennessee:

Another year has passed away; and again time in its onward flight brings us together in the capacity of a deliberative assembly to review the work accomplished and to formulate plans for greater progress and prosperity in the future.

Twelve months ago, when we met for the first time as a State Alliance in this hall, we had 17 counties organized with 317 sub Alliances, and to-day we have 33 counties organized and 624 sub-Alliances; so you see, brethren, there is much cause for satisfaction with the progress of the order, with respect to increase of membership, but much more with reference to the great influence that has been acquired in the minds and hearts of the people of Tennessee; by the wise conservative policy of the Alliance and a strict adherence to the principles of the order, we have grown in the hearts of the people.

The three great purposes of the Farmers Alliance are, first, to benefit each farmer individually; secondly, to benefit the whole body of farmers; and, third, to benefit all persons in the pursuit of any legitimate and honorable business. We strive for nothing beyond "Equal and exact justice to all;" and the result of the grand triumph to which we are tending, will be "Peace on earth, and goodwill toward men." And in all things undertaken by the Alliance let the three great purposes of the order be strictly adhered to, and success will ever crown our efforts, and we will have the approval of all good people, and a blessing of a righteous and beneficial Providence. There are no three greater duties of practical Christianity than to strive for the interests of one's own household, and for the interests of one's fellow-laborers, and for the interests of one's fellow-citizens. At first our brethren could do but little more than to learn and to put into practice the principles pertaining to individual members; and as a grand result we find that our members are less in debt and living in greater peace and contentment than for many years before the advent of the Alliance in Tennessee. And everything indicates a zealous determination to continue in the good work begun, and to live even with greater strictness, in accordance with the teachings of the order, "Owe no man anything, pay cash as you go."

We had but little co-operation in our organizations in Tennessee until we adopted the State agency system; this, though still in its infancy, has worked wonders for the general interest of those engaged in agricultural pursuits. It has brought about that kind of healthy competition which makes our merchants desirous of selling for cash, with short profits, and especially desirous of furnishing their customers with the best grade of goods the market affords. Our State agency has saved much to the farmers in a direct way; but possibly a thousand times as much through the indirect channel of competition; and this great lever of co-operation should be sustained and strengthened by every commendable effort of our consolidated organization.

Co-operation is the key that unlocks our future; co-operation in everything pertaining to our interest; co-operation in buying and in selling; co-operation in building warehouses and elevators; co-operation in building manufactures to convert our raw material into manufactured products. It is the great ultimatum of productive industry, the highest degree of perfection we can attain for the bettering of our condition. The practice which our organizations has adhered to of patronizing our own Tennessee manufacturers through the State agency, and otherwise, is highly commendable.

We look forward to see the day when our manufacturing interest will be so fully developed as to supply the greater part of the needs of our people with the best of fabrics at a reasonably cheap price, and when such industries will also add much value to many of our articles of export. Then, and not until then, may we expect a balance of trade in favor of the people of Tennessee. These things should be accomplished, whether the necessity shall be to live under protection or free trade, or any compromise between the two. Then let us push forward the things that we are agreed upon, and let time settle the disputed points. The cataract of destruction is too near; there is no time now for discussing methods of rowing, but let us pull for the shore.

For many years partisan politicians have been struggling with bitter strife for the possession of the Government offices. The people on the one hand have long been clamoring for justice; while on the other hand the monopolists, through corruption and bribery, have had the people enslaved to them by means of the most pernicious legislation that ever disgraced the annals of any nation, ancient or modern. National legislation must be controlled by the farmers and laborers of this country to the extent of securing their own safety. We must send men into our National councils who are with us and for us, and will defend our interest before the world. The time is past, brethren, for the farmers and laborers to be fed on promises. We have had that diet long enough. The time is now at hand when we should send men to represent us in our National legislature by their vote and influence, in helping us to down these trusts and combines that are daily forming against our interest. The contest into which we are now preparing to enter is one of huge proportions and of most momentous consequences. If we fail, then never did Russian serf nor Hindoo slave sink to as low and servile condition as will possibly overtake our posterity in the not very remote future; but if we are successful, then we will go forward to complete our noble American history, the grandeur of which in the past can only be surpassed by that which will be accomplished in the future.

It is truly said we should judge the future by the past, and it is often asserted that history repeats itself. And when we examine the history of Grecian civilization we find many things of great interest to us as American citizens, and most of which we are repeating day by day. The Spartan Republic founded by Lycurgus had a striking parallel in almost every American colony that was established. The rise and progress of the power of Athens under the institutes of

Solon had a marked similarity to the development of American affairs, from the time of the adopting of the Constitution to the beginning of the civil war. The age of Pericles, with its universal suffrage, its wonders of inventions in science, arts and literature, and its final change into everything that was evil and oppressive, is now being reproduced in our own country. Up to the commencement of the late civil war we were a happy, prosperous people, but now every legitimate interest of the people has been made to suffer at the hands of huge combines, formed by avaricious speculators. Again, shall we say that the rise of Macedonian power under Philip was like that of the farmers and laborers of the present, whose power and influence is slowly but surely insinuating itself into every department of popular interest? And shall we expect the universal Dominion of Greece under the reign of Alexander to be repeated in these modern days, by all nations becoming so imbued with the principles of our order that peace, prosperity, and good-will shall reign throughout the world?

Hope, radiant with expectant smiles, answers again and again, that we may; yet with all these bright prospects before us, we must not fail to render our success permanent, for in no other way can there be security and progress. All observation teaches that it is much more easy to attain to success in a noble cause than it is to render success permanent and profitable. When the cause (like this of ours) is a righteous one, its own natural and moral impetus is the primary element of success, while the efforts of the people are only secondary; but the permanency of success already attained is principally due to the continued worthiness and activity of the people themselves.

The question, then, naturally arises in our minds, "Is our cause worthy of success; and are we worthy of the permanency of success?" The cause of the farmers and laborers is one against wicked and unjust combinations, by which labor is deprived of a fair and just compensation, thus causing the farmers and laborers to be forced unwillingly from year to year into a deeper and deeper state of poverty and degradation. Again, our cause is one which favors a more deserving part of the comforts of life for our wives and little ones as a result of our labors in the fields, the mines, the shops, and the factories of this country. Our cause also seeks to strengthen the laborers by every fair endeavor because they produce the means and material by which genius has been enabled almost to obliterate time and space in transportation and communication, and to push forward all the useful arts to a point of perfection, the possibility of which was not imagined by people in former times. Not even by those of the last century. Our cause also seeks to promote the general welfare and progress of the whole American people. The intellectual, moral, and religious standing of any nation is always estimated from the condition of the great mass of its inhabitants. Our people are principally laboring people, and when by our united efforts we shall secure to them a fair remuneration for their labor, they will be able to give their children that intellectual, moral, and religious training which will place America in the lead of the great procession of civilized nations of the world.

All great principles, both human and divine, stand boldly forth in support of our great undertaking; our cause is then both worthy and righteous, and as it is supported by millions of farmers and laborers, its success is a certainty. Then let us be in readiness to guard and defend this success and to make it as permanent and lasting as time. Tell me not that this grand cause, in the glorious triumphs of victory, will be deserted or neglected by the posterity of those who, led by the immortal Washington, stormed the battlements of Yorktown; or by

the posterity of those who followed Andrew Jackson to the memorable victory of New Orleans, or by the posterity of thousands who have made the affairs of peace as brilliant as those of war. Nay! sooner will the stars fade from the azure sky, and the glorious king of day mantle his face with perpetual darkness; sooner will the archangel sound the knell of time, and nature's bonds dissolve.

When the great combination of farmers and laborers shall have destroyed the influence of monopolized wealth in productive industries, in commerce, and in National and State legislation, then the power of our organization will be exercised in removing the sources of oppression and in securing lasting justice and safety to the great mass of American laborers of every pursuit and calling. And the huge problems of finance, interest, transportation, commerce, industry, taxation, education, and others are already looming up before our thoughtful, and enlightened brethren; and rest assured, brethren, that there is brain power enough in our organization to analyze everything pertaining to our interest, and to distinguish between the practical and the impractical, and there is moral power sufficient to eliminate the wrong, and to establish the right; and that there is spirit, energy, and determination in ample amount to overcome all opposition and bring the necessary reforms to a successful termination. The fullness of the time is rapidly approaching; already the day star of hope is rising to herald the advent of a new era in the affairs of our people.

December's days will scarcely half be past before united millions will stand arrayed in one solid phalanx against the common foe, monopoly in its every form.

Brethren, as this is the last time the Farmers Alliance of Tennessee will ever meet under that name, with all the joy I feel in anticipating the grand success of the organic union, my heart is yet sad, for I have learned to love the name of the Farmers Alliance, and will ever feel proud of her history; proud of the noble band of men comprising her membership; proud of the results accomplished; proud that I have been honored by an organization whose aim is to elevate man.

Thanking you again from the depth of my heart for the confidence reposed in me, regretting my inability to accomplish as much as I desired to see accomplished, I close by wishing each and every member success and happiness in this life, and when done fighting the battles of the farmers and laborers here below, may they find a happy entrance in that haven of rest where monopoly will never enter.

aims and objects are the same, we are trying to accomplish the same grand results, "And in union there is strength." Then, delegates of the Farmers Alliance of Tennessee, let me urge upon you to use all of the combined energy and wisdom in your power to unite these two sister organizations in one solid, compact body. Then we can go forward as one grand body of farmers and laborers to meet our common enemy, monopoly. And if we prove ourselves worthy of success by acting in unison, one with another, being firm, obeying the fundamental principles of the order, there is no power on earth that can contend successfully against us. We are bound to succeed, for we have justice and equity on our side. Right will triumph over wrong, if we only prove true to our order.

In conclusion, let me say to the brotherhood of the Farmers Alliance of Tennessee, that it is with a grateful heart, full of love to overflowing for each individual member, that I return my thanks to them for the high compliment paid me by selecting me to fill the high and responsible position of State president for the last twelve months; and the uniform courtesy and kindness that has ever characterized the deportment of this grand body, composing the Farmers Alliance of Tennessee, toward me will ever be appreciated, as long as reason holds her throne, as one of the brightest periods in life's history; and my regrets, brethren, are that I have not been able to discharge the trust committed to my care with that ability and success that you had the right to expect and I desired to see. I have done the best I could, under existing circumstances, for the success of the order.

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In the report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor for the State of Ohio, for the year 1888, the following list is given showing the amount of farm mortgages in the States named:

Ohio	\$701,000,000
Indiana	398,000,000
Illinois	620,000,000
Wisconsin	250,000,000
Michigan	350,000,000
Minnesota	175,000,000
Iowa	35,000,000
Nebraska	140,000,000
Kansas	203,000,000
Missouri	237,000,000

Total farm mortgages in these States..... \$3,425,000,000

By the census of 1880 the total value of all the farms in these ten States was reported as \$5,107,040,000; what increase in this value the census of 1890 will show remains to be seen, but the contrast of the two aggregates given is startling, and these are the most thriving agricultural States in the Union. Our

Industrial Communities.

Ranging through the empyrean of fancy in search of a runaway thought the kite of my imagination became entangled with a most brilliant idea which it brought to earth, not without, however, missing the straggling thought. Pardon me, Mr. ECONOMIST, if I advance an idea and endeavor to incorporate it into a system, when you have already so many founded on the true principles of economy, on reason and justice, which are gradually growing under the masterly hand of your paper into form and practicability. The people that sat in darkness saw a great light! The scales are being lifted from their eyes and they are becoming cognizant that of tyrannies the worst is a moneyed tyranny—in fact it has always been the source of almost all tyranny through past ages.

Capitalists who would be satisfied with a reasonable income on their money could engage in this undertaking, erect shops and factories on this plan and sell the shares as a business. This would be an undertaking worthy of a philanthropist and patriot, several of whom still live. Harry Hinton is proud of our millionaires. No nation can boast of so many. They are a jovial, spirited crew, making merriment and conviviality all around the globe. Anon they will drink champagne and feast with the lords and ladies of London, then passing over to beautiful France they will flirt with the belles of Paris, and then passing on they will go sky-larking down into Italy, so serene. They will not neglect Egypt and the Pyramids. Here they will put a few chips knocked off in their satchels. They will visit Palestine and get a piece of the Holy Sepulcher. Other shrines of great antiquity and of mighty spiritual influences they will visit, and having loaded their satchels with the precious treasures they will return to the land of the free and the brave. One hundred and ten millions of American gold they have transported to bear expenses, but that is nothing to be compared to the valuable relics they bring home. Perchance they may fall in and procure one of the bones of the saints or a piece of the true Cross, or they might procure an Apollo Belvedere or a Venus de Medici, and then we would be blessed beyond all the minstrel has told.

The farms will be a sure fall back on in case of need, and always a means of support. This will furnish employment for women and children who might otherwise be idle, and many men might find employment on the farm who would not work in a factory. They might cooperate in schools and stores and other matters necessary.

In a plant of a \$100,000 value having 144 40-acre farms, each farm improved valued at \$700 a share would be worth about \$1,400. Put it at \$1,500 to include share in store and other things. Thus for \$1,500 those who are able could put themselves in a position to earn bread and money. Should it suit purchasers each share could be made only half as large. Were there not purchasers coming any share could be leased until a purchaser came.

There are a thousand and one lines in manufacturing in which the plant is not costly. And it is not intended to confine these industrial communities to one species of manufacturing, nor is this system to be confounded with the bosh of the Oneida community in the State of New York. Each man owns his own property and does his own work under the surveillance of officers elected by themselves, and receives his proportion of the dividend in proportion to the work done in the factories by the piece or by the day. The farm work is a separate business, each independent of the other, unless otherwise directed by the president and the directors. In fact, a shareholder need not work any unless necessary to keep the work going on.

It is useless for me to go into minute detail or to meet various objections against its practical working. Enough is said to show the nature of the system, and time and experience will have to perfect what can not be foreseen,

bringing light, or you shall be a constellation of stars, taking the place of Orion or the Pleiades. Best of all, my brother, the angel who sits upstairs and writes in the big book, will put you down as "one who loves his fellow-man."

This system, if carried to perfection, will revolutionize the commercial and manufacturing interest of the world. The United States has the idle labor, seeking employment, to manufacture, under this system, two-thirds of the world's needs. There can be no strikes. There will be no shut-offs; no limiting the output, for the labor will be self-supporting. Such labor can compete with any market in the world, and with any labor in the world. It will be respectable and dignified, as American labor should be. This is one of Harry Hinton's bright ideas.

HARRY HINTON.

The Virginia State Alliance.

The Virginia State Alliance met Tuesday, August 6th, at Luray, thirty-five counties being represented, an increase of thirty since last year. The president's address fully explained the progress of the work, and how much was accomplished amid difficulties, one of the principal being lack of active organizers in the field. Two counties in West Virginia had delegates present for the purpose of gleaning knowledge as to the workings of a State Alliance, expecting that such an organization would soon be in operation in that State. The meeting was harmonious, and the result will, no doubt, be an accelerated growth in membership, steps having been taken to supply the demand for organizers. The present business organization includes State and county agents, but a start was made in the direction of a State Exchange. The committee on State Exchange made report that the plan of South Carolina was acceptable to them, but recognizing the diversity of states in many States, it was deemed best that a committee of seven be authorized to sit at convenient times, with very wide powers, and prepare a plan after comparison of the plans of the several Exchanges now in existence, and make their decision known to the subordinate and county Alliances before the selection of delegates to the next State Alliance, that instruction may be given such delegates which will make it possible for compliance with the will of the membership.

Maj. Mann Page, of Burrowsville, vice-president of the State Alliance, is chairman of the committee thus created. Col. G. T. Barbee was re-elected president, and J. J. Silvey secretary. J. D. Shepperson, of Hillandale, Charlotte County, was elected lecturer. Consolidation was unanimously ratified, and Maj. Mann Page selected as delegate to the St. Louis meeting, with Maj. George Chrisman alternate. Altogether, Virginia is now on the road to complete organizations.

The population increases steadily, and as steadily the volume of the currency decreases; a fool ought to be able to comprehend the consequences.

The real conquerors of the world are not the generals, but the thinkers, the minds that evolve plans for elevating man, not the arms that crush and debase him.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.
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C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are fifty cents a line nonpareil. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement desired.

The publishers of this paper have given a bond in the sum of \$50,000 to the President of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America that they will faithfully carry out all subscriptions and other contracts.

The Farmers Association that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST represents at their national official organ now contains a membership of over one million, and by means of organization and consolidation they expect to number two millions by January 1, 1890.

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SUBSCRIBERS TO THE ECONOMIST can have their time commenced with back numbers, by so specifying at the time of subscription. The series of articles by Mr. Hudson, on railways, began with No. 8, and "History and Government" with No. 1.

Back numbers of THE ECONOMIST can be had by application to this office, at 2 cents a copy.

Subscribers who desire their papers changed from one post office to another must mention the old as well as the new address.

Postage stamps should never be sent in transmitting money to the ECONOMIST. They are of little use in such quantities as received for subscriptions at this office. Remittances should be by money order or postal note, and may be made at the expense of this paper.

Clubs of Five.

THE ECONOMIST has arranged with Hon. Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutocracy, or American White Slavery," to distribute that book as a premium to persons sending in clubs of five annual paid subscriptions at \$1 each. The book to be mailed in return is bound in paper, post paid, by the ECONOMIST.

A BOSTON sugar refiner sold his establishment to the "trust" for \$900,000, receiving for it trust certificates to three times the amount of the price, or \$2,700,000, upon which, after a few months' operation, a 6 per cent. dividend was paid. This is why sugar is high, as well as all other articles handled or produced by trusts. All operate on the same principle.

THE communication from Mr. N. A. Dunning, author of "The Philosophy of Price," a recognized authority on the question at issue, is not too strong in its denunciation of the method of newspapers in dealing with this important issue. The ECONOMIST is aware, as is every thinking man, that were there really \$125 in circulation for every head of family, the volume would be made sufficient for the business of the country only by a general system of discounts and loans, at an enormous cost to the industry of the country. But to approximate this (\$25 per

capita) must be considered as in use the enormous hoard in the Treasury, which is as useless as though actually destroyed, as well as all hoards of banks and individuals, held to extort usury and reduce wages and the price of products.

The calculation of Judge Simrall, in his able paper last week, is far more accurate than the conclusion of the Republic, and puts the volume of money susceptible of use as currency at \$20.50 per capita.

THE word bond, as applied to evidences of American indebtedness, is a most appropriate one. Bonds are the shackles which bind American citizens in a system of slavery to the money lords.

Entering Politics.

The Virginia State Alliance has indorsed and joined in a demand which originated in the Virginia Farmers Assembly, that certain specific laws should be enacted by the legislature of that State. The legislation contemplated relates to transportation, taxation, fertilizers, etc. The Virginia Alliance also adopted a memorial to the Congress, praying for the repeal of the tax upon tobacco.

Thus it will be seen that the Virginia State Alliance has entered politics to the extent of asking that the law-making powers shall be exerted in relieving them of operous financial burdens imposed by the laws.

It is not the intention of the farmers of Virginia, however, to be politicians. They believe that the men elected to office in a State where farming interests more people and capital than all other industries combined can not neglect a plainly-expressed desire for reasonable and just legislation. In the vices of nomination and canvassing for office the Alliance will not participate. The members will vote as their individual preferences may suggest. It is not reasonable to expect that the methods of the approaching campaign will be different from those of other campaigns. It would be fair to assume that no man can be elected who does not offer guarantee that his efforts will be toward the desired reforms, were it not well known that parties and caucuses consider themselves inscrutable and bound more by party rules than by duty to constituents.

THE amount received by labor in the United States is about 18 per cent. of its total product. Thus more than four-fifths of the values produced by industry go into the coffers of the idle, who are enabled to perpetrate this robbery by special privileges and advantages conferred by unjust and discriminating laws. Yet the very fundamental principle of our Government is that "all men are equal." We proclaim that "the voice of the people is the supreme law." Was it the voice of the people, who suffer by it, that decreed this condition?

Mr. Burrows's Memorial Sustained.

EDITOR NATIONAL ECONOMIST: Your issue of April 13th contains a statement of Mr. Burrows regarding the amount of circulating medium.

The St. Louis Republic questions its correctness, and submits some wise conclusions of its own. No one should be surprised; the subsidized press is paid for this kind of work. It is a part of their contract to print all statements coming from the banks or Treasury as true, and assail all propositions to the contrary as false. This is done mechanically, without thought or investigation. Below I submit a

farmers may expect platitudes. If firm in demanding legislation they may secure what they desire, but if successful they will be the first producers who have been able to shape legislation in their own interest.

To ask that good laws shall be enacted and bad laws repealed is a defined purpose of the Alliance, and the method adopted by the Virginians is one by which the organization can avoid indorsement of party platforms and pledges. If this fail a party independent of those now controlling the various States may be resorted to. The Alliance has many reforms in its list of possible demands, and its platform as a party would contain planks meaning more than the platitudes usually put out to catch votes. The reforms must come. If independent political action be necessary those interested in farming are a majority of the people of the country, and by uniting can themselves perform what they will otherwise leave to the politicians. Should the reforms be granted there will probably never be an Alliance party.

THE military authorities are of opinion that the time has come when Congress should consider the expediency of erecting large and permanent posts upon the Mexican frontier at such points as will give easy and rapid communication. The next opinion for the military authorities to entertain will be the establishment of permanent posts at various large commercial centers with easy and rapid communication. It would be in the order of present tendencies. But the one thing we do not want in this country is military posts, or even an excuse for a standing army. Soldiers in time of peace are a constant menace to the liberties of the people. The idea of trouble from Mexico is moonshine. Texas alone could attend to such a little affair and a soldier not be drawn from any other State. The people of this Nation have always responded to the call for soldiers, and have been soldiers worthy of the name. They need neither a mercenary standing army nor "large and permanent posts" to protect them.

THE amount received by labor in the United States is about 18 per cent. of its total product. Thus more than four-fifths of the values produced by industry go into the coffers of the idle, who are enabled to perpetrate this robbery by special privileges and advantages conferred by unjust and discriminating laws. Yet the very fundamental principle of our Government is that "all men are equal." We proclaim that "the voice of the people is the supreme law." Was it the voice of the people, who suffer by it, that decreed this condition?

carefully-prepared table, showing, as nearly as possible, the facts concerning this disputed question. I hope every reader of the ECONOMIST will preserve it. It contains abundant evidence to explain the present distressing condition of affairs, and condemns those who have perpetrated this infamous outrage.

CIRCULATION PER CAPITA.

Year.	Circulation.	Population.	Per Capita.
1866	1,863,409,216	35,819,281	\$52.01
1867	1,350,949,218	36,269,502	37.51
1868	794,756,112	37,016,949	21.47
1869	730,705,638	37,779,800	19.34
1870	691,028,377	38,558,371	18.70
1871	670,344,147	39,750,073	16.89
1872	661,641,368	40,978,607	16.14
1873	652,896,762	42,245,110	15.45
1874	632,032,773	43,550,756	14.51
1875	630,497,609	44,896,705	14.04
1876	630,316,970	46,284,344	13.40
1877	586,328,074	47,714,829	12.98
1878	549,510,187	48,935,806	11.23
1879	534,424,248	50,155,788	10.65
1880	528,524,267	51,660,456	10.23
1881	610,632,433	53,210,269	11.48
1882	637,404,084	54,806,577	11.97
1883	648,205,895	56,550,714	11.48
1884	591,476,978	58,144,235	10.17
1885	538,405,001	59,888,502	8.90
1886	470,574,361	61,685,218	7.63
1887	428,452,221	63,535,774	6.67

Space will not permit me to detail the amount of research, figuring, and comparing it has required to obtain the facts given in the above. There is not a single document sent from the Treasury Department that is not misleading. All the tables, statements, etc., are made by trained statisticians, whose cunningly-devised phrases, adroitly-constructed terms, and wonderful manipulation of figures make it almost impossible to find out the truth. A public document, especially one touching finance, is a "fraud, a delusion, and a snare." For example, the treasurer's report claims a certain amount of currency in the United States treasury. This statement is untrue; nearly sixty millions of this amount is deposited in National banks without interest to the Government, but is being loaned to the people at the highest possible rate. "False in one, false in all," is an old maxim, and may very properly be applied to those who are controlling the moneyed interests of the people.

In all discussions of this character one important fact should be understood at the beginning. All exchanges are made either with cash or credit. The more cash the less credit. At present 98% per cent. of the exchanges are made with credit currency such as checks, drafts, etc., etc. The remaining 1% per cent. only is made with cash currency. Credit currency is expensive. It is but another form of usury, and always comes out of the pockets of the producers.

The more cash currency we have the less credit currency we use, and as a result the less interest we pay. The cost of this credit currency enters into all profit calculations, and is simply enormous. After passing a given point no business is done without the consent of the makers of this credit currency. In consequence of which prices of labor and its products decline. When plain figures are placed before the people showing the amount of money in actual circulation, it appears absurd on its face, and many say "we have as much currency as ever," and "it would be impossible to conduct the business of the country on so small a per capita."

Both assertions are correct, but the prime fact is overlooked that what is wanting in cash currency is made up in credit currency, which has to be bought at a high figure. We must avoid purchasing any more credit currency by showing the people how unnecessary and expensive it is. To this end Mr. Burrows made his intelligent and truthful statement, and for that purpose I have written this.

N. A. DUNNING.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,
AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

BY JAS. F. HUDSON,
Author of "The Railways and the Republic."

No. 15.

DISCRIMINATIONS AND RAILWAY THEORIES.

There is an evidence of progress, even in railway circles upon railway relations to public rights, in the fact that at the present time, the gross injustice of favoritism between individual shippers is almost universally conceded. With the exception of the most irreconcilable and extreme supporters of the right of whatever corporate policy may decree, it is now almost universally conceded that the practice of giving a special shipper, who may be connected by ties of interest or relationship with the officials

of the railways granting those favors, vital advantages in transportation, is an injustice to the public, and an evil that should be rigidly prohibited. Only a few years ago, those who denounced the injustice of creating a favored class in commerce by the exercise of preferences on the railway highways, were frowned upon as meddling with private business of the corporations with which the public had no right to interfere, or were majestically waived aside as lightly trenching upon the sacred intricacies of the occult science of railway rates, with which none but the great railway managers in charge of the railways were, according to this view, qualified to deal. This opinion was expressed in a number of magazine articles by such writers as Messrs. Crafts, Patterson, and Lansing, published from five to seven years ago. At that period the opinion might be accepted as the authoritative railway theory, that while discrimination in rates as between shippers might exist, it was a matter beyond the comprehension of the ordinary public, and in which the public had no right either to inquire or to interfere.

There is undoubtedly ground for encouragement in the progress which has been made from this attitude to the general recognition on the part of intelligent railway men of the undoubtedly evil and injustice of preferential rates, and the rightfulness of the prohibition of preferences by the interstate commerce act. It is true that this recognition is weakened and confused by ideas of discrimination which are preconceived through the education of railway methods, and views that are prejudiced by railway interests. Thus during the past year or two, many cases have appeared in which the idea of the injustice of giving one favorite shipper better rates than those of his rivals, is mixed up and confounded with indefinite railway ideas that reductions of rates, which are accessible to all shippers, also constitutes a violation of the principle, and amounts to illegal and unjust discrimination.

It is hard to conceive that any such idea is seriously entertained, or that it is urged for any purpose except to confuse and falsify the issue. Yet the theory that the prohibition of special

rates by the interstate commerce law, forbids the open reduction of rates has been actually expressed by railway authority. This theory

was made manifest at the inception of the law by the action of the railways in cases where open rates for the transportation of certain staple commodities had long been superseded by special rates, at which the entire business was done. Instead of reducing the open rates to the level of the special rates, at which the traffic had really been carried, the railways made the law the excuse for advancing the rates to the old and obsolete charges. It seems impossible that the railway authorities were unable to recognize that the requirement of the law was only to make the special rates at which they had been transporting all the business, open to all shippers alike. It was convenient for them, both as justifying a united effort to re-establish high rates, and as facilitating a possible unpopularity of the enactment intended to restrain their abuses, to represent that the law required the establishment of the higher rate. Apart from this interested misrepresentation, the supposed illegality of reductions, made in a form which is practically open to all the public, has received a sort of indorsement in high quarters from the decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission declaring the illegality of a rate for passenger travel, by which reduced figures were made for parties of a stated number, and the fact that the decision of that body made it one of the chief arguments against the legality and justice of the rate, that the method of placing it before the public was such that almost any single traveler could secure the benefit of the reduction. That the Interstate Commerce Commission intended to decide that reductions of rates accessible to the entire public were illegal, I can hardly believe; but its tendency to be bound by the preconceived railway theories was so strong that in the decision of this case it came perilously close to such a deliverance.

Strongly akin to this idea is that which has been formally enunciated by the highest railway authority that it is discrimination, in cases where devices have been adopted by shippers to secure economy in transportation, to permit them to have the benefit of those devices. This was the ground taken by Mr. Albert Fink, the Commissioner of the Trunk Line pool, in the case of the dressed beef rates. Mr. Fink's formal documents are still on record, elaborating the theory that because the economy of transporting only the marketable parts of the animal would, if recognized in the rates, secure to the shipper an advantage over those who require the railroads to carry, not only the meat, but the hide and the offal of the animal, therefore it was the duty of the railroad to charge the shipper of dressed beef exactly as much as the shipper of live cattle would have to pay for bringing the same weight of beef on the hoof to the consuming market.

With this confusion among the railway theorists and practical managers as to the character of discriminations it is natural that there should be even greater confusion and misrepresentation as to their source and cause, the foundations on which they stand, and the con-

dition of the railway system in which they take root. This involves not only the prejudices and preconceived ideas of railway managers, but it brings in the restraint of their personal interests and their commercial power. With their entire training and the united influence of their surroundings and interests predisposing them to the support of their exclusive control over the rates, it is natural that, even when they concede the wrong and injustice of favoritism in freight-charges, they should seek to find almost any other excuse that may be assigned for the existence of that abuse, except the one which will indicate the necessity of shearing them of the power which is shown to be prejudicial to public interests.

We have happily arrived at the point where the wrong and injustice of this abuse is generally admitted; but the question still remains, how it is to be completely and permanently abolished. We have a statute upon the National law-book prohibiting the abuse of preferential rates under stated penalties of civil damages, fine, and imprisonment; but it is still an open problem whether that law will be vigorously enforced or prove permanently effective. There is reason to hope that at present the abuse, if not entirely abandoned, is carried on much less frequently, and under much greater circumstances of secrecy. We are told by a no less respectable representative of corporate theories than Prof. J. W. Seligman, a year or so ago, that inquiry among business men will find individual discrimination and secret advantages to be as rife as ever, but more carefully concealed by various pretenses. As this assertion was obviously made to support Prof. Seligman's preconceived view that discriminations can not be prevented, except by pooling, it may be well to take his evidence with a great deal of allowance. But we have other evidences that the law has been violated, and that, as yet, there has been no case where the penalties of the law for such violation have been enforced. Join with this the fact that, before the passage of the interstate commerce law, favoritism and preferential rates were illegal by the very charters of the railroad, and that the penalties for such illegal acts, if they had been enforced, were far greater than those established by the later statute, and the question becomes a vital one, whether any mere statutory prohibition will ever be sufficient to restrain the exertion of a power which comprises the gift of fortunes and the distribution of wealth. At the proper time I shall more elaborately present the important point that to make sure of the permanent removal of this evil it is necessary to take away the foundation upon which it rests, and to abolish the power by which it is made possible. At present it is sufficient to refer to this point, for the sake of showing the importance of the study in detail of individual discrimination in order to place it beyond dispute as to what source the practice is derived from and what feature of the railway system constitutes the basis of that injurious power. Such an examination of all the leading and notorious examples in which railway discrimination has heaped the gifts of fortune upon the favorites of the railway managers at the cost of the com-

mercial public will not only enable us to perceive its wrong and demoralization, but will also perform the equally important work of showing the circumstances under which they flourish and the conditions which make them possible.

Of course our railway friends are ready with an explanation on this point. They have been quick to tell us what it is that permits and causes discrimination, and singularly enough their theory has been accepted without question by a considerable number of sincere and conscientious students of the railway problem. Mr. Albert Fink, if not the original inventor of this theory, has been, at least, its most prominent exponent. Not unnaturally, as the sponsor and parent of the policy of suppression of all competition between the railroads, he finds that the source and root of the evil of discrimination between shippers is the competition of the railroads to secure business. The anxiety of one railroad to obtain the business of its rival leaves it to offer to a large shipper a liberal and secret reduction of rates in order to secure his business, and the other railroads respond by going either to that shipper or another and making a similar reduction of rates for the same purpose. This is the accepted railroad theory as formulated by Mr. Fink. Its adoption by the general school of writers who are ready to adopt whatever theory the railway managers may prescribe for them, is by no means remarkable; but I can not but regard it as singular that writers of the intelligence of Professor Hadley and Mr. Adelbert Hamilton should be willing to accept the idea that the abuse of discrimination arises from competition, with so little inquiry as to whether it is justified by the facts. Where great and permanent evils have existed, it can hardly be regarded as necessary to accept the theories of those who have perpetrated the abuses as conclusive with regard to the best way to abolish them; and the opinion of those interests which have gained by the abuse are plainly an object of suspicion, when they are such as not only to render doubtful the reform of the abuse in question, but to strengthen other and greater abuses which the interest in question is avowedly and selfishly desirous of maintaining.

Most assuredly, the railway explanation of the foundation and source of the abuses of discrimination is not sufficient to prevent us from a detailed and thorough examination of the facts in order to discover whether it is well-founded, or whether it is not a specious misrepresentation, or at the best, an ignorant confusion, of the important issue. In studying the question, it is first necessary to point out that the evil does not consist of lowering freight charges that are accessible to all, or in the reduction of rates, based upon the decrease by invention or economy in the amount of service required. The injustice as between shippers, the destruction of commercial equality and public rights, consists in giving one shipper or interest an advantage over those engaged in the same business by affording the same service at less money than is charged to others, or a greater service for the same money. Thus if the railroad charges a shipper half as

much for transporting a hundred tons of a given commodity as it charges to others, it is plainly a wrong to the latter and an aggression upon public right. On the other hand, if the shipper should so change the form or condition of his commodity that the same supply of consumers' needs is affected by the shipment of fifty tons as would be by one hundred tons in the old form; it is plainly robbing him of the just reward of his enterprise to charge him as much for the transportation of that fifty tons as his rivals pay for the transportation of the larger amount. The evil commences whenever the exactation of rates procures to one shipper advantages over those of others that are not the legitimate outgrowth of his enterprise, industry, or energy. Violation of justice appears when either openly or by concealment one person or interest secures a greater amount of transportation for the same payment, or the same transportation for a less payment.

A study of the cases in which this has been done is necessary in order to intelligently reach a conclusion as to the nature of individual discrimination and the methods of removing the power to inflict them. By observing the conditions under which they have been maintained, their effect upon commerce, and the influence which they have exerted in building up exclusive privileges and monopolistic wealth, we may be able to discover not only the vital importance of digging them up by the roots, but may be also enabled to perceive where the roots lie, and how the effort to permanently extirpate them must be directed. The examination of this question will not only involve the reform of this particular abuse, but will throw light upon the specious arguments by which the railway school seeks to bolster up and maintain other great abuses in railroad operations. For this reason, even at the risk of appearing to argue already conceded and settled points, I shall ask the readers of the *Economist* to follow the study of individual discrimination for the purpose of settling the question:

What have been the conditions under which the railways have secured advantages to favored shippers, and what is the foundation of the power that has enabled them to perpetrate that great wrong?

THERE are 172,544 operatives engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods in the United States and their wages in 1880 amounted to \$42,040,510 according to the report of the factory owners, and, of course, it was as favorable as possible to them. This shows an annual earning per capita of \$243.50. On this amount families must be supported. What amount of comfort could a family enjoy on \$20.29 per month? Yet this is the best showing the factory owners can make. The aggregate of wages includes the salaries of foremen, superintendents, and skilled men who get comparatively high salaries, thus reducing the amount received by the bulk of operatives probably below \$15.00 per month. Yet these people must live. How are they to do it, and what is such a life worth?

ALL gold and silver coins consist of nine-tenths pure metals and one-tenth alloy.

National Co-operation.

BY J. A. TETTS, OF RUSTON, LA.

Feeling highly complimented by Bro. T. D. Hinckley by his words as well as by his devoting himself so eagerly to carry further the ideas I suggested in a former article, I can not refrain

from again coming forward under the same heading. I am pleased to see that Bro. Hinckley gives me credit for "broad-gauge ideas" on co-operation, and it was only an oversight that I did not class all producers together. But I am glad I made the omission, for Bro. Hinckley has broken the ice on a subject that I hope to see ventilated to its fullest extent before the meeting at St. Louis. This is the relation of the labor in the mines, the factories, the shops, etc., to the labor on the farm. Bro. Hinckley's experience of growth in "idea" is no doubt the experience of all true reformers. As a man climbs the hill his views become more extensive; so as we grow in the work our minds grasp new ideas that were impossible at first. I feel that Bro. H. will soon see the little more reason why the merchants fail, why they have not more customers, why those they have are so little able to pay the price asked for the goods. I once stood like he aloof from all new-fangled doctrines that smelled of Republicanism, Centralism, or Federalism, as it is better known. I thought Greenbackism a wolf in sheep's clothing, because there was a jingle of "spoons" in the music. I could not believe any good thing could come "out of Nazareth," but since I have read and studied the question I have become a Greenbacker. So far as the currency question is concerned, I know that there was a time—twenty-three years ago—when times were prosperous. Every man able to work could get a paying job, one that would furnish him good food and clothes, and if he were moderately prudent, a little surplus. This time gradually passed away, left its imprint upon memory, and the manner of its passing left imprints that may affect still unborn generations. I have given years of study to the solution of the causes that produced the change, and can now see them, though I may not be able to explain them to Brother Hinckley's satisfaction. Men who owned large amounts of United States currency at the close of the war did not want their money to stand idle making them nothing, so as soon as the smoke of battle cleared away they began investing in enterprises that promised them a return on their capital. These enterprises were generally under wage-labor—labor being a commodity on the market, brought the highest price offered, competition between different investors made labor higher—till the maximum was reached, and its price was more than its return to the purchaser. Labor being unemployed at remunerative wages, was in a good financial condition, consequently became a good consumer—increased consumption, enhanced prices, and increased the demand for the product; the increased demand for the product stimulated the demand for more producers. Thus all went well till the schemes of wily financiers were brought to bear. The time came when it was believed to be better to have a small income that was based upon a certainty than to have a larger one on an uncertainty. The capitalist had much rather have 4 or 5 per cent. semi-annually in gold paid by the Government than run the risk of loss and have greater returns from money invested in production, trade, or speculation. This scheme of sinking the Government issue of money into bonds was more than a three-edged sword. By taking the money out of circulation thousands who had been employed in remunerative productive enterprises were turned out of work and thrown upon the labor market. This formed a glut, and competition began for place (and not for price); a place in

which to labor, for bread for the family must be had let the wages be what they may. This was one edge of the sword. This putting of so much extra taxation upon impoverished labor (for labor pays all the taxes) was another edge of the sword. This impoverished labor could not consume as much as formerly—from its inability to purchase even the necessities of life in sufficient quantity—thus the products of labor began to glut the market and react on the produce by driving down its value as a consumer. Thus *ad finitum*. Then came the opportunity for the national banker. Labor would borrow of this friend (?) at 10, 12, 15, 20, and 25 per cent., and improve his opportunities for producing more, thereby creating a surplus. He produces surplus after surplus, but none of it remains with him. That maw of a devil-fish—the national banker—gets all the surplus and refuses to loose the tentacles—the mortgage—from the producer's throat. We pay through our National officers interest on our lost opportunities and give a mortgage with big interest as our present opportunity—is this the opportunity labor now has. It would have been better had we been annihilated in the last war than to have left us as we are—the prey to a system that will make slaves of the coming generation unless there be a change. Through a contraction of the circulating and distributing influence in our business world the masses have been crippled as consumers, and can easily produce more than they do consume, and through the taxing and usury the man who does produce a surplus is robbed of it for the benefit of those who were once the employers of labor at paying prices. I think Brother Hinckley will agree with me on this proposition. If contraction (and I think he will finally see it that way), was the cause of the disaster that has overtaken labor, expansion to the same per capita circulation would relieve it of its distress. If the Government were to pay off the bonds to-morrow what would be the consequence? Wall street and money lenders will tell you, if you ask them, that it would be disastrous to all the great investments capital has made; all business would be shaken to its foundations and great distress would pervade the country. Let us see. Every large bondholder would be looking around to see what to invest his money in (remember the bond is not used to employ any one or to purchase anything with, it simply lies still and grows fat from the earnings of the poor laborer that ought to go to his family). He would think over railroad building, factories, mines, farms and stock ranches. He would take some of those hundreds of thousands and hire tramps to work in these employments. His products would be consumed by the labor he employs and that of others, for the laborers would then have something to buy with and he would have a market for his labor. Suppose that on my farm, worth \$2,000, I employ three families—I give them half of what they produce, I bearing all the expenses—they by economy and industry make a fair living. Some years the return from my investment is 10 per cent., but from drought, insects, etc., I occasionally fail to get 2 per cent. I see that farming is an uncertain business. A capitalist comes and tells me he will pay me 7 per cent. annually on my investment if I will not let my tenants work my land. I take the offer and then turn them loose on the world. My farm now pays me 7 per cent. without any risks, but my tenants must tramp. This is the position taken by the Government in contraction—it stopped the employing power of many millions and turn the employees off. This made it better for the balance of the money in circulation, just as a superabundance of cheap farm labor would be to the farms left un hired. As a trust sometimes stops its production for the purpose of enhancing the price of its products,

so the Government became a party to a money trust that stopped the circulation of a large part of the money so as to enhance the value or price of the balance left circulating. Money is as much a marketable article as wheat, and the price paid for it is labor, and the scarcer it is the more labor it takes to get a specified quantity of it. This is all as plain to me as any other problem.

In the co-operation of all the working men is my hope for permanent prosperity, but there are many stumps of ignorance to cut out and many ruts of prejudice to fill up before the road to universal co-operation can be successfully traveled. We must first begin the solidifying process in the subordinate organizations, then, when we have them cemented together through State co-operation we may begin working on the structure of National co-operation. We must not be too fast or too slow, either let us begin National co-operation, the others can come in as they become fitted, and will be fitted faster by the success of the beginners. I favor co-operation with all honest labor organizations, from the railroad, the mine, or the factory. All our interests are harmonious, but we can not for years, work harmoniously in the same assemblies, as there is not sufficient education upon the principles and workings of the different classes of labor. Let Farmers Alliances co-operate whenever possible with Knights of Labor, trades unions, etc., but it is best now that we each work in our own order. There is too much chance for rivalry.

COTTON BAGGING SUPPLY.

An Important Announcement from Hon. W. J. Northen, of the Committee.

In the hurry to place orders for cotton bagging, farmers and merchants have asked the delivery, for the entire season, to be made in August and September. This will not give the mills any work for October and November. The mills can not, of course, meet so great a demand in such limited time.

I am just in receipt of a communication from the mills, asking that they be authorized by purchasers to divide out the amount already in hand and make the distribution of bagging more nearly equal. Additional orders can be filled for the early months, if the mills are authorized to carry over a part of their orders on hand to the later months.

I beg that parties who have sent in orders will accommodate this request of the manufacturers, so that all farmers may have an equal chance to obtain cotton bagging for the early months.

WM. J. NORTHEN,
Ch'm Com. Cotton Bagging.

In 1880 the New England States owned 75 per cent. of the total amount of capital invested in the manufacture of cotton in the United States, 12 per cent. was owned in the other North Atlantic States. The Southern States owned only 11 per cent. leaving only 2 per cent. for all the other States. Only 25 per cent. of the entire capital invested in the manufacture of cotton is operated outside of the New England States. The proportion has slightly changed since by increased factories in the South. The total capital invested in cotton manufacture in 1880 was \$208,280,346 and the output of product that year was \$192,090,110. The value of raw cotton consumed was \$86,945,725. Amount paid for labor, \$42,040,510. Total profit on the volume manufactured, \$63,103,875.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY, OF WOODSTOCK, MD.

THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRIES.

At the head of this bureau is our friend, Dr. D. E. Salmon, whose reputation as a veterinary scholar and practitioner rests on sure foundations, and places him, or ought to place him, above the reach of partisan malice and detraction. Of Dr. Salmon's political opinions, though we have long been friends, the writer has no knowledge, neither does he care whether they coincide with his own. As a scientific investigator, we know that he has very few equals in this country. As a bacteriologist, his skill and experience are universally acknowledged, and he has done much valuable work. His position has often been difficult and delicate to an extreme degree, and that he officially survives is perhaps the best evidence of his sound judgment in the presence of difficulties. There are few points of contact between state and federal authority, through which it is more difficult to pass a definite line of separation than the point of contact between state and federal police powers. Along this indistinct line Dr. Salmon and his assistants were obliged to act in the enforcement of quarantines in the matter of pleuro-pneumonia of cattle. That they avoided peremptory collisions is another evidence of the tact and sound judgment of Dr. Salmon, for such collisions would appear to have been almost inevitable. We have not heard the last of collisions along this line, both in the matter of animal and human plagues and quarantines. In no case is public authority and interference more peremptory and repressive of individual claims and rights than in this very matter. The kinship of quarantine to a state of martial law is evidenced by the fact that the "military cordon" is one of the methods of quarantine; and if we reflect that the military cordon is a line of soldiers with loaded guns we see how in some cases a state of quarantine is equivalent to a state of martial law. In the presence of a deadly epidemic we feel that it is a case of a house on fire that must be put out and we must not be squeamish as to the methods employed. The rule of law now seems to be that within the jurisdiction of a State the United States may pass laws and make appropriations in aid of existing State laws and State appropriations, but not contrary to their purpose and effect. Whenever two such peremptory powers appear on the same theater of action it is evident that serious collisions are likely enough to occur. The State must act first, and if not able to cope with the situation must call in Federal aid. But this case is greatly complicated by the fact that quarantines may and often do not only impede but suspend interstate commerce, and the claim is advanced that under the interstate-commerce clause of the Constitution, that commerce can not be impeded or suspended in any case except by the power of the Federal Government. Doubtless if Dr. Salmon and Dr. Hamilton, chief of the Marine Hospital Service, could be heard on the difficulties presented by these questions we should find the case is not here stated too strongly. It is evidently a very serious matter. Is the Federal Government to limit or annul the authority of the State over persons or animals which endanger the public health? Is not this a serious question? Is the rule of law, which we think we have correctly stated above, the best attainable? If yea, then some better mode of reaching prompt joint action upon the State's initiative ought to be provided than any that now exists. Definite legal authority and mode of procedure should be provided in all the States, whereby the executive of the

State shall take the initiative and invoke joint action, and the terms of such joint action should be specified strictly in a Federal statute. It was not, however, of this question we designed to speak at any length in this place. It is a very large question, and its extended discussion is scarcely within our province in this place. We shall hereafter give attention to some of the special scientific work of the Bureau of Animal Industries, which is of great interest and value to practical agriculture. We have received several of the later reports from the bureau, and in an early issue of this paper we will make from them some interesting extracts which will fairly exhibit the scope and value of the work done. We think agriculturists have reason to be satisfied with the present organization and workings of the department, unless it be that experimental culture is not sufficiently provided for as yet. No reference is here made to the political questions which have come before the department, which we apprehend have not as yet been numerous or important. In the jute business the action of the Secretary seems to have been prompt and commendable.

THE LADY ON HORSEBACK.

Equally with horsemanship is horsewomanship, a science as well as a splendid accomplishment. It is based on certain verities, certain eternal fitness, and certain eternal unfitness of things. Never was there anything seen more beautiful, more fit, than a beautiful woman appropriately mounted on a beautiful horse; her habit modest and appropriate to its intended utilities. Of female beauty there are degrees and styles, and even fashions, but it is not too much to say that every virtuous and modest woman is beautiful in some style, in some degree, after some fashion. Nor has any woman a right first to convert herself into an object which has no trace left of even a remnant of beauty of any kind or style, or sort, or fashion, and then to appear in public perched up ludicrously on the back of a horse the most unsuitable for her to ride which can possibly be found, and thus bereft at once of grace, beauty, and dignity, to ride rampant through town, stared at, laughed at, wondered at by all beholders. The riding habit of a lady, now the fashion in the parks of our leading cities, can be best and most completely described by saying it is wholly inappropriate to its uses, ludicrously ugly, and necessarily uncomfortable and even unsafe. Experience teaches that it is a waste of words to denounce the fashion of female apparel, however unseemly, however inappropriate to its intended uses, however immodest, however really dangerous to health. It is equally a waste of words to point out that which is better, more appropriate to its uses, more modest and more serviceable. We shall proceed, however, to describe our ideal, standing in jeopardy of feminine wrath all the while. Here is one of the eternal verities of the science of horsewomanship: a very large lady does not appear well on a very small horse; a very small lady appears even worse on a very big horse; most ladies look their best on medium-sized horses. Medium-sized horses are the best and safest and very much the handsomest, no small thing in this case. "A thing of beauty is a joy forever," especially if there is a woman in the case. Under-sized horses are insignificant in appearances; they are often well formed but apt to be bad tempered. Over-sized horses are always ugly, unless in a dray where they belong; nearly always badly formed, and having correspondingly unsafe action. They are by no means safe or fit for a lady to mount. The best ladies' horses are between fifteen hands and fifteen and a half hands high. They are easy to mount and dismount; two inches taller makes a very great difference in this respect.

We have seen this about Washington, viz: a delicate looking girl with fair hair and blue eyes, of about ninety-five pounds weight, riding a very big bay horse with blaze face and white legs, banged tail, roached mane and big, wide action, and a rough, hard trotter, attended by a gentleman of two hundred pounds at least; mounted on a yellow sorrel, with flax mane and tail, his flowing beard a fiery red and his nag not less than six inches lower than the lady's, his companion's, horse. He appeared to be riding under difficulties, and strained to the utmost to keep his horse's head at the lady's saddle girth. She with a stiff ugly hat, like a joint of stove-pipe exactly; a dress from under the short flapping skirts of which protruded a boot, above the top of which some inches was seen the ankle of a pair of stiff, cloth trousers, she making a curious wriggle in supposed imitation of the New Market hitch, a very ugly and somewhat vulgar jockey style. Her horse was going at a big trot, she swinging helplessly on the bit, and awkwardly bouncing six inches clear of the saddle at every stroke of the huge machinery of the animal. Both parties to this display were making themselves utterly ridiculous, of which, however, evidently neither had the slightest notion. It requires great taste and well-informed judgment of horses to select a suitable mount for a lady. Her figure, her complexion, her height should be studied carefully, and the color and size and style of her horse skillfully adapted to every particular of her person. The gaits chosen for a lady should be the walk, the canter, the gallop, and, best of all, the racking single-foot, for in that gait, undoubtedly, the pretty horsewoman rides and shows to greatest advantage. It amounts to little short of an outrage to mount a lady on a big gaited, hard-trotting, high-stepping, great, big, ugly-colored horse. There has never been in this country a fixed breed of horses fit for ladies' saddle horses. Very few thoroughbreds or hunters are either at all safe or at all pleasant for a lady to ride. No lady should ever be put or suffered to put herself on the back of one without the consent of her parents and the advice of a thoroughly-skilled horseman, whose judgment could be relied on and who knew the horse.

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE AT THE FAIRS.

At the exhibition to be held this autumn at the Grange Camp, in Fairfax County, Va., one of the experts of the division of animal industries of the National Department of Agriculture will deliver a lecture on some animal plagues, making practical demonstrations of the symptoms and nature of those diseases, and explaining, by visible facts, their origin and mode of propagation from one animal to another, and in some cases from the sick animal to man. Here is a practical, sensible thing to do, and we much hope the practice may grow. The Bureau has accomplished a great and very valuable work and the results are being now compiled in the simplest and most practical form and being prepared for public distribution. All existing information will be brought down to date. Each of our domestic animals, horse, ox, sheep, pig, will be treated of separately, and the series will constitute a very valuable addition to the practical library of the working farmer. Practical lectures on such subjects by experts should long ago have replaced the ordinary, "or'inary," semi-political harangue by some stump-speaker of more or less reputation as such, which has so long been the order of the day at our agricultural picnic and fair-grounds. Welcome this blessed change, leading up to the recognition of agriculture as a learned profession. On this subject of agriculture as a learned profession, a highly cultured and intellectual pursuit, and no mere brainless handicraft of drudg-

ery work, this writer is of design and purpose a crank, designedly and purposely like some old dotard harper, harping forever on one string, he intends, if not otherwise, then by dint and force of damnable iteration to keep this one thing needful at the front. Of all the things which agonizingly bore a man of sense, it is the worst to suffer a harangue of an hour or more by a frothy stump-speaker. One of those fellows who, like Sir Hudibras, at any time would hang for the opportunity to harangue merely for haranguing's sake. Let us hope that no opportunity will ever again be given to any such fellow to thus bore a decent assembly of farmers anywhere. "Tut, tut," said Old Oliver to the Rump, "get forth! Give place to better men." If there is nothing better to be seen and heard at a farmer's meeting than some old political mountebank doing over the some old political tricks, no sensible man ought to go there at all and put himself to the torture of an hour's harangue by that sort of a person. It will one day be proven that no side shows are necessary to interest progressive farmers in anything important relating to their profession. It will, therefore, be a good thing if the Grange camp plan shall be tried by other associations holding agricultural fairs and exhibitions. The plan, that is to say, of having competent men to discuss important subjects from an agricultural standpoint.

OXYGEN.

Oxygen is the most abundant and every way by far the most important substance in nature yet these facts are scarcely placed in the strongest light by the chemical text writers. In the chemistry of common life, in the chemistry of agriculture, in all chemistry, so great and so energetic is the part played by this gas that a review of some striking facts in its natural history will not be out of place here. Besides amounting to nearly 21 per cent. of the earth's atmosphere, it constitutes in combination more than one-half of the weight of the solid substance of the globe. Eight-ninths, for example, of the water, about one-half of the hardest and most abundant rocks, and of the soils composing the earth. It enters, besides, largely into the structural materials of all living organisms and most of their products, as, for example, wood, sugar, alcohol, etc. It constitutes, therefore, a most important part of the food supply of all living things, plants, animals, and man. If we examine the *materia medica* we shall find that oxygen compounds are the leading articles. It is clear, therefore, that as a component material of inorganic and organic matter this substance stands at the head of the list of elements.

A glance at the nature of the mighty energies set in motion and displayed by it will exhibit its chief position among the elements of matter in a far stronger light. Oxygen combines with every element in nature except only fluorine, and when we reflect that if two elements combine the identity of both is lost and practically a new substance is produced differing from its component elements in all distinctive properties as widely as the elements themselves differ from each other, we shall see what prodigious importance is bestowed upon oxygen by this wide and well-nigh universal range of combining power. Moreover, the intense energy of these combinations of oxygen, which is its distinguishing character among the elements, renders it the dominant factor in all common displays of energy and force, chemical, physical, physiological, intellectual. The intellectual movements which bring to bear the

"Armaments that thunderstrike the walls
Of rock-built cities."

No less than the thunderous forces of the demolishing artillery, traced to their source, ultimate in oxidation. The marvelous eloquence

of ancient orators which, notwithstanding the lapse of centuries, still echoes and reverberates around the world, was merely a resultant of the oxidation of the food and drink of those men, whose mighty intellects were as much a product of sundry oxidations as the workings of the great modern steam presses which preserve these priceless products of genius for the edification and delight of generations not yet born. Every one of these great orations was the direct and immediate product of the oxygen respired by the speaker as he coined and uttered those marvelous sentences. All the forces and energies of the higher organisms, man included, are directly the product of the oxygen respired, without which, as all know, no effort and no life is possible. Bear in mind, likewise, the further fact that all common combustions are merely rapid oxidations, and reflect upon the inevitable condition of man with no fire, and we shall thus arrive at some conception of the utter dependence of civilization, as well as of mere existence, upon this same great element.

Furthermore, it is a law of nature that the materials of living bodies, from the greatest unto the least, when the life-lease expires, must be rendered back to the uses of nature to the uttermost atom. Not merely in the words sublime and beautiful and solemn of the burial service, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust," but carbon to carbon, hydrogen to hydrogen, nitrogen to nitrogen, oxygen to oxygen, until all be paid. The executor of that divine decree, divinely appointed, is oxygen, by the energies of the combining powers of which, no longer withheld by the forces of the living organism, the bodies of all the dead are removed out of sight of the living. And none of the great natural functions with which oxygen is endowed is more important or more benign than this. What if all the bodies of all the dead from the beginning must be heaped and piled upon the face of the earth until the end? Would there be standing-room for the living? Let every agricultural scholar attempt to carry in his own mind a just conception of the immensity of the importance of all the great natural functions of this element, and then let him try to think what the world and the universe would be without it. Then let him turn to some chemical text-writer and see what is said of all these things.

THE CURSE OF CONSANGUINITY.

A friend calls us to account for erroneous teaching on the above question, saying "history is against you." We call for a bill of particulars on that head and pass to the next objection of our correspondent, viz: "by what authority do we say that Abraham's wife was his half-sister?" and we make reply by Abraham's.

Does our friend, who seems to have theological questions on his mind, possess a Bible? Does he not remember the story, and why not have looked it up before taking the trouble to take issue on the question? It is thus carelessly that too many people make up the grounds of their beliefs. It surely ought not to be necessary to give chapter and verse to verify this statement; nevertheless, look, friend, and be satisfied, at the twelfth verse of the twentieth chapter of the book of Genesis. "And yet, indeed," says Abraham, "she is my sister; she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife." Moreover, the father of Isaac's wife, Rebecca, was the son of Abraham's brother, Nahor. Yet again was Laban the father of Jacob's two wives, the mothers of the heads of the tribes of Israel, the son of Nahor, the nephew of Jacob's grandfather, Abraham, and the brother of his mother, Rebecca. Here then, were close consanguineous marriages in three successive generations which led to the founding of a race which is to this day the purest of the races of men. Now the average

longevity of the Hebrews is to-day greater than that of any other people, though some races are much intercrossed. The Hebrew race, pure as it is, and founded as it was in close consanguineous marriages, fully maintains its physical and intellectual vigor. Nor are modern instances lacking of people sprung from incestuous unions who exhibit neither physical nor mental defects, though their interbreeding has been both close and long continued. In view of this array of cases when we are told "history is against you" we feel justified in asking for a bill of particulars. Mr. Darwin, who set out to prove by statistics that intermarriages of near kin do, *per se*, produce deterioration, acknowledged that if his researches proved anything they proved the contrary. Moreover, we may apply to the great founder of evolution the *argumentum ad hominem*, for his own wife was his cousin and his sons appear scarcely his inferiors in intellect; his superiors in physique. We said, therefore, and are now censured for saying that legislature which passed an act prohibiting intermarriages of first cousins and penalizing their offspring as illegitimate, were doing foolishness. Our correspondent says, "all practical breeders are against you." Oh, no; the writer is himself a practical breeder of many years' experience. The case of the interbreeding of Sam Purdy fills back to their sire already given, our friend thinks more like "doing foolishness than prohibiting the intermarriages of cousins," and "he never heard of the like in any other case among horse breeders." How about Count Orlaff? On the authority of the New York *Sportsman*, it is stated that over one-third of the get of Daniel Lambert having records of 230 or better were similarly inbred to that horse. Hill's old, Vermont Black Hawk (grand old horse that he was) was often mated with his daughters and produced good stock. Diomed, Sir Archy, Messenger and other of the fillies of the American stud-book were often mated with their own daughters. It was doing foolishness that legislature was about, passing that act.

The progress and development for which we hope in the future must not be confounded with mere material discoveries and the gathering together of vast values. We are on the road to higher mental powers. Problems which now

seem to us beyond the range of human reasoning will receive their solution and open the way to further advance. The sordid limit now set will be widened, the standard of intelligence will be greatly elevated, the ambitions of to-day will appear contemptible. Progress will be not merely material, not merely mental, but moral also. The limit of present aspirations as a rule is too mercenary. The general ambition must go beyond the present material bounds which tend to degrade our moral natures, and this boundary once passed progress will receive a new impetus in the direction in which it must develop.

The last census proves that the yearly expenditures of the Government have gone on increasing from the beginning at a ratio greatly in excess of the increase of population. The increase of population has been without parallel in the history of nations, therefore the governmental expense has grown at a rate before unknown.

To insure reasonable prospects of success, we must realize what we hope to achieve, and then make the most of our opportunities.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 18.

Located in the City of Washington are the

Executive Departments of the Government. These are the Department of State, the Treasury Department, the War Department, the Navy Department, the Post-Office Department, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Justice and the Agricultural Department.

The heads of these departments constitute the Cabinet of the President and are called Secretaries, except the heads of the Post-Office Department and the Department of Justice, who are styled Postmaster-General and Attorney-General. The salary of each member of the Cabinet is \$8,000 per year.

Besides the regular executive departments there are Government Bureaus, such as the Pension Bureau, the Bureau of Statistics, of Education, Department of Labor, Government Printing Office, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, National Board of Health, United States Civil Service Commission, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum, the Museum of Anatomy, the Fish Commission, the Census Bureau, the Patent Office, and many minor institutions.

These are managed by commissioners or superintendents and are not directly responsible to any of the executive departments.

The State, War, and Navy Departments occupy a magnificent public building on Pennsylvania Avenue immediately west of the White House. This building is next to the Capitol, the most splendid and imposing structure in Washington.

The cost of the building was above \$10,000,000. The design is a modification of the Italian renaissance order of architecture, and was the production of A. B. Mullett, who for several years occupied the position of Supervising Architect under the Government. The building is four hundred and seventy-one feet long and two hundred and fifty-three feet wide and is constructed entirely of granite from Maine and Virginia quarries. The building fronts on four streets and all four facades are exactly alike and each is approached by a most magnificent grand staircase. The building is four stories resting upon a rustic basement and is crowned by an imposing mansard roof. The construction was begun in 1871.

No attempt at a detailed description could give any conception of the grandeur of this building. Its massive walls tower far above all surrounding buildings and it is the first object that catches the eye of the visitor as he approaches the city, either by rail or river. It might be said that it is a city under one roof, and, indeed, its daily occupants number more than the population of many towns whose names are familiar all over the nation.

The interior is finished with much elegance and its appearance is very impressive.

The Department of State has its offices in the South front of this building, the War De-

partment in the North front, and the Navy Department in the East front.

The Department of State ranks first among the executive branches of the Government. It was created by the First Congress in 1789, and for many years directed the affairs of the territories, and had charge of the patent and copy-

right business, but these are now in charge of special bureaus.

The head of this department is the Secretary of State, who is charged, under the direction of the President, with the duties appertaining to correspondence with the public ministers and foreign consuls of the United States, and with

Division B, correspondence with Argentine Republic, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Chili, Denmark, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Russia, and Uruguay, and miscellaneous correspondence relating to those countries.

Division C, correspondence with Barbary

States, Bolivia, Central America, Columbia, China, Ecuador, Egypt, Fiji Islands, Friendly and Navigators Islands, Hawaiian Islands, Hayti, Japan, Siberia, Madagascar, Mexico, Muscat, San Domingo, Siam, Society Islands, Turkey, Venezuela, and other countries not assigned.

The Consular Bureau has charge of corre-

spondence with consulates. There are three

divisions, A, B, and C, with certain countries allotted to each.

The Bureau of Indexes and Archives is charged with the duty of opening the mails,

preparing, registering, and indexing daily all correspondence to and from the Department, both by subjects and persons; the preservation of the archives, answering calls of the Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, chief clerk, and chiefs of Bureaus for correspondence.

The Bureau of Accounts has custody of in-

demnity funds and bonds, custody and dis-

bursement of appropriations, under direction

of the department, care of the building and

property of the Department.

The Bureau of Rolls has custody of the rolls,

treaties, etc.; promulgation of the laws, etc.;

care and superintendence of the Library and

public documents, care of the revolutionary

archives, and of papers relating to international

commissions.

The Bureau of Statistics prepares the reports

upon commercial relations.

The Examiner of Claims, lately transferred from the Department of Justice to the State Department, is charged with the examination of questions of law and other matters submitted by the Secretary of State or his assistants, and of all claims.

The annual appropriation for the department is about \$1,400,000, of which sum about \$1,200,000 are expended for the maintenance of the consular and diplomatic service.

Every portion of the State business is regarded as confidential, and the greatest pains is taken to prevent disclosures of such affairs as come under consideration.

When the volumes of consular reports are prepared for publication all passages are omitted which might prove embarrassing to the Government or the consuls. These reports contain a large amount of information concerning foreign countries and are distributed by members of Congress to their constituents; they may be had by applying to any member of Congress.

The six bureaus are divided as follows: Di- plomatic Bureau, Consular Bureau, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Bureau of Accounts, Bureau of Statistics, and Bureau of Rolls.

The Diplomatic Bureau has charge of diplomatic correspondence and miscellaneous correspondence relating to it.

Division A has charge of correspondence with France, Germany, and Great Britain, and miscellaneous correspondence relating to those countries.

Division B, correspondence with Argentine République, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Chili, Denmark, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Russia, and Uruguay, and miscellaneous correspondence relating to those countries.

Division C, correspondence with Barbary States, Bolivia, Central America, Columbia, China, Ecuador, Egypt, Fiji Islands, Friendly and Navigators Islands, Hawaiian Islands, Hayti, Japan, Siberia, Madagascar, Mexico, Muscat, San Domingo, Siam, Society Islands, Turkey, Venezuela, and other countries not assigned.

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in all parts of the world. Twenty-five foreign governments have legations in Washington.

The ministers who represent the United States at what are called first-class missions, such as those at London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, have salaries of \$17,500 per year.

At the other missions the salaries range from \$12,000 to \$5,000. The consuls have salaries from \$1,000 to \$6,000.

All the rooms of the Department of State are elegantly decorated and richly furnished.

In the department are to be found many valuable archives of the Government extending back to its foundation.

Every document is preserved and can be referred to when wanted. The accumulation of papers is enormous, but the rooms of the department are large enough to contain all that may be received for a hundred years.

The distribution of clerical labor in this department is as follows: Besides the First Assistant Secretary, who has a salary of \$4,500, and the two assistants with \$3,500, the chief clerk has \$2,500, five chiefs of bureaus and one translator with \$2,000 each; twelve clerks with \$1,800 each, four with \$1,600 each, three with \$1,400 each, ten with \$1,200 each, four with \$1,000 each, ten with \$900, one superintendent of the watch, \$1,000; one assistant, \$800; chief engineer, \$1,200; assistant engineer, \$1,000.

The salaries of Ministers and other officials in the diplomatic service are as follows: Envoy Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia, \$17,500 each; Envoy Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to Spain, Austria, Southampton, Ottawa, Ceylon, Nice, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Cadiz, Malaga, Barcelona, Fayal, Azores; Funchal, Verviers, Liege, Munich, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Aix la-Chapelle, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Geneva, Genoa, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Palermo, Messina, Jerusalem, Tampico, Laguayra, Puerto Cabello, Bahia, Para, Manila, San Domingo, and Guayaquil, \$7,500 each. Minister resident and consul-general at Bolivia, \$5,000; Ministers resident at Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, Salvador, and Nicaragua, \$10,000 each; Minister resident and consul-general to Hayti, \$7,500; to Liberia, \$4,000. Charges d'affaires to Portugal, Denmark, Paraguay, and Uruguay and Switzerland, \$5,000 each. Secretaries to the legations at London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, \$2,625 each; secretary to the legation at Japan, \$2,500; secretaries of legations at Austria, Brazil, Italy, Mexico, and Spain, \$1,800 each. Second secretaries to the legations at Great Britain, France, and Germany, \$2,000 each; clerk to the legation at Spain, \$1,200; clerk to the legation in Central America, \$1,000. Secretary to the legation acting also as interpreter, at China, \$5,000. Interpreter to the legation at Turkey, \$3,000; interpreter to the legation at Japan, \$3,500. Agent and consul-general at Cairo, \$4,000; charge d'affaires and consul-general in Roumania at Bucharest, \$4,000. Consuls-general at London, Paris, Havana, and Rio Janeiro, each \$6,000; consul-general to Calcutta and Shanghai, each \$5,000; consul-general at Melbourne, \$4,500; consul-general at Kanagawa and Montreal, each \$4,000; consul-general at Berlin, \$4,000; consul-general at Vienna, Frankfort, Rome, Constantinople, and Halifax, each \$3,000; consul-general at St. Petersburg and Mexico, each \$2,000; consul at Liverpool, \$6,000; consul Hong Kong, \$4,000; Honolulu, \$4,000; Foo-Chow, Hankow, Canton, Amoy, Tien-Tsin, Chin-Kiang, and Ningpo, and Callao, and Peru, \$3,500 each; Manchester, Glasgow, Bradford, Demark and Belfast, Havre, Matanzas, Vera Cruz, Panama, Colon, Aspinwall, United States of Colombia, Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic, Tripoli, Tunis and Tangier, Barbary States; Nagasaki, Osaka, and Hiogo, Japan; Bangkok, Siam; and Valparaiso, Chili, \$3,000 each; Singapore, Tunstall, Birmingham, Sheffield, Dundee, Nottingham, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Lyons, Cienfuegos, Santiago de Cuba, Antwerp, Brussels, St. Thomas, Hamburg, Bremen, and Dresden, \$2,500 each; Cork, Dublin, Leeds, Leith, Toronto, Hamilton, St. Johns, New Brunswick, \$2,000 each; Cardiff, Port Louis, Mauritius; Sidney, New South Wales; San Juan, Porto Rico; Lisbon, Rotterdam, Odessa, Sonneburg, Nuremberg, Barmen, Cologne, Chemnitz, Leipsic, Crefeld, Trieste, Prague, Basle, Zurich, Acapulco, Matamoras, Pernambuco, Tamatave, Apia, Maracaibo, Montevideo and Beirut, Smyrna, \$2,000 each; Bristol, Newcastle, Auckland; Gibraltar, Cape Town, St. Helena, Charlottetown, Prince Edwards Island; Port Stanley, Clifton, Pictou, Winnipeg, Mahé, Kingston, Canada; Prescott, Port Sarnia, Quebec, St. Johns, Canada; Barbadoes, Bermuda, Fort Erie, Goderich, Windsor, Canada West; Southampton, Ottawa, Ceylon, Nice, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Cadiz, Malaga, Barcelona, Fayal, Azores; Funchal, Verviers, Liege, Munich, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Aix la-Chapelle, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Geneva, Genoa, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Palermo, Messina, Jerusalem, Tampico, Laguayra, Puerto Cabello, Bahia, Para, Manila, San Domingo, and Guayaquil, \$7,500 each. 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THE HISTORY OF
THE AGRICULTURAL WHEEL
AND FARMERS ALLIANCE,
AND
THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION.

TWO BOOKS IN ONE VOLUME.

By W. S. MORGAN.

THE GRANDEST BOOK OF THE YEAR.

A LIBRARY IN ITSELF.

In this age of a multiplicity of books, magazines and newspapers the farmer and laborer, who has but little money to spare, and less time to read, is often at a loss to know just how to spend it for literature that will give him the greatest amount of information for the sum expended, and with as little reading as possible. There are books on co-operation, finance, political economy, and histories without number. Every subject has been made the theme of a multiplicity of books and papers, to secure and read all of which the farmer has neither the means nor time at his disposal. The want of a work which will briefly but clearly discuss those topics in which the farmer and laborer is concerned, and which relate to his interest has been long felt. By far the larger portion of the great mass of people have but little time to spare in enlightening themselves on questions of a business nature, and upon the economical political issues of the day. To meet this want and supply this demand has been the endeavor of the author of the present work. Thousands of persons belong to labor organizations who have but a limited knowledge of the nature of their objects, and a poor conception of their duties, either as members of such organizations or as citizens of the Republic.

The "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution" is prepared with a view of giving such information as the public desire, in as clear and concise a manner as possible. The book contains the cream of everything that has been written heretofore on all the subjects which relate to the interests of the laborer. It is a library in itself. The author has been engaged for fifteen years in gathering the information which it contains. He has occupied more than a year in preparing it for publication. Every sentence breathes instruction and every page bristles with the best thoughts of the most advanced thinkers. It is clear of all verbiage and every subject is discussed in a plain, simple, and practical manner. Not a theme is left untouched. The writer has not labored to extend the subjects with a view to filling the pages of the book to a certain size and giving it a title to sell. He has endeavored to condense and place within the reach of the reader as many subjects as could be made clear and comprehensive within the scope of a single volume. The tables of statistics have been prepared and selected with extraordinary care as to authenticity and correctness. The work is in two parts, bound in one volume.

Part first presents briefly the deplorable condition of the laborer; the necessity of organization; the origin and growth of the Wheel; its objects and aims; the origin and history of the Alliance; its growth, work, and future possibilities. The whole is embellished with numerous illustrations of officers and members of the Wheel and Alliance, with biographical sketches of their lives. About thirty pages of part first is devoted exclusively to a discussion of co-operation, and forms and instructions given for organizing all kinds of co-operative enterprises. This chapter alone is worth many times the price of the book, and will save to the farmers thousands of dollars. It is a careful, compact, and clear presentation of everything that relates to the subject. Book second discusses in a clear and comprehensive manner all the great questions of political economy which affect the interests of the farmer and laborer. The evils of class legislation are pointed out with a vividness never before reached by any other. Money, bonds, banks, corporations, trusts, tariff, land monopoly, and every issue which has been the theme of political discussion for years past is fully treated. Originality and boldness have never been surpassed. While the author has discussed these subjects in a non-partisan manner, he has, nevertheless, given the records, the political platforms, speeches, and vote in Congress of the great political parties, and exposed their connection with the system of class laws that is grinding the people down to a slavery that is worse than death. In short, the writer handles every subject without gloves.

Every paragraph in the whole volume is progressive and sparkles with vigor and enthusiasm. It is the work of one who feels what he says. Every part of the false systems of the cohorts of reaction is exposed and torn to shreds. Every position of organized labor is fortified by such a battery of eminent authorities that it is rendered invulnerable to any attack. The author has, in this book, built up a bulwark around the principles for which organized labor is contending that the storm of opposition from generations yet unborn will not be able to batter down.

The book contains nearly 800 pages, substantially bound in cloth, and is offered at the astoundingly low price of \$2.25, postage paid to any address. Agents wanted in every state. Address all orders for books or further information to:

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The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS ALLIANCE, AGRICULTURAL WHEEL, AND FARMERS UNION.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

{ SINGLE COPY,
FIVE CENTS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1889.

No. 23.

VOL. 1.

Agricultural Education.

BY M. G. E.

No reference is here intended to any system of shams and cramming, whereby a boy is to be loaded up with some of the facts of science to be taken and received as true, without question or thought, and to be retained for a greater or less length of time by a sheer act of memory. We refer to that intellectual development which is only to be acquired by sound and systematic culture, and which renders a man more fit to deal with the conditions of actual life with which the profession of agriculture places him in daily contact; which renders him a more effective man among his fellows and a better man in all the relations of life. Of such an intellectual development only the foundations can by any possibility be laid in the school-boy days of life. Many seem to suppose that education is complete when at the close of the school-life the young man is placed in possession of the instruments of culture, by the patient, life long and skillful use of which that broad and substantial intellectual growth and development may be produced, and not otherwise. Surely this is a conspicuously apparent error well known to every thoughtful person. The foundations of a sound agricultural education must be laid in a true conception of the nature of the calling as a learned scientific pursuit. On this point many fatal errors have been committed by those who have attempted to teach agriculture without that intimate knowledge of the subject in all its relations which alone can qualify any man to teach that or anything else. What, then, is modern agriculture? Is it not like modern medicine, a complex and difficult art, based upon a concrete science, and which resolves itself similarly into a number of so styled specialties, the practice of each of which in itself constitutes, rightly understood, a learned profession? As in medicine, moreover, there are charlatans and quacks, so in scientific agriculture there are absurd pretenders. Let us further take notice of the fact that the practice of the farmer and of the physician is mainly directed to the functions of living organisms. For since hygiene has become the leading branch of modern medicine, and veterinary medicine is recognized as a great and rapidly developing science, it begins to appear that biological science forms the matrix of the concrete in both scientific modern medicine and scientific modern agriculture. For example, the scientific modern farmer must know the anatomy of the domestic animals he rears as the scientific modern physician must know the human anatomy. But the human organism is merely the

anatomical masterpiece of nature, and the truly blos and abstract principles, and is brought face to face with men and things in a world of grim realities, what is he now to do? What does he know how to do? Alas! for this poor schoolboy. Thrust out of doors upon the world, too many times there is nothing in the books to show him how he is to find out his life-work, or even to help him about the finding of the doing of it. Therefore, it becomes necessary for the progress of agriculture that the post-graduate school of real life shall be well organized and equipped. Out of this necessity have arisen such institutions as agricultural societies, clubs, wheels, alliances, and other like organizations, which are so many chairs in that great school in which the actual life-work of the man is to be done. To help on the work of this school we have also State and National experiment stations and a great National Department of Agriculture. We have, moreover, papers, and periodicals, and reports, and bulletins, and advertisements, and museums, and shows, and many more instrumentalities, to say nothing of the practice and experience of neighbors, and more than all, of the man's own practice and experience.

Now, therefore, why have the politicians, who indignantly disclaim that they are professional politicians, but who nevertheless by that trade have their living, risen with one accord to denounce our Alliance as mischievous in purpose and effect? The Democratic politician denounces it as a scheme to break up the Democratic party, the Republican politician as a Democratic trick to catch Republican votes. We say to them of both parties, let us alone; hinder us not. We are about our own business; do you go about yours, if any you have. We are preparing ourselves to meet a great issue. We are arming for a great combat, a combat a l'outrance; a fight to the death. Great masses of associated capital under protection of Government have taken us by the throat. About to engage in this death struggle, we challenge all parties, demanding of them "under which king?" Are you for us or against us? Are you hostile or friendly? Give us true account. If you are against the tyranny of monopoly, we are against it; we have a common cause against a common foe. How then can we be scheming to break you up? We are battling for the rights of productive industry. Are you battling for those rights? Then have we a common cause against a common foe, and how say you we are plotting a Democratic trick to catch Republican votes? Here is a square issue. Gentlemen, politicians, meet it squarely. That is the best thing you can do. If your purposes are honest your methods will be manly and direct, and we shall find no difficulty in discovering our friends. Still less are we likely

to be against a common foe, and how say you we are plotting a Democratic trick to catch Republican votes? Here is a square issue. Gentlemen, politicians, meet it squarely. That is the best thing you can do. If your purposes are honest your methods will be manly and direct, and we shall find no difficulty in discovering our friends. Still less are we likely

to fail in developing the position of our enemies. Understand us, we are getting to be educated a little, in our post-graduate school, about men and things. We have marked out our course and we intend to pursue it. We have marked it out, not on radical and destructive, but on conservative lines, and within established lines of safety. The purpose of these Alliances, these other organizations and institutions, is educational, and is intended to better our condition, moral, intellectual, civil, pecuniary, social. In so doing we offer no offense; we do no wrong to any party not found in close alliance, offensive, defensive, with our enemies—with trusts, combines, deals, and steals. If any party be found in alliance with or exercising a protectorate over these nefarious combines let that party prepare for the onset. We will surely fall upon them, and if we do not crush them it will be because we are not able.

Such is this agricultural education of the modern sort, whereby our calling is to be made more respected and more effective in all directions in the midst of the modern world.

The Cotton Bagging Matter.

Since the meeting of representative farmers at Birmingham, May 15th and 16th, the cotton growers of the South have realized with increasing force the fact that they must consume their own product as covering for their crop if they would be free from the exactions of the combine which had arbitrarily taxed them on the crop of last year. Realizing this, as sensible men, they determined that the sooner they resorted to the use of cotton-bagging the better for their purpose, and it now appears that far the greater part of the present crop will be covered with that fabric, instead of the jute which has heretofore been exclusively used. The decision of the farmers is wise, in the economic sense, and not based upon foolish anger at the organizers of the "trust." The hope that they might be freed from the tentacles of the jute combine caused the investigation; but the conclusion is the revelation of a persistent folly in the conduct of their business heretofore. That the farmers of the South should have accepted a material in every way inferior, produced by degraded labor and imported from the remotest part of the earth on alien vessels, paying an impost before coming into use, can only be explained by the fact that hitherto the cotton farmers have permitted others to manage the distribution of their product and do all the thinking on such subjects. When the Birmingham conference decided to recommend the use of cotton the members had considered the matter fully and had conferred with manufacturers of both cotton and jute bagging. Though jute was offered at prices greatly below those fixed by the trusts, the advantage of the ultimate use of cotton determined them to recommend it exclusively thereafter. The sentiment of the farmers concurred, and, except small coteries of merchants interested in handling jute, it is difficult to find an exception to the rule of expressed preference. One only of the hundreds of County Alliances of the South spoke in opposition, and the exchanges have indorsed the

action of the farmers. A jute-factory of Galveston, the stock of which is owned by local merchants, has mustered sufficient backing to influence that exchange into neutrality and quasi-opposition. Meantime several newspapers have lent or sold their columns to the jute men, and a vigorous war has been made upon the farmers, but to no purpose, so far as controlling their action is concerned. Several large cotton-mills in different sections of the South are running night and day, and, while the crop may be delayed somewhat in its transmission, that delay will incidentally aid the growers by preventing that plethoric condition of the market in October and November which annually causes a material loss to the producer.

The present question upon which the supporters of jute harp is that of tare. Practically admitting other advantages of cotton, they insist that the commercial custom, based upon the rule of the Liverpool market, by which 6 per cent. of the gross weight of the bale has hitherto been taken, is irrepealable, and hence that the planter using cotton instead of jute will pay a penalty of 2 per cent. of his cotton for his folly, the weight of the wrapping being diminished by that proportion without consideration by the buyer. The facts do not justify such an assumption. When the New Orleans and New York Exchange first entered into correspondence with that of Liverpool the latter replied that it wanted information with the view to legislating upon the question, but asked the American Exchanges to do all in their power to encourage a return of the use of jute bagging, and so obviate difficulties which appeared to them insuperable. Since then the New Orleans Exchange has replied at length to the Liverpool letter, completely vindicating the cotton-bagging from the stated grounds for objection. The State commissioners of agriculture of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee, as a committee, waited upon the New York Cotton Exchange and made such a presentation of the facts as to enlist the active interest of that body, and a committee was appointed to draft resolutions to be submitted to the Liverpool Exchange favoring the use of cotton-bagging as a wrapping for cotton bales instead of jute. This occurred on Monday, August 12th, and the New York body has pledged itself to a vigorous prosecution of this matter.

Meantime other influences have not been idle. The Secretary of Agriculture has been enlisted in the effort to have the domestic product adopted, and on the 18th of July that official transmitted to the Secretary of State a communication from President Macune, of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union, indorsing it and asking that the offices of Minister Lincoln be exerted in the matter. To this as yet no answer has been given, but when its importance is impressed upon the buyers of Liverpool by the recognition given by the Government, it is fair to suppose that justice will be awarded the lighter fabric in that market.

In the Southern States full recognition is given the cotton bagging by cotton-spinners and buyers, who offer to pay more for cotton-wrapped bales than for those covered with the competing substance.

The North Carolina Alliance.

The North Carolina State Farmers Alliance was in session at Fayetteville three days, commencing August 13th. The following is the address of President S. B. Alexander:

The third annual meeting of the North Carolina Farmers State Alliance marks an era of action among the agricultural and laboring classes, that is phenomenal, and I congratulate you in representing an order in numbers and intelligence that has had no equal in our State. Less than six months old, at our first annual meeting it had 8 county Alliances and 132 sub-Alliances. At the second annual meeting it had 52 county Alliances and 1,018 sub-Alliances, and to-day we have 89 county Alliances and 1,816 sub-Alliances, with an approximate membership of 72,000 members. So rapidly has the State been organized that many of the sub-Alliances have not been instructed in the purposes and principles of our order as thoroughly as they should be to insure their active and effective work. The important work of organizing new sub-Alliances in unorganized sections can be completed before our next annual meeting. I refer you to the reports of the executive committee, secretary, treasurer, State lecturer and organizer, and State business agent for the condition of our order, and deem it unnecessary to say more than to commend them to your earnest consideration.

At the last meeting of the National Alliance a basis of union was agreed upon between the National Alliance and the National Agricultural Wheel and the Union. This, if ratified, will change the name of the National organization to "The Farmers and Laborers Union." It does not change our State name nor affect us in any way, as all the important features of the constitution of the National Farmers Alliance are retained in the proposed constitution of "The Farmers and Laborers Union." I recommend its adoption, as it adds very much to the strength of the National organization and will enable it to accomplish work that it has been too weak to do heretofore. I believe other farmers and laborers organizations will join us at our next National meeting at St. Louis, and also a better understanding will be arrived at with other labor organizations. These organizations were brought into existence by monopoly, and as long as monopoly shapes our laws to rob the people the war must go on until monopoly is dethroned or the people crushed.

The "demands" made at our last meeting for certain legislation have not been granted, and I would respectfully and earnestly recommend that you determine at this meeting, to either abandon making political demands or take such action as will insure your demands being complied with. If you resolve on the latter course I suggest that hereafter all demands be submitted to the sub-Alliances for ratification and when three-fourths of the sub-Alliances ratify a demand, have your president issue a proclamation setting it forth as the demand of the State Alliance. The discussion in the sub-Alliances will inform the members as to the necessity and propriety of the demands, and the members knowing that they made the demands will see that they are enforced, and then "taffy" and "love" for the farmers and laborers will give way for measures of real benefit.

I would also suggest that you send no petitions after a demand has been made. Demands and petitions are incompatible. If we are to beg let us do it in the approved style, and not demand one moment and beg the next.

With the approval of your executive committee I had a charter prepared incorporating the State Alliance and each county and sub-Alliance (provided only those Alliances that should

accept it should be incorporated.) It is a liberal charter and I commend it to your favorable consideration. One very important section of the charter was stricken out by the Senate, and I will bring it to your attention at another time. This action of the Senate and the contempt with which it treated your demands and petitions clearly shows that it was hostile to us. We had a few friends there and they deserve our thanks. An inspection of the Senate journals will show you who were for us and who against us.

The State Business Agency has not proved the success we anticipated and I urge you to give this department everything you can to make it what it ought to be. It is the right arm of the Alliance, and if you do nothing else at this meeting but perfect this department you will deserve well of the Alliance. Its failure to do what is expected of it creates a desire for co-operative stores. This to be regretted, for co-operative stores have no place in the plan of the Alliance. The Alliance was brought into existence to protect the agricultural and laboring classes against monopoly—not to make merchants—and its agency system is the only one I have ever seen that suits the present condition of the farmers and laborers of our country.

Let us keep it within its sphere and not form entangling alliances that will affect our credit and weaken our order.

To you, delegates, the welfare of the Alliance is entrusted; on your labor it relies for those laws that will promote the welfare of our members and the advancement of our order. May God bless your labors and bless the Alliance. The following extract from the annual report of Secretary Polk will be read with interest, detailing the progress of the order in the State for the last twelve months:

The condition and spirit of the order in our

State is gratifying and hopeful. Our growth

and progress during the year just passed has

been steady and of a substantial character. A

better understanding and comprehension of our

principles and purposes has grown out of dis-

cussion and investigation, and has done much

to disarm prejudice and opposition, and has

had the happy effect in our brotherhood of

strengthening the weak, convincing the doubt-

ful, and of confirming the strong. At your

last annual meeting we had 1,018 subordinate

Alliances in the State with 52 County Alliances,

with an aggregate membership on our rolls

approximating 42,000. To-day we have 1,816

subordinate Alliances with 80 County Alliances

and an aggregate membership approximating

72,000. During the year 20 subordinate Alliances (not included in the above statement) surrendered their charters. Six of these united

with other Alliances, and in many cases a ma-

jority of the members attached themselves to

other Alliances, and are thus still identified

with us, and are doing faithful work.

All the counties in the State have county organizations except the following: Alleghany, Ashe, Dare, Graham, Macon, New Hanover, and Surry. In these, the following have sub-

ordinate Alliances, as follows: Ashe, 2; Ma-

con, 1; Surry, 1.

Since your last meeting, County Alliances have been organized in the following counties: Alexander, Beaufort, Bertie, Bunccombe, Burke, Caldwell, Camden, Carteret, Catawba, Cherokee, Chowan, Clay, Currituck, Gaston, Gates, Guilford, Haywood, Henderson, Hertford, Hyde, Jackson, McDowell, Madison, Mitchell, Pamlico, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Polk, Stokes, Swain, Transylvania, Tyrrell, Washington, Watauga, Wilkes, Yancey.

One hundred and forty-four deputy organiza-

ers have been commissioned during the year, but in most cases it was a renewal of commis-

sions which had expired. Very many of these were commissioned to complete the organiza-

tions of their counties. Bro. G. B. Pickett, of Texas, served us in the capacity of State lecturer and organizer nearly two months, concluding his work in October last. Bro. D. Reid Parker, of Trinity College, was appointed State lecturer by our executive committee and has acted in that capacity up to date. Bro. Harry Tracy, of Texas, was secured by our executive committee, and has been lecturing in our State since the 6th of last June.

MAN'S capacity can never overtake his lofty ideals; in the pursuit of these exalted concep-

tions lies the accomplishment of all his great-

est labors.

While noting the demoralizing and ruinous influence of this spirit of avarice and mercenary ambition upon the people of Athens, and especially upon their most admired and trusted leaders, one can not but be dazzled by the splendor and brilliancy of the character of Aristides, which blazed like a beacon-light of virtue and honor amid this night of moral darkness and selfish conflict.

Aristides seems to have stood almost as the embodiment of the original Greek virtue, high integrity and unselfish devotion to the good of his fellow-citizens. His austere virtue, stern integrity, absolute unselfishness, and perfect freedom from the taint of mercenary greed or pecuniary ambition, indeed, utter scorn of wealth, seem to have marked him as the one man of all Greece in whom implicit trust might be reposed. He was, therefore, appointed to take charge of the treasury of the allied Greek states.

This honor, then, was conferred upon Aristides, and the great treasures of the confederacy were conveyed to the island of Delos, where he assumed charge, and, during the remainder of his life, so controlled and directed the management and expenditure that not even a shadow of suspicion ever fell upon him.

Historians agree that "he presided over the treasury with the care of a father over his family, and the caution of a miser over what he holds dearer than himself." No man complained of his administration and no part of the public money was ever expended except for necessary uses; and yet the man, whose labors eventually contributed so greatly to the wealth of the state, was himself very poor, and he considered this fact as honorable to him as all the victories he had won in his former years.

As an evidence of his high integrity and delicate sense of honor, a circumstance is mentioned by historians which shows that he was utterly devoid of the least taint of avarice or desire for wealth. Upon a certain occasion Callias, a near relative and intimate friend of Aristides, was summoned before the judges for some offense. One of the charges brought against him was, that while he enjoyed the greatest affluence and luxury, he allowed his friend and relative, Aristides, to remain in poverty and want. Callias had Aristides himself called to testify in the case, and he declared that Callias had often offered to share his fortune with him, but he declined the proffered benefit.

In this way he lived, upright in his public and independent in his private character. His house was a school of virtue, and was open to all young Athenians who desired to improve their minds and character. He gave them the kindest reception, instructed them with the greatest care, and endeavored to give them a just appreciation of themselves. Among those who owed to him the greatest gratitude for such encouragement was Cimon, who reached such distinction and honor during his career.

History fails to note the exact time or place of Aristides's death, but it pays the most glorious testimony to his unselfish character in recording

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

the fact that he, who had the absolute disposal of all the public treasure, died poor.

It is even asserted that he did not leave money enough to pay the expenses of his funeral, but that the government was obliged to bear it. However, the gratitude of the people whom he had served was shown in the fact that provision was made for the support of his helpless family, and he was ever spoken of as "Aristides the Just."

The administration of Aristides shows in the strongest contrast with the reckless and profligate management of the treasury by Pericles later on, and his wise administration and cautious regard of the public moneys did much toward averting the early ruin of the confederacy.

After the death of Aristides Cimon continued his effort to relieve the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the islands between that coast and the shores of Greece, and was so successful in his operations that, in a short time, the Persians were driven from every point, and agreed not only to give up all the Greek colonies they had held in subjection, but that neither their land nor naval forces should ever approach the Grecian seas near enough to excite suspicion. Thus finally ended the struggle with Persia, and the unity of the entire Greek people was secured.

For a time perfect tranquillity reigned throughout Greece, and philosophy, literature, and art began to be encouraged and commenced the development which afterward made the Greeks eminent among the most progressive people of all ages of the world.

But to return to Themistocles. The Athenians and Lacedemonians persisting in their demands to have him delivered up, King Admetus found it impossible to protect him and concealed him on board a merchant ship to be taken to Ionia. In a great storm the ship was carried near the island of Naxos, which was besieged by the Athenians, and Themistocles, fearing that he would fall into the hands of the Greeks, persuaded the captain to steer for Asia, and thus he reached Cumæ, a city of Aëolia, in Asia Minor.

The King of Persia had promised 200 talents (about \$225,000) to any person who would deliver him up. The whole coast was lined with men looking for him. He fled to Ægæ, a little city of Aëolia, where no one knew him but one Nicogenes, who received him and secreted him. This Nicogenes was the richest man in that country and intimate with the lords of the Persian court. Nicogenes, after secreting him for some days, sent him under a strong guard and in disguise to Susa.

When Themistocles had in this way reached the Persian court, he went to the captain of the guard and told him that he was a Grecian by birth, and begged him that he should be admitted to an audience with the king, as he had matters of great importance to communicate to him. The captain of the guard then told him of a ceremony that all who approached the king must conform to, and that it was especially objectionable to people of the Greek race. This ceremony, he explained, required that every one who approached the king should fall prostrate before him and worship him as the living image of God, who maintains and preserves all

things. Themistocles even submitted to this degradation and when he rose up he declared who he was and said: "I have indeed brought many calamities on the Persians; but, on the other hand, I have done them no less service by the salutary advice I have given them more than once; I am now able to do them more important services than ever. My life is now in your hands; you may now exercise your clemency or gratify your vengeance; by the former you will preserve a faithful suppliant and by the latter you will destroy the greatest enemy to Greece."

This period is the most interesting of Greek history, and presents many striking parallels to the history of our own times.

The age of Pericles is often referred to as the Golden Age of Greece, and, to the American of to-day, it is especially interesting and full of the most valuable lessons as to the peculiar dangers springing up in a republic while in the enjoyment of peace and the greatest commercial prosperity. Athens, at this time, was in very much the condition our Republic is to-day. It was similarly constituted and the spirit and character of the people were strikingly like our own, and history probably contains no closer parallel to our present condition than the age of Pericles. It will consequently be of great interest to follow the events of this era in minute detail throughout.

After the death of Aristides and the banishment of Themistocles, the leading characters among the Athenians were Cimon and Pericles. The achievements of Cimon, up to this time, have been reviewed and a good idea of his character gained. Pericles was a man of an entirely different stamp and much younger. He was descended from the richest and most illustrious families of Athens. He was a man of most remarkable mental characteristics as well as the most unlimited ambition. He had devoted himself most assiduously to the study of politics, and especially to rhetoric. He was a pupil of Anaxagoras, who was the first who ascribed human events, as well as the formation and government of the universe, not to chance, as was the theory of some philosophers, or a fatal necessity, but to a superior intelligence who arranged and governed all things with wisdom. This theory had really existed a long time before Anaxagoras, but he made it prominent by his teaching. He especially instructed his pupils in the laws of nature and made clear the resulting effects of natural causes, which knowledge served to raise those who possessed it above a thousand vulgar prejudices and superstitions which greatly influenced the ignorant masses of that age.

The cursed spirit of avarice had thus overthrown the two men who had successfully contended against the combined power of the East in arms, and this fact proves that it is more to be dreaded than the armies of alien foes or the power of the most cruel tyrant.

The Greek civilization and political and social institutions had now gained a firm footing in Europe, and seemed free to develop independent of foreign interference. It rested now entirely with the Greek people to demonstrate whether their ideas of social and political organization should prove a grand triumph and important step in the progress of man, or should finally prove their estimate of the capability of the masses for self-government to have been a mistake. Up to this time a common danger had held them together in their mutual defense. Now that that danger was removed,

clear to the mind of Pericles much that was mysterious and supernatural to the superstitious minds of the people, rendered him superior to such influences and gave him the opportunity to utilize this weakness of the populace in furthering his own interests and aspirations.

Pericles was a typical demagogue, and made the means of influencing the popular mind his especial study. He recognized the fact that the people were easily swayed by their passions, and that the man who was most successful in exciting and directing these passions was the one most sure of success. He saw that an impulsive people, under the sway of passion, were blind to reason, and that eloquence most readily appealed to passion and directed it when once aroused. He therefore devoted himself earnestly to the study of this art and the development of his natural gifts in this direction. Indeed his eloquence is described as really phenomenal, and through it he was able to sway the masses at his will.

The poets of his time say that "he thundered, lightened, and agitated all Greece; so powerful was his eloquence." "It had those piercing and lively strokes that reach the inmost soul; and his discourse left always an irresistible incentive, a kind of spur, behind it in the minds of his auditors." "He had the art of uniting beauty with strength." And Cicero observes, that "at the very time he opposed with the greatest tenacity the inclinations and desires of the Athenians he had the art to make, even severity itself and the kind of harshness with which he spoke against the inclinations of the people popular." "There was no resisting the sweetness of his words and the goddess of persuasion with all her graces resided on his lips."

Thucydides, his rival and opponent, being one day asked by a Lacedemonian whether he or Pericles was the better wrestler, replied, "Whenever I throw him he says he was never down, and by his eloquence persuades even those who saw him that I did not throw him." With all his eloquence he was extremely politic and prudent; he thoroughly understood human nature and played upon the popular sentiment as a musician does upon a stringed instrument, always touching the proper chord at the proper time, and calling out the exact response desired. So cautious was he never to run counter to the sentiment of the people that whenever he was to address the people he said to himself on coming out of his house, "Remember, Pericles, thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty, to Greeks, to Athenians." He fully comprehended that the confidence of this people once gained they might be led even to their own ruin, could be influenced even to forge the shackles with which they themselves were to be bound, to approve and enact the laws and establishments that would make them slaves; but that, if they were antagonized, would resist to the bitter end; hence this was the plan of Pericles's operations. He induced the people, by plausible appeals and his irresistible eloquence, to approve of and take such action of their own free will as was eventually to overthrow their free institutions and turn them over, bound hand and foot, the slaves of an oligarchy, the servants of a class.

their skill in politics consist." From this fact it is evident that the aims, means, and ends of politicians have never changed even to our enlightened nineteenth century.

His observations, then, must have shown him that the predominant characteristics of this people were, a violent aversion to tyranny and a strong love of liberty which inspired them with sentiments of fear, jealousy, and suspicion of all public men who were too conspicuous for their birth, their wealth, or the influence of their friends of the aristocratic class. These facts, and that he not only strikingly resembled Pisistratus, the tyrant of whom the Athenians entertained the greatest abhorrence, but belonged to the dominant wealthy class, induced him to keep himself secluded as much as possible and only to be seen in attending to important matters of state. Plutarch says in giving his reason for this partial seclusion of himself that "he knew that the people, who are naturally fickle and inconstant, commonly disregard those who are always in sight; and that too strong a desire to please them grows at last tiresome and importunate; and it was observed that such behavior was very prejudiced to Themistocles." Plutarch tells us that "Pericles employed his whole industry and application to gain the favor and esteem of the people in order to counterbalance the influence of Cimon."

Cimon, while a very rich man and a member of the aristocracy, was a sincere man and a patriot, recognizing the institutions of the country as they existed and only intent upon maintaining them as they were and increasing the fame and power of the state. Pericles, although himself one of the wealthy class, pretended an extravagant sympathy for the masses and especially the poor, merely to raise himself by their aid to a position where he could subvert the government to his personal interests and advancement at the expense of the entire people and both parties.

Let it be noted here, that the political parties in Athens at this time were divided by class lines. It was a conflict of the masses against the wealthy class, of industry against concentrated capital, a condition the exact parallel of that existing with us to-day.

THE coal combine proposes to gather all the coal-producing companies into one combination, the object being to control the trade. It is proposed that but three out of five coal banks shall remain in operation, all the coal to be handled by the trust and the profits divided equally among all. The exact result accomplished will be to prevent the people from having access to the supplies nature has provided and compel a tribute such as they may choose to demand for one of the greatest necessities of life; not only to demand tribute but cut off the source of livelihood of two-fifths of the people occupied in this calling and compel them to pay an increased price for the fuel they must have. Is the system which allows the means of support of one class to be entirely destroyed to provide a greater profit to another consistent with the idea of equality and untainted justice?

A Talk to Dakota Farmers.
BY T. D. HINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILL.

Brother farmers of Dakota, a late issue of the Chicago News tells me that some of you are eating field-mice and gophers, and that you are forced to do this or starve. I am not your keeper, neither are you in the least accountable to me for your doings, but I wish you would kindly allow me to inquire why these things are so. I will not pretend that my inquiry is prompted by a feeling of philanthropy pure and simple. On the contrary, if the confession on my part to a belief that a thorough inquiry into the causes of your destitution will result in a finding that will benefit farmers in general, and myself incidentally, will prompt you to more readily answer my questions, then I freely make such confession. I know that your interests and mine are the same. I know that your interests and the interests of all other wealth producers, whether cotton raisers or coal miners, cloth weavers or iron workers, or whatever their calling may be, are absolutely identical, and, since this is true, it may be that a thorough inquiry into the cause of your suffering will disclose to us the reason why our brother workers at Spring Valley and Streator, in this State, are now, in preference to starvation, eating the humiliating bread of charity. We may even learn how it came about that the independent (?) farmers of Texas, only two years ago, or maybe it was three years ago, had to go down on their independent knees and beg, like whipped dogs, for the food to keep their wives and little ones from starving, and possibly before we are done we will have learned how it happened that the farmers of Illinois have in the last eighteen years sunk over \$36,000,000 in the production of more than \$2,000,000,000 worth of corn, wheat, and oats. So you see the result of the inquiry may be of benefit to others as well as yourselves, and this fact will take from the inquiry every appearance of an attempt to gratify an idle, impudent curiosity, as well as every appearance of a garish philanthropy exercised for your special benefit.

The report of our Department of Agriculture for 1888 tells me that you produced last year 20,992,000 bushels of corn, 52,406,000 bushels of wheat, 218,000 bushels of rye, 37,266,000 bushels of oats, 4,154,000 bushels of barley, 63,000 bushels of buckwheat, 5,209,000 bushels of potatoes, and 607,000 tons of hay. The same report tells me that you had 254,781 horses, 239,057 milch cows, 242,117 sheep, 16,850 mules, 813,878 oxen and other cattle, and 453,875 hogs. Yet you are, some of you, living on field-mice and gophers, not because you love that kind of diet but because you have to. The census of 1880 informs me that the total number of persons, ten years old and over, engaged in farming in Dakota was 28,508. Granted that your numbers have greatly increased since 1880, more than double say, that in 1888 you number 60,000. The total value of your property, exclusive of land and money, that year as given by the agricultural report is \$99,733,376. But eliminating from this total the value of your horses and other animals, some of which were the product of former years, and we find that your wheat, corn, and other cereals, and potatoes and hay, all of which were the products of that year's labor, aggregate in value \$50,383,495. Counting that your number had increased from 28,508 in 1880 to 60,000 in 1888, the per capita value of your productions the last year is found to be \$839. This is the per capita production of all those ten years old and over. Counting five to the family, and three of the five ten years old and over, the average family production is found to be \$2,507. Suppose we estimate that your numbers have more than quadrupled instead of more than doubled in the last seven years, and that your present number is 120,000 instead of 60,000, your per capita production

would then be \$419.50, and your average family production \$1,258.50. Certainly this amount ought to be enough to tide you over one bad year, oughtn't it? You say it would, and more too, "if we had it." If you had it? Well, why haven't you? You produced it. Who has it? I remember reading some time ago an account of the famine in Ireland, and the narrator stated that even while men fainted by the roadside with hunger, carts laden with the hunger-satisfying fruits of their own toil were trundled past them, and so on out of the country, to satisfy the rent demands of foreign landlords, and I confess that my feelings of pity for the poor, miserable wretches were considerably mixed with a feeling of contempt for the utter lack of spirit which they displayed. Is anything of that kind the matter with you fellows? Are you paying tribute to any one? Is there a horde of foreign agents with hired teams hauling away from before your famished eyes the life sustaining products of your toil? You wouldn't stand that; you have too much spirit to stand that. Nevertheless you produced an enormous amount of wealth last year, much more than enough to have carried you safely over your present distress, and you haven't anything to show for it now, and are on the verge of starvation for lack of the very stuff your toil produced so abundantly only twelve months ago. You don't know anything about where the wealth you created last year has flown to, do you? Well, it's my opinion that you paid it all out, with the exception of enough, as you thought, to sustain you until you could make another crop in tribute. It's my humble opinion that your tribute-takers, nay our tribute-takers (I am as deep in the mud as you are in the mire, so far as tribute-paying is concerned) are as much shrewder and sharper than the English landlords of forty years ago as you and I are higher-spirited than Irishmen of that period. Our tribute takers are so far ahead of the John Bull kind of forty years ago that they don't hire agents and teams to come to our farms and cart away the tribute which they claim as their own. They know a plan worth two of that. Their plan, while just as effective in taking all we make, with the exception of a bare living (and sometimes, as you are painfully aware, not even leaving us that), as the plan of the English landlords was in taking everything from their Irish tenants, has this advantage over the English way. Instead of hiring agents and teams to come and cart away our produce, and mayhap thereby provoking our high American spirit to rebellion, they depend upon us to bring it to them. The strange part of the plan, and the part in which our Yankee tribute-takers display good advantage their immense mental superiority to the old-fogey English tribute-takers, is in the fact that it makes us appear to be the recipients of their favor instead of they the receivers of favors from us. So firmly is this strange hallucination imbedded in our minds that many of us will be found ready to look upon a man who attempts to correct our delusion as an enemy to his kind and a stumbling-block in the way of progress. Let me assert that the railroads of Dakota are great tribute-takers from you farmers, and about nine out of every ten of you will swear that the railroads are developing your country. You don't seem to know that you and your wives and little ones constitute the power that is "developing the country." You declare that you "couldn't live without the railroads." You seem to be unaware of the fact that field-mice and gophers would be just as palatable and sustain life as long if there wasn't a railroad in Dakota as they would if every township in your big State was spanned by half a dozen railroads. You don't seem to understand that you could freeze to death in one of your big blizzards just as comfortably with the coal

necessary to keep you from freezing buried under Illinois soil as you can with it at one of your railroad stations buried under such a weight of transportation charges as to be entirely beyond your reach. I don't want you to think that I am opposed to railroads in general, and to your railroads in particular. What I do want you to understand is that railroads in general, and Dakota railroads in particular, are tribute-takers. It may be, if you and I had a lot of poor devils under our respective thumbs, as the railroads have us under theirs, that we would treat them much as the railroads treat us. But the fact that human nature, as represented by us, is just as liable to tend hogwards as it is in other people, does not justify the human family in sitting supinely down and allowing the hogish instincts of those who are in power full sway. But what would you think if the people of the State of Maine or New Hampshire claimed to own your big fine State, and demanded that of all your produce you should give them half delivered at some of the many different railroad stations of Dakota? You would think they were pretty cheeky, wouldn't you? You say, "Yes, but they don't own our State. We own our farms and pay rent to nobody. We left our old homes in the East and came out here for the express purpose of avoiding the payment of rent, and now we are the slaves of no landlord." I think I see the point you make. Your landlord in the East was wont to come around about harvest-time and cart away one-third of the product of your labor for rent. Whether your crop was short or long, big or little, the old curmudgeon who owned the land you were cultivating was certain to come around and take his rent. It is not to be wondered at that you grew tired of seeing him, and determined to have a farm of your very own, even if you had to go to blizzard-swept Dakota after it. But with all the tyrannical exactions of your Eastern landlord, I'll venture the assertion that you never sampled field-mice and gophers as articles of diet until since you came to Dakota and got a farm of your own. But perhaps you are wondering what all this has to do with my question about Maine or New Hampshire owning your State. I didn't ask the question with the intention of trying to prove that those States do own your States, but simply as an appropriate prelude to an illustration which will show that somebody or some power is exercising an authority equivalent to that which those States would exercise if they really did own your State and compelled you to pay them half your produce as rent. The Agricultural Report already referred to tells me on page 431 that you sold your wheat last year for 52 cents per bushel. It also tells me on the same page in the same column that the farmers of Maine sold their wheat for \$1.05 per bushel, and the farmer of New Hampshire for \$1.04; that is to say, you had to give two bushels and a fraction over for the same amount of money the Maine farmer gave one for, and even two bushels for what the New Hampshire farmer gave one for. In other words, you had to pay to some person or persons who had the power to enforce their demands, one-half of your wheat crop delivered at the railroad station in order to get the other half to the same market patronized by the Maine and New Hampshire farmers. It may be that in your present home you are free from the tyrannical exaction of your Eastern landlord, but remembering the field-mice and gopher business, it looks to a man "up a tree" very much as though you had "swapped the devil for a witch," and paid considerable to boot. In calling your attention to these things it is not my desire to make you dissatisfied with the railroads of the country, because they are a great blessing, and men ought not to fall out with blessings—they are too scarce. Neither will you display good taste if you swear at the

railroad "kings," managers, magnates, and corporation attorneys. They are simply human beings. I am aware that some of them seem to think that they are fashioned out of clay a little superior to that used in making the common herd. But you know better than that. You know that the same hereafter is reaching for them that is inexorably reaching for us, and the fires of sheol will burn as bright for a round-punched railway president as they will for a gopher-eating farmer, and the devil will welcome one as cheerfully as he will the other. You know this to be true simply because you know that they are the same kind of clay you are, and since you know this, you also must admit that you are the same kind of clay they are, and therefore, perhaps, only lack the ability or the opportunity to be the same kind of railway autocrats they are. This is why I say you display bad taste when you swear at them. Furthermore, since you outnumber them as a thousand to one, and since they are what they are simply by grace of your permission, I think, in swearing at them for being what they are, you display a lack of something else, a lack of that indefinable, inexpressible something which moves a man to go into the house when it rains. My criticisms of your course are not prompted by the egotistical assumption that Illinois farmers are any better or in any manner superior to Dakota farmers. As an Illinois farmer I hate it, but a due respect for the truth compels the confession that we of Illinois have exhibited and are still exhibiting in these matters a degree of assinine stupidity fully as long-eared as that exhibited by you. It is true that we are not yet qualified as practical judges of the merits or demerits of the gopher and field-mouse as articles of diet, but that this is so is chargeable to the fact that we were here twenty and twenty-five years ago, when it was possible for farmers to lay by some of their productions for a rainy day, and not to the fact that we possess the superior order of intellect necessary to decide such questions without consulting the organ of taste. Illinois is called the "Garden State of the West." She is so called because her crop productions exceed those of any other Western State, and the figures of our Agricultural Department show that she not only outranks all Western States, but that in her agricultural productions she stands head and shoulders, if you will allow the expression, above any State in the Union. The value of the agricultural productions of the four principal States of the Union as given by the report of our Agricultural Department for the two years, 1887 and 1888, is as follows:

	1887.	1888.
Illinois	\$145,655,578	\$146,952,245
Iowa	124,551,260	128,509,748
New York	114,456,288	120,206,219
Ohio	106,007,413	110,395,380

Illinois not only outranks any State in the Union in her crop productions, but her number of miles of railroad is far in excess of any other State. The report of our State Board of Railroad and Warehouse Commission for 1886 (the last I have), shows the number of miles of railroad in the eleven principal States of the Union to be as follows:

Illinois	9,444
Iowa	7,907
Pennsylvania	7,811
New York	7,466
Ohio	7,402
Texas	7,232
Kansas	6,004
Indiana	5,600
Michigan	5,468
Missouri	5,004
Minnesota	4,918

So you see, brother farmers of Dakota, that we of Illinois not only excel in our productions but that our facilities for distribution, as evidenced in our miles of railroad, are far greater than those of any other State; yet, withal, the

condition of things here is not calculated to make one proud to be a citizen of this mighty commonwealth. The above figures show that we have an abundance of the commodity the lack of which you no doubt esteem your greatest drawback—railway competition. Our State is more thoroughly grid-ironed with railroads than any other State in the Union. In addition to this we have the "father of waters" on our western border, Lake Michigan, the Wabash and the Ohio rivers on the east and south of us, and the Joliet and Chicago canal, besides several navigable water courses, running through different parts of our State. With all these natural and artificial commercial advantages, with all our enormous ability to produce crops, citizenship of this mighty commonwealth is not a thing to be proud of. In proof of this mild assertion read in the telegraph columns some of the history we are now making.

A dispatch of July 31st, from Streator, announced the arrival of "a bountiful supply"—sixty tons—of provisions contributed from Chicago to the Streator miners, who were thereby inspired with renewed hope and courage. At 12.45 P. M., Hon. Frank Lawler and others arrived, and were greeted by an assembled crowd of miners, their wives, and children, while two bands added their brass-mouthed welcome to that which swelled up from the throats of the assembled crowd as the train pulled in. A procession was formed, which, after passing through the principal streets, halted at the public park, where speaking "took place."

Six days later (August 6th) the Streator races opened with a large attendance, and two purses of \$400 each and one of \$300 were contested for in as many races.

Near by, at Spring Valley, a dispatch of August 2d announced that twin children "belonging to the wife of one of the locked-out miners" had died from what the physician pronounced a clear case of starvation. August 6th, Chicago sent the second carload of provisions to Spring Valley, and farmers around are said to have made liberal donations. The same day, August 6th, a dispatch says: Billy Myers, of Streator, having given up hope that McAuliffe would meet him in a contest for the light-weight championship, is rusticking, never having felt so well in his life, and boasting of a good round \$15,000 in bank, which he promises shall stay there. [Is it strange he should think, in view of the state of affairs at his home, Streator, that the Lord is good to a light-weight?]

At Elgin, that night, Frank Lawler spoke at a meeting called for the benefit of suffering Braidwood miners. The same date is given for the base ball report showing games in the presence of large crowds at Aurora, Newton, Galesburg, Pecatonica, and Watseka.

And so it goes, brother farmers of Dakota. Nero fiddling while Rome was burning exhibited no more wantonness and utter indifference to the suffering of his fellow-beings around him than do the horse-racers, ball-players, and prize-fighters of the "Golden State," while engaged in their contemptible business, to the suffering of those around them. Who are the men and women before whom the Hon. Frank Lawler so ostentatiously parades his charity?

They are working-bees in the mighty hive of human industry. Who are the horse-racers, ball-players, and prize-fighters? They are drones living off the wealth produced by the toilers whose suffering they treat with such contempt. Isn't it more than probable that the suffering of all wealth-producers comes from the fact that they are supporting too many such drones?

Evil is as often wrought by want of thought as by lack of appreciation of good,

THE sugar trust is a matter of interest to every citizen, because its robberies fall upon all alike. A reliable authority says the value of the plant is \$15,000,000, but this is capitalized at \$60,000,000. The stock sells in open market at 80. This would indicate the payment of dividends on \$48,000,000, being \$3,000,000 in excess of the original cost and *bona fide* value of the plant. This \$3,000,000 is nothing more nor less than water, for which the people are compelled to pay in the increased price of sugar to such an amount as to enable the stockholders to draw dividends from \$33,000,000 that they never owned. This is a sample of the plan all trusts are operated on.

THE moral sense is the outcome of social relations, and these social relations grow out of the necessity of living. The praise or blame, the right or wrong of the acts of the individual are adjudged by the effects of such acts upon the common welfare, and are in a proportionate degree to that in which they aid or hinder the well-being of all. Acts, then, which are instigated by purely personal and selfish motives, regardless of the good of all, are immoral and wrong, and the tendency of law should be to control and destroy the tendency to thus act exclusively for selfish interest.

THE social instincts of man are the great impelling force of progress. The needs of society excite his industry and inventive genius, offer a reward for his productions and develop his intelligence. Man by himself is unprogressive; with only himself concerned he would never advance. This being true it is of the greatest importance that the common interest be especially regarded and selfish inclinations destroyed as far as possible.

CARLYLE says: "The great man shapes the age"; Herbert Spencer says: "The age shapes the great man." Probably both are right and both are wrong. A great man is the product of past influences acting by means of heredity, which give the peculiar organism which, operated on by present conditions, results in the development of the peculiar cast of character referred to.

THE highest social duty of man is taught in the New Testament in these words: "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ." How does the modern system of capitalism correspond with this teaching?

WHEN conditions are such that labor must go from monopolist to millionaire pleading, "Please, for the sake of charity, give me leave to work," it is a dark hour for the land where it is so.

IMMORALITY is due more to man's ignorance of his true relations to his fellows than to his natural baseness and selfishness. To impart this knowledge is a work of the greatest importance.

THE question now to be decided is whether the next era is to be the age of monopoly or the age of co-operation.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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Clubs of Five.

The Economist has arranged with Hon. Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutocracy, or American White Slavery," to distribute that book as a premium to persons sending in clubs of five annual paid subscriptions at one dollar each. The book to be mailed in return is bound in paper, post paid at this office. This offer does not include names sent heretofore.

The address of President Alexander, on another page, is an Alliance document worthy of full consideration. His statement that the object of the Alliance is to protect the producers against monopoly and not to make merchants, is full of meat for those who propose entering upon co-operative distribution.

THE agricultural commissioners of four leading cotton States, Hons. J. S. Henderson of Georgia; D. M. Hord of Tennessee; A. P. Butler of South Carolina; and John C. Cheney of Alabama; on their way to their respective homes from New York, honored THE ECONOMIST with a visit on the 13th instant. They expressed themselves as well satisfied with the result of their conference with the Board of Control of the New York Cotton Exchange, and say that body was completely converted to the economic advantages of the use of cotton instead of covering for jute as the Southern staple; and as the New York Exchange is to undertake to remove the scruples of the Liverpool buyers, it may be fairly assumed that, with the labors of Uncle

Jerry, the farmers of the South will find the avenue to their desires in this instance wonderfully smoothed. The fact that the representative officials of four great States found it in their line of duty to make this visit should indicate to those who will see that there is a dead earnestness in the determination of the cotton growers to furnish their own bagging.

A GENTLEMAN recently described the State of Michigan as having a school-house at every four corners and a mortgage on every farm. The school districts are composed, he explained, of squares of four sections, and the point of convergence, or center, is called the four corners. With all their facilities the farmers of Michigan have not been educated to that degree which will keep them independent under a system of distribution devised expressly to tax them in the interest of favored classes.

THE work of organizing Maryland is progressing satisfactorily, and the promise of a State Alliance in a short time is evidently approaching fulfillment.

IN several of the States just now the politicians express unusual solicitude for the welfare of the dear people. They fear that the Alliance will mislead the farmers into an abandonment of the parties, and as the parties are under control of the politicians, that might lead to independence on the part of the farmers. Such solicitude is necessary as it is disinterested.

THE relations of employer and employee have vastly changed within the last century. The modern capitalistic system, involving vast corporations and combinations of capital, is a comparatively new creation. The development has been without parallel in the history of the world, and it is but natural that the masses should be unable to grasp the great problem of the ultimate effect at once, and in consequence have been placed at a great disadvantage in conducting their defense against the aggressions made upon them. The economic doctrines of a century ago are utterly inapplicable to present and growing conditions, and it is not reasonable to suppose that such gigantic developments could be comprehended or anticipated and their evils provided against, or an entirely new and appropriate economic system developed without many mistakes and consequently much suffering. However, the people are rapidly awakening to the responsibilities which rest upon them. They are studying developments, their accompanying evils, and devising appropriate remedies. They already comprehend the mistakes of former economic theories, and are rapidly getting to understand the requirements of this new social condition.

The confusion naturally arising from so great a social revolution has caused much misfortune, great loss, and a growing bitterness, but the people at last comprehend what is required of them, and it now only remains to act intelligently and in harmony, and the relief will be secured. The nineteenth century marks a new departure in human progress, and the final results of this important stride will greatly alter the conditions of life. If the people are vigilant and act with a proper comprehension of what is required, vast good may be realized, but impulsive, reckless, inconsiderate action may entail the most fatal results.

The Origin of Property in Land.

The Breton code, which was the *lex non scripta* of Ireland and runs back to a date beyond the memory of man, declared that "land is perpetual man." This although a poetical expression is illustrative of a practical fact. All the elements of our physical frame come from the soil. The food we require and enjoy, the clothing which protects us from the inclemency of the weather, the fire which warms us, the houses which shelter us, all except the mysterious vital spark that constitutes life is derived from the land; hence it is unquestionably true that "land is perpetual man."

This idea seems to have been familiar and accepted by the nations of the most remote antiquity, as shown by the custom among the Persian and other Oriental nations even prior to them of rendering homage or acknowledging the authority of a conqueror. This was done not by formal swearing of fealty by the leader, or even the masses of the people, but by tendering earth and water.

The formal submission of the ruler, or even the people themselves, affected them only as individuals and was only binding on those who individually had opposed the conqueror or composed the nation at the time of the conflict. They might bind themselves, but their lives were limited to a certain extent of time and their acts did not bind generations coming after. The absolute ownership of the earth and water necessitated the control and ownership of all they produced, and man being a creature of the earth became in consequence of its ownership the creature of the lord of the earth. Hence arose the Persian title of their kings, "Lord of the Earth." This custom of the Persians is often referred to in ancient history and will be especially remembered by the readers of the articles on "History and Government" as having been the form used by Xerxes to demand the submission of the Lacedemonians and Athenians.

The earliest civilized races seem either by instinct or reasoning, to have arrived at the conclusion that every man was in right of his being entitled to food; that food was a product of land and therefore every man was entitled to the possession of land, otherwise his life depended upon the will of another. Even the barbarous people of the present age recognize this truth, and it remains for the more advanced children of civilization to proclaim that peoples can enjoy true liberty while the very means of existence depend upon the will of another.

The Celts having settled originally the greater part of Europe, of course established their customs and ideas of right. Their land system strikingly resembles that of the Slavonic and the Hindoo races. It was originally patriarchal, and then tribal, and was always a holding in common. There was never the subjection of man for the necessities of life to the will of another. This system of land tenure was common throughout all Europe prior to the Roman invasion.

The original idea of the Aryan race in regard to land ownership seems to have been (in the earliest stages of development) that while un-

occupied or unappropriated land was common to every member of the tribe, it existed for the use of the whole human race. The process by which that which was common to all became the possession of the individual has not been clearly demonstrated.

The earlier settlers of Europe belonged to the Celtic branch of the Aryan race, which seems to have been the vanguard of the Aryan invasion and to have pushed the Turanians before them or exterminated them? These early settlers were either individuals, families, tribes, or nations. In some cases they were nomadic and used the natural products without taking possession of the land; in others they occupied districts permanently. The individual was the unit of the family, the patriarch of the tribe. The commune was formed merely to afford mutual protection. Each tribe was governed by its own customary laws in the early enjoyment of the products of the district it selected.

Vattel says: "The whole earth is destined to feed its inhabitants; but this it would be incapable of doing if it were uncultivated. Every nation is then obliged by the law of nature to cultivate the land that has fallen to its share, and it has no right to enlarge its boundaries or have recourse to the assistance of other nations, but in proportion as the land in its possession is incapable of furnishing it with necessities." He adds: "When a nation in a body takes possession of a country everything that is not divided among its members remains common to the whole nation and is public property." The use of the word *tenure* in English law referring to property in land conveys the idea merely of a holding and not of an owning; really a holding for use. The idea of unqualified ownership is one of gradual and imperceptible growth.

From this it becomes evident that the land systems of modern times grew from two different sources: First, from the system developed among the original inhabitants who found themselves in possession of the lands or settled upon unoccupied territories; and second, that developed from peoples who gained their lands by conquest.

From the first grew the Greek system of tenure, which gave proprietorship to each citizen, whose rights were sacred; and from the second the Roman, which was based upon the principle which declared "the spoil to the victor." He who could not defend and retain his possessions became the slave of the conqueror; all of the rights of the vanquished passed to the victor, who took and enjoyed all such rights to land as he was able to defend with his sword.

The nature of the tenure by which land is held is a subject of great interest. Some writers hold that an individual became the sole owner of a part of the common heritage by mixing his labor with the land, in fencing it, making wells, or building.

This position seems to confound land with labor. The improvements were the property of the man who made them, but it does not necessarily follow that the expenditure of labor on land gave any greater right than the enjoyment of the benefits resulting to the laborer in the way of comforts from such labor. The land was in no way altered; the comfort of the laborer was increased. The word *property* as applied to land is, strictly speaking, incorrect. The word *property* is derived from the Latin *proprietum*—my own; it means something pertaining to the man. A man has property in himself. He has a right to be free and to exercise his genius

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

RAILWAYS:

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

BY JAS. F. HUDSON,
Author of "The Railways and the Republic."

No. 16.

THE ROOT OF LOCAL DISCRIMINATIONS.

In studying the power which enables railroads to concentrate the monopoly of certain lines of trade in the hands of those whom they favor by preferential rates, let us revert to the illustration which was used in a previous article, as setting forth the original and simplest form of that abuse. Take for example the fuel supply of a town of five to ten thousand inhabitants. Most of us can remember when such towns were supplied with fuel entirely from the neighboring forests; and the recollection will be very clear that in all such cases such a thing as a monopoly of the fuel supply was impossible, because the owners of all forests within hauling distance of the town were enabled to compete in the business of furnishing wood for fuel. Under that competition the price of wood was unerringly fixed at a fair compensation for the labor necessary to prepare it and bring it into market. The diminution of the supply of that fuel, and the increasing demand for the various kinds of wood for consumption in the arts and manufactures raised its price and has caused the vast majority of such towns to depend upon the fuel supplied by the coal mines developed throughout the country.

The system of land-holding varies in different countries, and the idea of abstract right underlying the various systems does not seem to have existed in earlier times. This idea is the outgrowth of law, which is the will of the sovereign power, whatever that may be. The character of law indicates clearly the power from which it really emanates, although this power may be ascribed to a far different source than the one from which it really springs. For instance, laws which benefit directly and solely a particular class, are the emanation of the power of that class, although that power was directly exercised through intermediary means; it might be the will of the people, although that will had been brought to bear through ignorance or misrepresentation against the good of those exercising it.

From what has been recited it will be readily seen that the system of landholding in every nation is the result of law; that this law is either the outgrowth of the ancient conception of the rights of man recognized in the *lex non scripta* as handed down from the earliest ages, or of the system of conquest, and enacted in the interest of the conqueror regardless of justice or the natural rights of the individual. The English system is clearly the outgrowth of the latter origin, and it is worthy of remark that the land system of the most enlightened race of the present age has as its base the most brutal social system the world has ever known. A review of this system from the time of the Roman invasion is a subject rich in matter of the most startling interest to all Anglo-Saxon people,

in this case the injury of the dealers who are crowded out of business, in being robbed of their natural right to compete in any honest and legitimate branch of trade on even terms; the extortion which is made possible from consumers on account of the absence of competition in the business; the denial and repudiation of the impartiality and equality required of the public highway; and the nullification of the doctrine of equal rights and equal opportunity.

ties which is at the foundation of this Government, are all sufficiently apparent. No intelligent man will now attempt either to justify their infliction or to uphold their legality. But for the purpose of studying the circumstances under which such things are possible, with a view to learning how the possibility can be taken away by removing their cause, it is worth while to study this ordinary case of local favoritism for the sake of perceiving in what feature of the railway corporation the power to inflict such injustice is rooted.

Some light on the nature of this power may be gained by asking the question whether any other interest or commercial function would be able to exert the power held by the railway, of concentrating a single trade in the hands of a favorite, and of excluding all others from it. Let us imagine, for instance, that the merchant of the town should establish the rule that only one coal dealer should have the privilege of buying dry goods, clothing, and groceries from him, except at prohibitive prices. It is evident that dry goods, groceries, and clothing, are as essential as transportation, to carry on any line of industry. Yet the supposition is an unheard-of one, for the evident reason that if a merchant should attempt such an insane discrimination he would be simply throwing away trade. Even if he were the only merchant in the town the disfavored coal dealers who were thus to be denied the means of sustaining life, would very promptly proceed to the next town and buy their supplies until a rival merchant was established in their own place, who would conduct his business according to the legitimate rule of trade, of selling to all customers under the same circumstances at the same price.

Suppose that a real estate owner should make the same attempt. He might conceive it for his advantage that his relative, or his silent partner, should have a monopoly of the coal trade, and might, therefore, establish his rule that no one but the single coal dealer could buy or rent the ground for coal-yards from him. Real estate owners, under ordinary circumstances, are never guilty of such an insane and wicked policy, for the simple reason that to do so would simply have the result of handing over to other owners of real estate the profit to be derived from renting or selling to the others the ground for coal-yards. But if the real estate owner owned all the land in and about that town he might be able to establish such a monopoly. In the feudal days, when the entire ownership of the land of a community was in the hands of a single baronial proprietor, the establishment of a monopoly of such functions as operating a mill and supplying merchandise, was the rule rather than the exception; and in the few unfortunate examples of the present day, where the entire proprietorship of a town or community is vested in a single control, there are decided intimations that exactly this abuse is practiced. Nevertheless, these exceptions are of a character to establish the rule. While the supply of the merchandise necessary to sustain life, or the control of ground necessary to carry on a given business, is as essential as transportation, in neither of them does the power of discrimination in the charges exist

as it does in the railroad business, so that one favored person can be established in a monopoly of the business, and his disfavored rivals be doomed to decay and extinction.

The reason of this is so obvious that it almost appears a waste of words to put it into definite form. It has already been pointed out that the private person or dealer has the legal right to charge less to one person than to another, because whatever he sells is his own private property, gained by his own exertions, without special favors from Government or the exercise of a peculiarly sovereign power, in order to put him in possession of the property. On the other hand, it is illegal for the railway to exert such a preference, because it is established by Government for public uses, in which the whole public should share alike. Yet here we have the contrast, that the private person, even while the preference might be legally exerted, can not give one customer an advantage over another except at his own cost, and therefore has not the power of building up a monopoly in trade; while the railroad has that power in its possession and has frequently exerted it, even though the exertion of the power is made illegal by the original contract with the State. The reason of the contract is a very simple one, that the business man has no monopoly or exclusive privileges of his trade, while the railroad which enforces such a case of favoritism invariably has exclusive control of the transportation of the staple which is thus to be monopolized. If the disfavored coal dealers can not buy merchandise from one merchant, on equal terms with their favored rival, they will very promptly obtain their merchandise from some other merchant on exactly as good terms; and if they can not obtain sites for their coal-yards from one real estate owner they will from another. But if they can not get transportation from the railroad at equal rates with the favorites of the corporate managers, their extinction or retirement from the trade is only a question of time.

This at once confronts us with the railroad theory as presented by Mr. Fink and Professors Hadley and Seligman, that discrimination between shippers, as enforced by rebates, drawbacks, and secret rates, are the result of competition.

That theory implied, as taken for granted, that such discriminations are impossible at the local stations of railways where no other and competing railways can reach. The railway being entirely free from the competition which is alleged to produce these discriminations, the cause is absent, and the effect can not appear without the presence of the cause. It is a necessary part of the corporate theory, therefore, that there never has been any discrimination in the local traffic of railways which were entirely free from competition. The fact is exactly the opposite. It is at just these places that the discrimination has been most frequent and of the most tyrannical character. The extent of the traffic controlled by such discrimination in each instance is so slight that they do not attract public attention beside those which have created great national monopolies, but the fact remains that the favors

in rates granted by railways to selected shippers at their local stations form the original examples of this abuse, and constitute that class of favoritism from which those who are outside the favored circle find it most impossible to escape. In other words, the first test of the theory, that discrimination and preferential rates as between shippers is produced by competition brings the theory into irreparable collision with the facts.

On the theory that if there were two railroads engaged in legitimate competition with each other, each taking traffic for the sake of the profit that can be obtained from competitive business, neither of them could afford to establish and maintain such a discrimination. For one railroad to give a vital advantage to one coal dealer and to exclude the rest from a fair equality would be simply to drive the business of the others to the competing railroad.

While the reduced rate to the favored shipper offered by one railroad does not fall below a fair return to the carrier for the service of transportation, the other shipper can obtain equal rates from any other railroad so long as legitimate competition is in force. If the managers of the discriminating railroad are more desirous of maintaining the discrimination than they are of securing a profitable traffic for their company they can reduce the rate to the favored shipper far below the fair and legitimate reward for transportation that would be fixed by natural competition.

But in that case the loss of the discrimination comes out of the stockholders of the company and not from the public, and if the competition were established upon a permanent and indefeasible basis, the discrimination could last only so long as the stockholders of the company consented to be robbed for the benefit of their managers' favorites. But in the limited and incomplete competition that prevails even where two railroads are competing with each other it is possible for one railroad to declare to its competitor that it will continue to carry freight for its favorite shipper, until both carriers agree that the rebate or special rate shall be maintained for the favorite, and that all others shall be assessed an excessive and prohibitory rate, held out to the public under the lying pretense that it is the regular charge.

It is equally evident that to sustain such a discrimination in favor of a single and selected favorite there must be an agreement and combination between the competing railroads by which they are to abstain from competing, at least upon the commodity upon which the discriminating rate is to be maintained. It is possible, and it is one of the results of the vicious methods heretofore prevalent in railroad practices, that even while railroads are competing with each other, one railroad will have a favorite shipper to which it gives a special and low rate, and another one will have another, which it favors in like manner. But in that case the full evil of the discrimination, as pictured in the first instance, does not result for two reasons: First, supposing that there are no dealers except the two, each of which is a favorite of a competing railroad, the competition between those dealers will insure that the public obtains its supply at the competitive

prices; and second, if there are more shippers, even although they may not be the favorites of either railroad, the fact that if one railroad does not give the outside dealers living rates, the other one will get their business, will insure that each carrier will take them upon terms of practical equality. So long as there is open competition between two or more carriers, all the customers of the road are able to secure the transportation of their commodities on practically equal terms; but the moment that there is an agreement or combination between the carriers for the purpose of avoiding and suppressing competition, at that moment it becomes possible for the agreement to include the maintenance of a vital discrimination in favor of one or more favored shippers. If there are two competing railroads they must agree to maintain a special open rate before either of them can establish a permanent preference by a secret reduction. If there are three railroads transacting that business, the third must be included in the agreement or else it will be able to secure all of the traffic of the outside and disfavored shippers. If there be four, five, or six, all the competitors must be brought into the combination or the discrimination becomes impossible.

Thus, we reach the vital point, which is made clearer by the comparison with the fact already stated, that no such favoritism is possible in the supply of merchandise, or the sale of real estate, or the transaction of any of the ordinary branches of commerce. The reason is that, in the ordinary branches of commerce, competition is placed upon such a universal basis of freedom that for one merchant or real estate owner to attempt to discriminate in favor of a single establishment in any other line of business, would be simply to turn over the traffic of all the disfavored dealers to his rival. If the competition in the business of transporting freight over the railroad were placed upon a basis of such broad and wholly unchecked competition, as is the case in merchandising or the sale and renting of real estate, the maintenance of vital discrimination would be as impossible in that line of enterprise as in any other.

This fact is made clear by reference to another feature of the fuel business already touched upon in this article. We have alluded to the time when the towns of the country were mainly supplied with fuel from the neighboring forests; and every one who recollects that era will perceive that it would have been impossible for any one to have set up any arrangement of rates or charges which would have concentrated and monopolized the business of furnishing firewood to any town in the hands of a single firm or person. The fuel in this case was hauled over highways leading into each town, which were established by the governmental right of eminent domain, as the railroads are; but every man was entitled to haul firewood or any other commodity which could be profitably transported, over such highways, and the result was that competition was so free that monopoly, either in the transportation of products over the highways or in the sale of the commodities so transported, was absolutely impossible. If, by the perversion of laws, any person or corpora-

tion had secured the monopoly of hauling all commodities over the roads leading into any town, it is plain that this monopoly could have produced, by exactly such discriminations as are presented in the railroad trade, a monopoly in the sale of the commodities transported. No such monopoly has ever been permitted to exist in transportation over the ordinary highways. Exclusive privileges have been established in the transportation of commodities over the railroads. The result is apparent in the fact that discriminations have never been known and are impossible in transportation over the ordinary highways; while, upon the highways created in the development of the railroad system, they have been not only possible but have erected themselves into gigantic facts.

In examining this branch of discrimination, it has been presented so far merely as a supposition. In coming articles we will examine actual cases in which exactly such discriminations have been maintained, and their existence proved by indisputable evidence. Here, however, it is enough to present the fact of their possibility. We do not think that even Mr. Fink, Professor Hadley, and the other supporters of the theory that discriminations are produced by competition will deny that it is possible for the railroad manager to establish exactly such discrimination as has here been pictured upon the local traffic where no competition exists.

But in conceding merely that possibility they give up their entire case. The ability to enforce such a discrimination where the alleged cause of discrimination is wholly absent shows that the cause of the evil is entirely separate from that which is alleged. The mere possibility of such an evil, even if it had never had any actual existence, would comprise a great public danger; and, in order to understand that danger, and to perceive how it is to be prevented, it is necessary to set down the facts which appear, from the nature of the case, as the first point in the comprehension of railway favoritism, as follows:

The power of railway officials over charges for transportation which enables them to give one shipper vital advantages and to deny to others equal rates lies in their exclusive control of the transportation over their lines, and in the absence of competition in transportation which would make it necessary for all carriers to give all shippers equal rates.

THE United States produces enough food to supply every citizen bountifully. Its factories are able to furnish all the clothing needed; coal, wood, and minerals are in the greatest abundance, and the people industrious and full of energy, yet want, destitution, hunger, and suffering are constant guests in thousands of homes. Evidently natural conditions are not to blame, but the injustice of man, of man-made laws, is. Is there any plausible reason why the people should suffer from such laws and their results when they have the power to alter them? If the people suffer they have themselves alone to blame. Let them arouse themselves, study the situation, and act like men worthy of a better state; demand and see to it that these evils are corrected.

LABOR has wrought a greater miracle than the rod of Moses did when he struck the rock and there gushed forth living water. Labor struck the rock which frames the world and gave to man sand, stone for building, marble for decoration, metals for machines, coal to drive them; the purest oil from the muddy shale; precious jewels to delight the eye and adorn the brow of beauty, the precious metals from the treasure-house of nature. These were the gifts it brought from the deep rocks. It then touched the soil and it smiled with flowers of every hue, and there sprang forth grain for food and luscious fruits. At its magic touch palaces and temples reared their stately walls, and lovely homes were filled with love, and happiness, and sunlight. What miracle can equal this that labor has wrought? It has been man's guardian angel, and what is its return? No myth nor fairy legend is more wonderful, no tale of genie or magic can compare with the grand achievements wrought by labor; and yet helpless, insignificant worms of men, who owe to it all they are and have, assume to scorn this mighty power. What silly arrogance, what puerile assumption! Ajax defying the lightning was heroic compared with such colossal silliness. Labor is the genius that has made life what it is and raised man to his high estate. To labor is due the highest honor, and the children of this mighty power are the bulwark of the world.

No MAN of intelligence who will give close and careful attention to the conditions existing in every enlightened nation, must admit that a crisis is approaching that is without a parallel in the world's history. The fires of discontent are burning on both continents. The old and rotten monarchies of Europe are, as it were, resting upon volcanoes. They are honeycombed with secret societies whose object is the overthrow of oppressive ancient systems and the establishment of others more consistent with modern enlightenment and progress. The spirit of individual liberty which has so long slept is again awakened. Industry demands a just share in the values it creates. Every day the discontent increases. What is to be the result? There is need of all our intelligence, all our sagacity, all our patriotism, and all our conservatism to so direct events as to bring the least evil when the final crash shall come.

LABOR should be in a condition to say to capital, "I will not accept your offer, because I can employ myself more profitably." National laws and conditions must be more untrammeled, and one class not be dependent upon the whim of others for the necessities of life, especially when the one gains its advantages by laws securing to it especial privileges and immunities. Labor should be secured in its right to employment at all times on terms that will secure a sufficiency for its needs, and no field of labor be controlled at the pleasure or for the profit of any class or individual. Man's right to provide for his necessary wants by his labor is innate and inalienable. When a man must live according to the command and decree of another it is slavery.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY, OF WOODSTOCK, MD.

NITROGEN.

In a recent issue we presented some thoughts on oxygen for the consideration of our readers, intended to be suggestive of some of the greater functions of that gas in nature; suggestions supplementary to what may be styled the laboratory view as usually presented by the chemical text writers. Suggestions merely for an attempt to exhaust that field of thought, would imply a labor of years and the authorship of a bulky volume. In this place we propose similar suggestive treatment of another of the greater elements, viz., nitrogen. This element we may style the chemical antipode of oxygen. Perhaps its greatest natural office is the merely negative one of diluting oxygen so as to tone down its vehement energies, for if the restraining influence of nitrogen were withdrawn from nature oxygen would at once enter upon a career of destructive violence, the splendors of which, brief and brilliant, and at the same time awful beyond comprehension, would end in chaos. To describe that chaos we may borrow the inspiration of the magnificent simplicity of Professor Huxley's "semi-barbarous Jew" for there would be a return to the beginning before "the Spirit of God moved upon the waters" to inaugurate the career of what men call time. The earth would be "without form and void, and darkness would cover the deep." The motionless reign of death and silence would be once more universal and supreme. Such a catastrophe as inevitable as the coming of death to all the living would follow the withdrawal of the nitrogen from the earth's atmosphere, or even of a comparatively small percentage of it. Nor is there any other element of which our modern world-builders could avail themselves to supply the place of any portion of nitrogen in its capacity as a natural dilutent of oxygen. Please mark that, whenever you read after one of those savants who would have had things better made if they had been present with their knowledge and their counsels at the creation. One final remark: the proportion of nitrogen to oxygen existing in the earth's atmosphere can not be altered either by less or more and fail to produce annihilation of the present workings and order of nature. This, moreover, is one only of those hair-balanced compensations of which great nature is so marvelously full. Was it, as it were, an apocalyptic glimpse of these, in their entirety which poured out the soul of the prophet in the solemnly sublime apostrophe, "Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy great glory!" brimful of it; visible from all the heights to which true science, interpreted aright, lifts us up. At this point one may imagine that he sees some good brother in his arm-chair, as he reads, corrugate his ample brow, asking aloud, what is this we are having here in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST? A lay sermon, brother, concerning the great functions of nitrogen in nature's economy, for the benefit of agriculturists and others, who sometimes pay 25 cents a pound for this nitrogen without knowing much about the source of it, or the value of it. "But what preacher is this? This faith hath many a purer priest and many an abler voice than thou." This thing is very true; no preacher is here, only one of the least of the voices of such as love and seek the truth. Now as for this nitrogen, whereas oxygen is all restlessness, energy, force, fire, it is inertia personified, chemically indifferent to the presence of all other bodies, save under strong solicitation and force suffering a combination with other forms of matter, under all ordinary conditions remaining in contact with other

elements uncombined; in contact with matter and force everywhere, and with ceaseless change, itself unchangeable and having no part in the change of other bodies; therefore fit, and of all elements only fit, to harmlessly dilute and restrain the tremendous chemical energy and violence of oxygen. And now we find in nature precisely the right quantity—no less, no more—to constitute with oxygen an atmosphere fit for all the purposes of nature, including the maintenance of life. This is a marvelous thing in itself. If left to chance, how could it be so? Seeing that by the theory of probabilities there might chance to be innumerable millions of wrong quantities, but only one right quantity, what shall we think? Hath the principle of evolution anything to do with this? Or with the weakness of nitrogen, the might of oxygen, in the field of chemical energy?

However indifferent nitrogen shows itself to be under all ordinary circumstances, it does nevertheless form many compounds with other elements, and nature affords no class of bodies more remarkable, more important, nor more interesting. Nitrogen, for example, is a constituent of all living substance. The body of a living organism, say a man, contains much substance which is in no sense alive nor capable of life, as water, fat, the earthly matter of bone; but of all those parts which have life nitrogen is a constituent. Nor is any form of non-living matter capable of becoming truly alive except the nitrogenous constituents of food supply, nitrogen. Nitrogen is indeed chemically and physiologically the element characteristic of living substance. This fact alone gives to this element a high place in the material universe. How, then, does nitrogen enter into combination with other elements to form the protoplasm of food? There is one power of the universe, and one only, whereby the transaction can be effected so far as known—the physiological force of a living plant. This is the very office of the plant kingdom in the economy of nature—to convert purely mineral substance into the substance of protoplasm, which is the only form of non-living matter capable of becoming living substance and part of a living organism. So far as known no form of purely mineral matter can be assimilated as a part of its living tissue by any animal organism whatever. On the other hand, the plant can by no means assimilate as a part of the structural substance of its living parts any free or uncombined element, and the whole enormous supply of atmospheric nitrogen seems completely unavailable for this purpose. It is by the decomposition of chemical compounds containing the elements of plant food in combination that plants are able to assimilate these elements in the formation of their tissues and their products. Therefore the plant kingdom depends upon the somewhat limited supply of combined nitrogen existing in the soil for the production of that supply of protoplasm which the animal kingdom demands of it. The nutritive physiological forces of the plant are employed in dissociating the elements of chemical compounds, and the assimilation of these nascent elements in their processes of growth and development. Thus the main activities of plant-life ultimate in deoxidation of carbonic acid water and nitric acid, and the assimilation of the carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen of these decomposed bodies in their nascent state.

It would extend this paper beyond reasonable limits to attempt to develop every line of thought hereby suggested. Moreover, there are other classes of nitrogenous compounds most interesting to the thoughtful mind, any remarks upon which we must for the present defer. We now conclude with the suggestion to the student, that every element entering into the composition of the living organism should be studied as to its great natural functions in

addition to the ordinary methods of the laboratory and the text-book. Is it too much to think that every educated and informed man should be fully acquainted with the chemistry, the natural history, and the functional value of each of the comparatively few elements that compose the organs and tissues of his own body? In future numbers we propose to extend the discussion here broken off to the consideration of the agricultural value of combined nitrogen in the different forms in which it is commercially obtainable, with incidental thoughts on nitrogen compounds in general.

HOG CHOLERA.

We have been looking over the Report of the Bureau of Animal Industries of the United States Department of Agriculture, embodying the results of the researches of the bureau into the nature, causes, and treatment of hog cholera. We find the information completely brought down to date, interesting, practical, and valuable. The identity of the disease with the European form is established, and its importation from thence is rendered certain. It is a microbe disease produced by a bacillus, and is found to be distinct from another disease known as swine plague, which is produced by a different microbe from that of cholera, but the two diseases have generally been confounded, as there appears to be a great variety in the symptoms of both, so that clear distinction can only be made by the bacteriologist. Moreover, the two diseases have prevailed together in the same neighborhood, in the same herd, and have probably frequently existed together in the same animal at one and the same time. The germ of hog cholera is found to belong to the class which do not produce spores, and is hence naturally comparatively short-lived, and is easily destroyed by disinfectants. Treatment consists of preventive and curative measures. Curative measures are about useless; very few cases can, by any means, be prevented from terminating fatally, and the cured hog, after costing as much as two good hogs are worth, remains permanently worthless. It may be said there is no cure for hog cholera.

The cures advertised in the line of quack or secret remedies are worthless frauds, every one of them, of which the inventors and vendors are themselves sometimes the victims, sometimes and more frequently not. So far as investigations have gone preventive inoculations with attenuated virus have failed; that is to say, all methods as yet tried have failed to produce a successful attenuated virus. And the indications are that inoculation can not avail to prevent the ravages of the disease. The slaughter of diseased animals, or the stamping out process with disinfection can undoubtedly control the disease. To enforce such measures effectively is going to be the trouble. However, all doubts about the exact nature of the cause and mode of propagation of the disease are cleared up; the worthlessness of quack remedies is fully exposed and the most effective hygienic preventive measures are known and explained. Isolation and slaughter of the sick, deep burial or burning of the dead, and free use of disinfectants are the things to rely on in the presence of epidemics, and there is not the least use at all whatever in hoping to find any cure or attempting to treat the sick. The losses entailed by hog cholera amount annually to from ten to thirty millions of dollars. And on a large part of these great values tax is collected and paid after the animals are dead and buried, which really increases the loss by about an average of one dollar on the hundred dollars of valuation for assessment. Why, moreover, should a man pay tax on a dead hog? If a dead hog can pay tax, why can not a dead man vote? Some say dead men can not vote, but that does not prevent their being voted. So, also, a dead hog can not pay any tax, but his

tax has to be paid by the man who owned him when alive, all the same. Then, also, remember the doctor's bill, and the apothecary's bill, and the funeral expenses, and the germicide's bill, and we come to the conclusion that few things are more expensive than hog cholera. Putting all these things together we think that any sensible man finding a sick pig among his swine will forthwith remove him to a place by himself, and kill and bury him deep. And then without delay remove the herd to new ground and proceed to disinfect the place where they were, and to disinfect food and water supply, and also look out for and promptly take away and kill and bury deep or burn up the very first and every other that falls sick. It is possible thus to save some of the swine. It is not possible to save any of them by doctoring, but you may, and almost certainly will, first lose all your own and then infect and destroy all your neighbors' trying to doctor them. The only way to doctor a sick pig is to kill him quick and burn him or bury him deep and remote from any water-course. The infection of hog cholera spreads by water with the utmost facility, and certainly even very far down stream. Buzzards, dogs, foxes, crows preying on unburied swine dead of hog cholera carry off and drop fragments in distant places, which, found and eaten by swine, start new centers of infection.

As stated above, the microbe of cholera has no spore state and succumbs to the action of germicides very easily. The general use by farmers of such poisonous substances as corrosive sublimate and mercurial iodide is out of the question. Happily a substance so simple as lime has been found very effectual against this germ. Diluted lime-water destroys it and it perishes from momentary contact with boiling water. When an epidemic is prevailing all food fed to swine should be cooked. Water given them should be limed and given before food, and thus, as it were, disinfect the inside of the hog and feed him food sterilized by boiling and the danger of infection is minimized. Farmers ought to get this report of the Bureau of Animal Industries on hog cholera and also one which is to follow shortly on swine plague, and being thus fully informed let them act accordingly. The Bureau proposes to send out a set of reports on animal diseases, bringing the best information down to date for all our domestic animals in authentic and practical form, and the series will form a most valuable compendium of knowledge on the whole subject of which the great and well-deserved reputation of Dr. Salmon is a sufficient guarantee.

The Problem of Permanent Democracy.

BY DR. W. G. JONES.

The problem of a permanent democracy among men is yet unsolved, and the wrecks of the republics which strew the pathways of the past, the victims of destroying internal causes engendered by that system of government is abounding evidence of the fact.

All other forms of government consist of incompletely developed types which contain within them selves overpowering forces which keep in subjection this principle of equal liberty and antagonize every effort of the people to approach toward its adoption. This antagonistic element is a fixed minority of the whole who rule by reason of custom and law, and this minority in some instances is so small in number that it consists of but one single person, as in absolute monarchies.

But no democracy so extensive and so absolute in its nature as our own has ever been as yet subjected to the test of time, excepting itself during the brief period of its century of existence. The grand republic of ancient Rome was governed by an aristocracy of patricians more proud than the nobles who sustain the monarchies of modern times. Sparta was a band of heroic warriors led by kings and even supported by the labor of slaves; and even

illustrious Athens, the most perfect type of democracy in the ancient world, was crowded with slaves and with aliens incapable of citizenship.

The great democracy of modern times differs from all of these—the alien, when he casts his lot within it, is received like a brother and can become a citizen almost at will; and with the abolition of slavery all of the people were given equal political and civil rights, which completely eliminated the last vestige of an aristocratic element from its political structure.

By reason of the modern plan of representation and by the method of the confederation of states this democracy is capable of extending in the area in which none but freemen can live as easily over continents as the old republics could have done over islands and single cities, and under suitable conditions the whole human race could live together in freedom and peace beneath the broad aegis of its high type of governmental institutions.

When the ardent patriot and the enthusiastic lover of humanity regards these facts and contemplates all the circumstances which have attended the birth, the development, and the unexampled progress of this the great Republic of the modern time, his heart is filled to overflowing with the liveliest emotions of hope, and with exultant pride he believes that these facts and circumstances are the forerunners of a consummation in which it will extend the blessings of free government throughout the world and emancipate mankind from all the ungenial and unhappy conditions under which so many of them have ever existed.

Whatever truth there may be in the bright imaginings of sanguine and optimistic thinkers like these, there is not the shadow of a doubt that the potent activities and the infinitely varied resources that are already developed and will continue to be developed in almost endless profusion by the onward movement of this great democracy, will enable it in the midday of its prime to enact a most portentous and commanding role amid the nations of the world that will have a directing influence upon the activities by which men pursue the acquisition of all those material things which conduce to the fulfillment of human happiness; these acquisitions constitute wealth, and this un-directed and unrestrained energy in its pursuit produces conditions which so disturb and destroy the equilibrium of its distribution that the character and form of democratic society is so changed and degraded as to render democratic institutions nugatory and useless.

Under this form of government, the human mind being left free, untrammeled by privileges or caste to act in any avocation it most prefers, causes every calling and pursuit to have enlisted in them the choicest men who are best fitted to prosecute them in the most perfect manner, and in the business walks of life those who love the pursuit of wealth for itself alone present numberless examples of men of the same high order of talent and genius for the accumulation of wealth that the conquerors of empires have possessed for policy and war.

Unrestricted in action except by that regard for the rights of others which is required by the existing laws, these Napoleons of business and finance build up vast aggregations of wealth, which stand like mountains upon a plain and exceed in magnitude the greatness of the spoils that have ever been appropriated by the ruthless hands of invading warriors in search of conquest and dominion.

These mountains of individual wealth are built up, many of them by lawful spoliation, from increments taken from the common fund, from which every one needs to take his part and so diminishes the quantity of that which is left, out of which all must be provided that great and increasing numbers can obtain nothing at all and the country is deluged with poverty and vagabondism.

This mode and process of material progress continually diminishes the number of the middle class of independent property owners and increases the number of the dependent and the poor, until at length but two classes are left in

This governing power of the majority is a necessary fact and an essential principle of pure democracy, and an equally necessary fact and essential principle of human nature is that the ruling force which governs the actions of men is directed by the idea they may have of what will best conduce to their self-interest—which is the attainment of the happiness that is produced by the accomplishment of the ends that best satisfy their aspirations, desires, hopes, and beliefs. If the greater part of the people well distributed act in their own interests, well understood in the making of the laws that govern all, they will secure the happiness of all as far as is possible by human methods under human government.

But this is only the theory of democracy, and equal liberty is only the foundation from which it can be perfected, for if upon this foundation nothing more is built, monstrous growths ensue in the course of time, which, if unchecked, become practically more fatal to equal liberty than the political obstructions that are placed in the way by the most aristocratic forms of government.

Equal liberty, with nothing to prevent by reason of the very nature of things, encompasses itself with conditions analogous to those it was created to abolish, but of a kind so practical and efficient in their causality that they erect more impenetrable barriers in the way of the pursuit of happiness by the greater part of the people than those which were torn away to enable equal liberty to exist.

This is the inevitable result of democratic institutions upon democratic society, unless some potent means are used to modify and deflect the course of the lightning-like movement of the material progress which is caused by the existence of equal liberty to all men. It gives an unexampled impulse, vigor, and enterprise to all the activities by which men pursue the acquisition of all those material things which conduce to the fulfillment of human happiness; these acquisitions constitute wealth, and this un-directed and unrestrained energy in its pursuit produces conditions which so disturb and destroy the equilibrium of its distribution that the character and form of democratic society is so changed and degraded as to render democratic institutions nugatory and useless.

The end which is pursued by all men on earth is happiness more or less well-understood, and the end of all the political progress of mankind is the allotment to every person of the greatest amount of liberty of action in this pursuit that is compatible with the same liberty of action in others.

The end which is pursued by all men on earth is happiness more or less well-understood, and the end of all the political progress of mankind is the allotment to every person of the greatest amount of liberty of action in this pursuit that is compatible with the same liberty of action in others.

An absolute democracy is the only form of government that extends this equality of liberty to all of the people and is the completed type of all governmental progress and development among men.

All other forms of government consist of incompletely developed types which contain within them selves overpowering forces which keep in subjection this principle of equal liberty and antagonize every effort of the people to approach toward its adoption. This antagonistic element is a fixed minority of the whole who rule by reason of custom and law, and this minority in some instances is so small in number that it consists of but one single person, as in absolute monarchies.

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No. 19.

democratic society sufficiently powerful to give complexion to political parties and contend together for political power—the great rich and the poor, composed in great part of rebellious dependents rendered desperate and reckless by the sufferings and deprivations of their unequal condition.

The success of either one of the parties thus constituted is equally destructive to democratic institutions. If the great rich obtain permanent power and control, democracy becomes degraded into a plutocracy, which as soon as is possible transforms itself into some form of political aristocracy. If the lower class should be victorious there is danger that some form of socialism, mingled with anarchy, would have a brief reign, to be succeeded by military despotism.

Should either of these results ever occur in our country the political progress among men during the past one thousand years will be rendered futile or altogether lost, and with such a consummation the most optimistic thinker would be forced to believe that true progression among men had arrived at and passed its point of culmination, from whence humanity would begin to trail upon a downward grade, with little prospect of return.

Social Science Reading Clubs.

BY DR. A. C. GREEN, OF DOUGLASSVILLE, GA.

In regard to the suggestions of J. W. Creighton and others in the *ECONOMIST* and the *Chicago Express*, as to the organizations of social science reading clubs, I am in full accord, and see that such a move will meet the needs of a large number of people; yet it is forced upon me that the necessities of the times demand

that we have a course of reading and study prescribed by three or more persons, who are known to be good authorities on political economy and co-operation. In other words, that we have a thorough and permanent organization that might be known as the National School of Co-operation and Political Economy, on a similar plan to that of the C. L. S. C. of the old New York Chautauqua. When the course of reading has been completed by a member and he or she has passed a creditable examination, issue to each a certificate of scholarship. This would develop in every city, town, and county a goodly number of persons who would be competent and able to enter our legislative halls and represent us,

The heads of the various departments already enumerated receive salaries of \$5,500, except the Surgeon-General, whose salary is \$4,500. The Headquarters of the Army is, of course, the office of the General of the Army, and the business is conducted by two aides-de-camp, an assistant adjutant-general, an inspector of rifle practice, and two officers detailed for special duty. The pay of the officers of this division, of course, is fixed by their rank in the Army.

The Adjutant-General's Department is officiated by the Adjutant-General, who is brigadier, six assistants, and a chief clerk, all except the clerk being officers of the Army. In the Inspector-General's Office are three Inspectors-General and a chief clerk.

If the monopolists and financial schemers against the rights of industry had their newspaper taken away from them their career would come to a sudden and ignominious close; yet this class of papers is regularly patronized and supported by the very people whose interests they are antagonizing. If the farmers and laborers would give their support only to the papers published in their cause they would give one of the most severe blows to monopoly and its growth.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 19.

The War Department occupies a large number of rooms in the War, State, and Navy Building. The department was established in 1789, and has charge of all the military affairs of the Government. Besides this, it has supervision of all the improvements made to rivers and harbors in the United States, and also has charge of the weather bureau, the military arsenals and cemeteries, and many public works. It supervises the Government surveys and explorations. The duties of this department are greatly varied. An immense amount of business is done and vast sums of money expended by it. Nearly forty millions of dollars are disbursed every year for the Army and its adjuncts, and fully as much more for various other purposes.

The War Department has the following divisions: 1, Office of the Secretary of War; 2, Headquarters of the Army; 3, Adjutant-General's Department; 4, Inspector-General; 5, Quartermaster-General; 6, Subsistence Department; 7, Medical Department; 8, Pay Department; 9, Corps of Engineers; 10, Ordnance Department; 11, Bureau of Military Justice; 12, Signal Office, or Weather Bureau; 13, Bureau of War Records; besides sundry minor divisions.

All the sub-departments are managed by Army officers of high rank, and have a large number of clerks and employees. In the office of the Secretary of War there are a chief clerk, with a salary of \$2,500; a disbursing clerk, with \$2,000; four chiefs of division, with \$2,000 each. These divisions are record division, requisitions and accounts division, correspondence division, and supply division. There is also a private secretary to the head of the department, with a salary of \$1,800, and about seventy-five clerks, with salaries from \$900 to \$1,800.

The heads of the various departments already enumerated receive salaries of \$5,500, except the Surgeon-General, whose salary is \$4,500. The Headquarters of the Army is, of course, the office of the General of the Army, and the business is conducted by two aides-de-camp, an assistant adjutant-general, an inspector of rifle practice, and two officers detailed for special duty. The pay of the officers of this division, of course, is fixed by their rank in the Army.

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In the Subsistence Department are the Commissary-General, two assistants, a chief clerk, and a depot commissary.

In the Medical Department are the Surgeon-General, six assistants, a chief clerk, and an attending surgeon.

In the Pay Department are the Paymaster-General, an assistant, an assistant in charge of bounties, etc., a chief clerk, and a post paymaster.

In the Department of the Corps of Engineers are the Chief Engineer, four assistants, and a chief clerk.

In the Ordnance Department are the Chief of Ordnance, four assistants, and a chief clerk.

In the Signal Office, the Chief Signal Officer, seven assistants, and a chief clerk.

In the Bureau of War Records are the officer in charge, three assistants, and the agent for the collection of Confederate records.

The Bureau of Military Justice is in charge of the Judge Advocate-General, an assistant, and a chief clerk.

All these officials are officers of the Army except the chief clerks. The requisite clerks for each department are supplied from the seventy already mentioned.

The Army of the United States consists of ten cavalry regiments, five artillery regiments, and twenty-five infantry regiments. There are also the forces employed in the signal service, hospital duty, and various other necessary employments.

The entire military force amounts to about 2,200 officers and about 23,000 enlisted men. The troops are stationed in three military divisions, to wit: Division of the Missouri, with headquarters at Chicago; Division of the Atlantic, with headquarters in New York; Division of the Pacific, with headquarters in San Francisco. Each division is commanded by a major-general, and each division is divided into departments commanded by brigadier-generals. By law the major-generals are limited to three, and the brigadier-generals to six.

There are 66 colonels, 85 lieutenant-colonels, 243 majors, and 603 captains, besides lieutenants too numerous to mention.

The pay of the General commanding the Army is \$13,500 per year for the first five years, after which it is increased. For the first five years of service the major-generals are paid \$7,500 per year; brigadiers, \$5,500; colonels, \$3,500; lieutenant-colonels, \$3,000; majors, \$2,500; captains, from \$1,800 to \$2,000; and lieutenants, from \$1,400 to \$1,600. After five years' service the pay of all officers is increased from 10 to 40 per cent., according to the length of service. Retired officers have three-quarters pay. Private soldiers are paid \$13 per month.

The total aggregate yearly appropriation by Congress for the maintenance of this Department vibrates between \$38,000,000 and \$40,000,000, exclusive of pensions, which rightfully belong to this Department, but the Pension Bureau is attached to the Interior Department.

The clerks in the various departments of the War Office are distributed as follows, and receives the salaries set opposite their names:

In the Secretary's office the chief clerk re-

cives \$2,500 per year; the disbursing clerk, \$2,000; stenographer, \$1,800; five clerks at \$1,800 each; four clerks at \$1,600 each; four clerks at \$1,400 each; twelve clerks at \$1,200 each, and one clerk at \$1,000.

In the Adjutant-General's Department the chief clerk receives \$2,000; eleven clerks at \$1,800 each; seventeen at \$1,600 each; thirty-five at \$1,400 each; one hundred and fifty-one at \$1,200 each; six at \$1,000 each; thirty additional clerks at \$1,200 each, and twenty-five additional at \$1,000 each.

The Inspector-General, one clerk, \$1,800.

Bureau of Military Justice, chief clerk at \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,600, and one at \$1,200.

Signal Bureau, two clerks at \$1,800, and one at \$1,200.

Quartermaster-General's Office, chief clerk at \$2,000; seven clerks at \$1,800 each; nine at \$1,600 each; twenty-four at \$1,400 each; forty-eight at \$1,200 each; twenty copyists at \$900 per year each; engineer at \$1,200; draughtsman at \$1,200.

Commissary Department, chief clerk at \$2,000; eight clerks at \$1,800 each; six at \$1,600 each; nine at \$1,400 each; one hundred and six at \$1,200 each; fourteen at \$1,000 each; anatomist at \$1,600; engineer at \$1,400, and one hundred and twenty clerks at \$1,000 each.

Ordnance Office, chief clerk, \$2,000; four clerks at \$1,800; two at \$1,600 each; three at \$1,400 each; three at \$1,200; one at \$1,000; engineer in War Department Building at \$1,200; assistant engineer at \$1,000.

Public Buildings and Grounds, clerk in office, \$1,400; public gardener, \$1,600; disbursing officer at Leavenworth military prison, \$150 per month; clerk in office of prison quartermaster, \$116.66 per month.

This list will give a correct idea of the cost of this department in salaries of employees at Washington alone. There are, of course, vast amounts paid to employees in various portions of the country outside of the Capital; as, for instance, mechanics and laborers in arsenals, in the manufacture of clothing, shoes, harness, culinary implements, hospital equipments, wagons, gun-carriages, horse furnishings, sabres, and other arms, and employees at various forts, military posts, and Government establishments of various characters throughout the country. The expenditure on account of this department is really greater than in any other except the Treasury.

ACCORDING to the census of 1880, the lowest per capita valuation is shown in Mississippi, where it is \$286, and the highest in California, where it is over \$1,600. The highest per capita valuation is in New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Nevada, and California, where it rates from \$1,200 to \$1,600, and the lowest is in the Gulf States, Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota, where it ranges from \$286 to \$400. This shows clearly what class of occupations has the advantage. Rhode Island and Massachusetts have about three times as much capital in manufactures as in agriculture.

ALL of ethics is in the teaching, that, if man be true to himself he can not be false to his fellows; for his is bound up in the common welfare, and to be true to himself he must be true to it.

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AND
THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION.

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By W. S. MORGAN.

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In this age of a multiplicity of books, magazines and newspapers, the farmer and laborer, who has but little money to spare, and less time to read, is often at a loss to know just how to spend it for literature that will give him the greatest amount of information for the sum expended, and with as little reading as possible. There are books on co-operation, finance, political economy, and histories without number. Every subject has been made the theme of a multiplicity of books and papers, to secure and read all of which the farmer has neither the means nor time at his disposal. The want of a work which will briefly but clearly discuss those topics in which the farmer and laborer is concerned, and which relate to his interest has been long felt. By far the larger portion of the great mass of people have but little time to spare in enlightening themselves on questions of a business nature, and upon the economical political issues of the day. To meet this want and supply this demand has been the endeavor of the author of the present work. Thousands of persons belong to labor organizations who have but a limited knowledge of the nature of their objects, and a poor conception of their duties, either as members of such organizations or as citizens of the Republic.

The "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution" is prepared with a view of giving such information as the public desire, in as clear and concise a manner as possible. The book contains the cream of everything that has been written heretofore on all the subjects which relate to the interests of the laborer. It is a library in itself. The author has been engaged for fifteen years in gathering the information which it contains. He has occupied more than a year in preparing it for publication. Every sentence breathes instruction and every page bristles with the best thoughts of the most advanced thinkers. It is clear of all verbiage and every subject is discussed in a plain, simple, and practical manner. Not a theme is left untouched. The writer has not labored to extend the subjects with a view to filling the pages of the book to a certain size and giving it a title to sell. He has endeavored to condense and place within the reach of the reader as many subjects as could be made clear and comprehensive within the scope of a single volume. The tables of statistics have been prepared and selected with extraordinary care as to authenticity and correctness. The work is in two parts, bound in one volume.

Part first presents briefly the deplorable condition of the laborer; the necessity of organization; the origin and growth of the Wheel; its objects and aims; the origin and history of the Alliance; its growth, work, and future possibilities. The whole is embellished with numerous illustrations of officers and members of the Wheel and Alliance, with biographical sketches of their lives. About thirty pages of part first is devoted exclusively to a discussion of co-operation, and forms and instructions given for organizing all kinds of co-operative enterprises. This chapter alone is worth many times the price of the book, and will save to the farmers thousands of dollars. It is a careful, compact, and clear presentation of everything that relates to the subject. Book second discusses in a clear and comprehensive manner all the great questions of political economy which affect the interests of the farmer and laborer. The evils of class legislation are pointed out with a vividness never before reached by any other. Money, bonds, banks, corporations, trusts, tariff, land monopoly, and every issue which has been the theme of political discussion for years is discussed with an originality and boldness that has never been surpassed. While the author has discussed these subjects in a non-partisan manner, he has, nevertheless, given his records, the political platforms, speeches, and votes in Congress of the great political parties, and exposed their connection with the system of class laws that is grinding the people down to slavery that is worse than death. In short, the writer handles every subject without gloves.

Every paragraph in the whole volume is aggressive and sparkles with vigor and enthusiasm. It is the work of one who feels what he says. Every part of the same is a tissue of the cohorts of monopoly is exposed and torn to shreds. Every position of organization is fortified by such an array of eminent authorities that it is rendered invulnerable to any attack. The author has, in this book, built up a bulwark around the principles for which organization labors, contending that the storms of opposition from generations yet unborn will not be able to batter down.

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DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

VOL. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1889.

NO. 24.

Co-operation Among the Farmers.

A few weeks ago an article appeared in these columns in reply to a statement in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, the organ of the Farmers Alliance, criticising a few remarks of ours concerning the attempts of the agriculturists to drive out of business the country storekeeper. The ECONOMIST asserted that the farmers' societies had no such end in view. We accepted its explanation as final and let the matter drop. Recent intelligence from several sections in the interior, however, casts considerable suspicion upon the said explanation of the objects of the Farmers Alliance, the National Wheel, and other associations, and indicates that more or less uneasiness exists in those localities among the retail merchants respecting the future of the farmers' co-operative movement. The Farmers Alliance Exchanges, as the stores are called, which have been established in the South, although transacting a much greater business in receiving and shipping farm produce than in supplying the needs of their members, nevertheless appear to have cut into the business of some retail merchants very materially. There is, therefore, apparently, some ground for the alarm felt by storekeepers regarding the possibility of a large and profitable extension of the system. In all probability, however, the movement—so far as it comprehends the distribution of merchandise among the members—will gradually fizzle out in the same manner as the much-vaunted Granger system of a dozen years ago. The Patrons of Husbandry started out with a great flourish of trumpets to revolutionize the farming industry, and one of the principal objects was the establishment of Grange stores, which it was calculated could distribute merchandise to members at cost prices and drive the retail storekeeper out of existence. As time flew by, the discovery was made that it cost money to run the stores, just the same as it does to conduct the ordinary general store; in fact, so great was the expense of doing business that eventually the stores were discontinued and the farmers went back to the old system. There is no reason to suppose that any other fate awaits the latest experiment in co-operative trading, and while it must be admitted that our farmers have many reasons to be dissatisfied with the slowness of their progress from poverty to affluence, the sooner the Alliance Exchanges meet with disaster the better for all concerned. The retail storekeeper has it in his power to hasten the dissolution of such co-operative schemes in several ways, among which may be noted the adoption of a short-credit system in purchasing goods, selling on a fair margin of profit, and, above all, the granting of a discount on all cash purchases. The customer with ready money can buy from cash stores in the larger cities as cheaply as from the co-operative agencies, generally cheaper. In the country districts the cash system can seldom be rigidly enforced, because of the scarcity of cash at certain seasons of the year; but cash prices to cash customers can easily be maintained, while those who are compelled to ask credit should of course pay for the privilege. Only the old fogey merchant should fear the Alliance Exchange. Enterprising, quick-witted, experi-

enced dealers may suffer for a time from such competition, but the struggle will be so one-sided, if only because of the fact that the managers, being ignorant of business methods, will be more liable to losses than the legitimate trader, that the only tangible results will doubtless be a store of bitter but salutary experience for the farmer, and a practical demonstration of the truth that the merchant is as necessary to the welfare of a well-ordered community as the farmer himself.—From the Merchants' Review, of New York.

In giving the remedy for what the Review conceives to be an evil, it admits away its case—that is to say, the remedies suggested show the necessity for the existence of the Alliance Exchange; and if the advice given by the Review be followed, the Alliance Exchanges will have proved a success. The Review is a fair, able, and candid representative of the mercantile interests of the United States. These interests, when properly understood, must harmonize with the true interests of the agricultural producer. Any merchant who would enrich himself at the expense of agriculture is shortsighted and unwise. He should seek, and can best afford, to accumulate value by giving a fair equivalent for every dollar received. His presence and prosperity are essential to the farmer, and the presence and prosperity of the Exchange, and therefore will find his business increased. The Exchanges invariably instruct the people to buy at home whenever they can duplicate Exchange prices. Surely no worthy expert and legitimate merchant can object to that, and they will not.

The Review is reminded that there are some unworthy merchants, just as there are some unworthy farmers, doctors, and followers of other vocations. Such men are always ready to attribute their lack of success or inability to pay their debts to somebody else, and merchants who attribute their woes to the Farmers Alliance, if properly investigated by the Review, will be found men who could not adapt themselves to new and improved conditions, but insist that the wheels of material progress must stand still that they may perpetuate the systems of their fathers.

When the Review says, "The sooner the Alliance Exchanges meet with disaster the better for all concerned," it is an expression of sentiment beneath the dignity of that paper and entirely unwarranted by the argument it makes or the facts stated. On the contrary, its own statement that the remedy is short credit, low profits, and discounts for cash, credit, low profits, and discounts for cash,

being the very thing the Exchanges are organized to secure, shows that the Review entirely misconceives (like many old fogy merchants) the objects of the Exchanges, and advocates measures that would contribute to their success. As this would obviate the necessity for their existence, the disaster sentiment should be withdrawn. Surely the Review would not feed them to death and starve them to death at the same time.

THE COTTON CROP AND THE SUPPLY OF COTTON BAGGING.

An Address to the Order at Large by C. W. Macune, President of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America.

There is great necessity just at this time for a thorough understanding on the part of every cotton-grower of the exact plans and methods of the Alliance for wrapping, handling, and selling the crop now about to be placed on the market. Every member of the Alliance and Union in the cotton-growing States is pledged by the action taken at the last session of the National body to co-operate in selling the crop, and they are expected to carry out such obligation by holding themselves in readiness to obey the instructions of the National cotton committee at a moment's notice. This shows the necessity of a perfect understanding and the importance of complete harmony of action.

It is no secret in commercial circles that the markets of the world have not for several years been so poorly stocked with manufactured cotton goods at this season of the year, and it is also known that the mills are in possession of very little cotton from which to manufacture. The stock of cotton on the markets at the various ports is generally of the less desirable grades and styles. New York, for example, is said to have ten or fifteen thousand bales of cotton of such an inferior quality that no person desires it, and it is kept there as a menace to the future dealer who would attempt to exact delivery on a purchase of futures. The visible supply of last year's crop is reported about 300,000 bales short of two years ago, but when the character of the supply and the certainty of a greater demand by the mills is taken into consideration, the deficiency, it is fair to conclude, is at least double that amount, or 600,000 bales. The crop is not as large as has been reported. Besides the worms in some sections, they have had too much rain in many places east of the Mississippi. In Texas the crop, reported at 2,000,000, will scarcely reach 1,500,000 bales, on account of excessive rains damaging cotton in the bottoms in places, followed by drought in sections. Altogether the outlook for total crop is no better than at this time in 1887.

The farmers of this country will soon have in their possession about six millions of bales of cotton, which if they received pay for the labor expended in proportion to that received by teachers, doctors, lawyers, merchants, insurance men, and bankers, will have cost them about 50 cents per pound; but if they only receive pay for their labor at the same rates paid such skilled labor as carpenters and other tradesmen their cotton would probably cost

them 20 cents per pound, or \$100 per bale, making the six million bales worth \$600,000,000. Of course no such price can be realized. It is simply cited as no more than just, if it could be obtained. But the world demands this six million bales of cotton for immediate consumption, and must have it. That is to say, the mills must, at the lowest estimate, have five hundred thousand bales of cotton per month for the next twelve months. There are two ways in which the cotton-growers may turn it over to the consumer.

First, make all the haste possible to dump the whole pile into the hands of the speculators before it goes up (as it always does later in the season), and thereby enable such speculators to dribble it out to the mills at the rate of five hundred thousand bales per month, at an advance of from \$7 to \$15 per bale, or say a probable average of \$8 per bale, or \$48,000,000 on the lot.

Second, having developed a short interest, keep it short throughout the year by only selling each month what the mills will actually need; and by that course secure to the farmer that \$48,000,000, even if no higher prices ensued than the speculators would have made. Surely the latter plan must commend itself to the planter.

It was estimated by a high authority several years ago (in 1882) that the demand of the world actually required 7,000,000 bales of cotton every year. Now, if the increased demand be only 10 per cent., the demand would be 7,700,000 bales; while this crop is only 6,800,000, leaving a deficiency of 900,000 bales.

In view of all this it is evidently greatly to the interest of the cotton-grower to be in no hurry to sell his cotton. This is a year in which all can well afford to wait for and govern themselves by the instructions from the cotton committee, which has the matter in charge. Why this undue haste to get the first cotton wrapped and sold as soon as possible? Such a course is evidently to the interest of some one, but not to that of the planter. Some men seem to deem it very important that they get bagging at once and sell their cotton. There are two classes of men who are delighted to see this sentiment, and who are interested in encouraging it, and these are, first, the jute men, who desire anything to beat cotton bagging, and use this as a prize to induce some men to use burlap or Dundee cloth; and second, the cotton men who have sold the cotton short and must have cotton to fill their contracts. These two classes are deeply interested in anything that will induce the planter to sell at once. The cotton man who has sold short wants to fill before the rise, and the jute man wants to crowd the farmer to sell before he can get cotton bagging. There is another class of men who are terribly frightened lest the farmer will not sell his cotton in time to pay his merchant early enough for the merchant to meet his maturing obligations on time, and as a consequence they claim that any delay in selling on the part of the farmers will bankrupt all the merchants in the country. They forgot that the farmer has for several years been accommodating the merchant by turning

his cotton loose as soon as gathered, regardless of price, until now the stomach argument is compelling him to look after his own financial interests, and for once to be just before he is so generous—just to himself, his wife, and his children before being generous to the poor merchant. The merchant who is friendly will be glad to assist him in holding until such time as he can get the best price, and will not join in with his enemies and try to make him surrender to the jute man and the gambler in futures.

It would probably be best for the cotton-grower if he were irrevocably pledged to use cotton bagging and the mills made it so slowly that it would require till August, 1890, to make enough to cover the crops. But such is not the case. The mills have the capacity to make enough to cover the crop by February, and it is not likely that members of the order will market nearly all the crop by that time.

The National cotton committee will meet in

the city of Atlanta, Ga., on the 28th of August,

and immediately thereafter the whole order will

be apprised as to the avenues and methods by

which the National committee will transmit

instructions as to selling throughout the season

to State agents, who, in turn, will communicate

to county officers.

Brethren should get together in the subordi-

nate organizations and compare notes, and

such as have obligations that must be met be-

fore the cotton can be sold should be assisted

by those who are able, so that each sub-Alli-

ance or Wheel act as a unit to hold every bale

of its cotton to the proper time. Merchants

to whom indefinite obligations and crop mort-

gages will fall due should be notified early of

the purposes of the order in the premises, so

that they may prepare and assist in the effort.

The question of tare is beyond the reach of

Liverpool and American cotton exchanges, and

must be solved finally by justice. The mills

want to buy cotton and not bagging and ties,

and whenever they learn that the white bales

contain ten pounds more cotton than the brown

bales, they will certainly pay about one dollar

per bale more for them, and when a buyer can

always sell a white bale for about a dollar more

than a brown bale he will soon be compelled

to make that difference in his purchases. This

is plain, because two bales, each weighing 500

pounds, if one be wrapped in jute and the other in cotton, will not contain the same

amount of cotton. The cotton-wrapped bale

will contain an excess of about ten pounds.

In conclusion, it is suggested that every

member who has not placed his order for cot-

ton bagging do so as soon as possible, and then

make his arrangements to meet his obligations

without selling his cotton, so that he may have

plenty of time to wait, not only for the cotton

bagging, but after that comes, to wait for in-

structions from the National cotton committee.

Demand on every sale the eight pounds premium

over the actual weight of the bale, unless the

price is based on cotton as the standard and

jute is docked eight pounds. In that case the

premium could not be claimed, but when jute

is the standard and the gross weight of a bale

wrapped in cotton is 500 pounds, it should be

settled for as 508 pounds.

Stick to cotton bagging. There is plenty of

time for it before the spinners come after

your cotton.

C. W. MACUNE.

POPULAR FALSEHOODS EXPOSED.

By a Cotton Man of Twenty Years' Experience.

It is not surprising that some of the efforts of the jute combine should be in the line of intimidating farmers, and in fact buyers of any kind, from supplying themselves with cotton bagging at this critical time, and while it must grieve, still it should not alarm us to find Southern men taking the field against us, and even a farmer here or there, led on by selfish interests, or by his close connections with merchants, factors, capitalists, exporters, and middlemen; in a word, by those who have so long quietly absorbed the profits of farming. I say some farmers will perhaps either fight weakly or fight on the other side. But the mass of the farmers, when one of them pulls back and puts up arguments to stop our efforts to help ourselves, will recognize that "the hand is Esau's but the voice is Jacob's." In spite of the strenuous effort on the part of those who buy cotton to continue the use of jute by abusing and slandering cotton, the truth is that they have a hard case, because this jute is a wretched covering for cotton in every particular, and has been put upon farmers only too long. Jute is a splendid exponent of the farmer's failure in past years to look closely after his own interests. Now, let us look at the facts. Jute bagging stains cotton, as every sampler knows. The outer layers are always removed to get a clear sample. It also, to some extent, fills it with shives. It rapidly absorbs water, and a great deal of it. It ferments when wet, and damages and rots immediately. It holds water and heat and has to be cut away to dry very wet cotton. It is inflammable to the highest degree, will explode, and when greased generate spontaneous combustion. It is poor to mark on, and from its color, concealing both mud and damage, tempts rough treatment in transportation. It is loosely woven and does not cover cotton. Its apparent strength tempts rough use of hooks, but the greater part of it being filled upon a smaller and inelastic wool, tears laterally to ribbons. It is manufactured of unequal weights, and the weight of the heaviest is adopted as tare, entailing a consequent loss. This is enough to say against any covering, but it is absolutely true, and will not be denied by any one who is honest and intelligent. Now cotton is better than jute in these particulars. It is far less inflammable. It is more difficult to wet and easier to dry. Showing at once all rough usage from mud, etc., it will induce more care in handling, and the damage being less hid will be easier to place upon the guilty party. It is good to mark on. It sheds no shives. It does not stain. It is useful for any purpose as sheets, towels, bed spreads, etc., or for spinning over after being used. It is durable in the highest degree, and on account of its elasticity and its lying close to the bale it is stronger and harder to tear with hooks than jute. It is of uniform weight and the tare fixed. Its small tare allows a better chance for the seller without hurting the honest buyer. Now we know all this, and all the falsehoods which can be told on the other side will be speedily disproved. But it is objected the experiment has not been tried;

the matter has not been thoroughly tested. If that be so, now is the best time to test it. If American spinners are greedy and old John Bull is slow, now is the time for the farmer to let them get right. They say the season is upon us; there is no time for this crop. Let us put off the season, we are not in any hurry. Let us give them sixty or ninety or more days to find out what we already know, and until they educate themselves let us keep our cotton.

We know that the visible supply is admitted by consumers to be short some 400,000 bales, and the invisible supply shorter even than that in 1887. Latham, Alexander & Co., the great cotton statisticians, stated in their book of facts which all cotton men have seen, that 7,000,000 bales were an absolute necessity for the uses of the trade and in that year there was a shortage. Now for two consecutive seasons the crop has been 200,000 bales less than that, which makes 800,000 bales short. Last year's crop contained about 400,000 bales low cotton unavailable for the ordinary fabrics, and this refuse now constitutes the bulk of the stock. Here, then, is a shortage of 1,200,000 bales, not to speak of the increase of consumption in two years. The fact that spots in New York are worth nearly a cent more than contracts shows how the shoe is pinching. Now, was there ever a better chance for the farmer to teach the consumer that he can not rob him, for robbery it is to allow no more for a bale containing 486 pounds of net cotton than for one of 470? As a matter of course, all consumers will try the game, but when they find farmers united and determined to hold their cotton, and see these farmers acting under the advice of reliable and competent committees, then they will awake to a better sense of honesty. Our cotton committee can not be bought, and will not be intimidated.

A. BARNWELL,
Macou, Ga.

THE following is a copy of a letter from the president of the Bremen Cotton Exchange to the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, and shows conclusively that justice will be done the cotton bagging when properly presented to the foreign exchanges.

(Translation.)

BREMEN, July 16, 1889.
New Orleans Cotton Exchange, New Orleans, La.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your valued favor of 23d May, inclosing your circular entitled "Cotton Bagging," the contents of which have had careful attention.

The committee of the Bremen Cotton Exchange has no objection to present to the proposed introduction of a new covering for cotton bales, made of cotton itself, provided that thereby, through the adoption of a heavier stuff, a bagging may be secured, which will completely cover the bale and, besides protecting the cotton against country damage, decrease the risk from fire, an end which is unquestionably desirable.

Last season several styles of bagging were used, the character of some of which was not altogether satisfactory, but this committee does not doubt that you will be successful in securing a covering which will meet all requirements as regards durability and strength, in which case the new covering would be gladly welcomed as a great improvement.

According to your communication, the new bagging will be 2 per cent. lighter than the old, and the introduction is, therefore, likely to meet with difficulties while cotton continues to be sold by gross weight of bagging used. It becomes necessary, therefore, to secure the adoption, as far as possible, of the "actual fare" rule in selling American cotton.

As long, however, as this rule is not generally recognized, it would seem advisable, in the opinion of this committee, to make a distinction between the lighter and heavier covering when offering cotton C. I. F. by, for instance, allowing only 4 per cent. for loss in weight on the cotton-covered bales, while deducting 6 per cent., as at present, on those wrapped in the heavier material now in use.

As soon as this committee shall be advised of the adoption of the proposed change, it will not fail to lay the matter immediately before the members of the Exchange and acquaint them promptly of their decision on the subject of altering or amending the form of contract now in use on the Bremen Cotton Exchange.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) G. B. BRANER,
President.

The Secretary of Agriculture, in a recent communication to this office, incloses a letter from Chas. T. Russell, American consul at Liverpool, dated September 6, 1888, when the question of cotton as a substitute for jute was comparatively new, from which we extract the following:

I have gone into the subject fully with the president of the Cotton Brokers' Association and several leading merchants of this city, who say that it is immaterial to them what description of covering is around the cotton, as long as the article arrives in good condition.

Prejudice favors jute-bagging, from the fact that, in accordance with trade custom, 4 per centum is allowed for tare.

If the actual tare proves subsequently to be more, the spinner claims the difference; if, on the other hand, it is under, the 4 per cent. is allowed all the same. Thus the spinners have an advantage, and consequently are in favor of jute bagging as a covering, for whatever other material is used, actual tare will have to be paid.

Probably, at first, the new covering, whatever it may be, will not be so acceptable to the spinners and preference given to the bagging, but if all the cotton is covered with similar material there will be no choice. Cotton sheeting is the only substitute that can be suggested, that material having already been tried around Brazilian cotton with satisfactory results, and some of the merchants are of the opinion that it will eventually be preferred.

THE following is an extract from a letter written by a large Liverpool cotton house to a strong American cotton firm. The names of the parties are not given for publication, but the letter contains such a remarkable admission that it is of peculiar interest, and is rather amusing:

The question of cotton bagging requires and shall have our careful consideration. As to what our clients, the English spinners, will say when it is proposed at once to consume 125,000 bales more cotton in America, we will leave you to imagine. If you in America will reduce the duties upon English yarns and cloths there will be no difficulty about the cotton-bagging question.

WHEN the actual returns of labor are secured to the laborer, poverty can not exist in a family the members of which are able and willing to work.

History and Government.

No. 24.

The principal obstacle in the way of the perfect gratification of the ambition of Pericles was the influence and great generosity of Cimon.

It has been stated that there was a struggle going on between the nobility, which was merely the wealthy class, and the masses of the people; that Cimon belonged to the former class, but was influenced by truly patriotic impulses and gave his whole influence to sustain existing social and political conditions. He desired no change, neither had he any great personal aspirations to gratify; was content to serve the state to the best of his ability in the maintenance of the institutions established by Solon and the building up of Athenian power and prosperity. At the same time, he was exceedingly liberal to the poor, and being very rich his princely charities had gained for him the admiration of the poor classes.

The historians tell us that he had the fences of his gardens and orchards taken away in order that all the people could have free access and gather what fruit they required. His table was profusely supplied with wholesome but plain food, and all poor citizens were welcomed to it at all times. He was always followed by servants who were ordered to slip privately a piece of money into the hands of such poor people as they met and to give clothes to those who needed them. He often buried such persons as had not left sufficient money to pay for their burial. In fact, he seems to have been profuse in his charities, which characteristic, of course, made him extremely popular with the class benefited by it.

What is especially remarkable is the fact that Cimon seems to have done these generous acts out of a pure spirit of sympathy for his suffering fellow-citizens, and never attempted to turn their admiration for him to political account or to attempt to advance his interests through it, but always sided with the wealthy classes on all public questions.

It is also remarkable that a man of his great ability, who recognized the great evils of poverty and must have noted that these great evils grew from wrong social and political conditions, made no attempt directly to remove the causes which produced them; but was content with doing what he was able through his private fortune in the way of temporary relief. This feature of Cimon's character, however, accounts for his great popularity with the poor, although he was the acknowledged leader of the wealthy class.

Pericles, not being able to equal the liberality of Cimon, whose wealth gave him especial advantages in this way, set himself to devising some other means by which he could gain the favor of the poorer classes.

Not being able to compete by means of his private fortune, he devised a means by which he could use the public moneys and lands to aid in his ambitious aspirations. It is worthy of note here that a pure spirit of charity and philanthropy on the part of one great patriot was the source from which sprang bribery, official

corruption, and the contamination of popular morals and dangerous and dishonest manipulation of public funds. Bribery became an acknowledged resource of political aspirants, the franchise became corrupt, and money became the most potent factor in political machinery.

To enable himself to rival Cimon in his liberality to the masses, Pericles first caused a division of the conquered lands to be made among the people. This was done without making any provisions as to homesteads or to protect the ignorant or profligate against the designs of the shrewd and avaricious. The system of tenure remained the same, and lands, as before, remained a legitimate subject of speculation, the result being that the benefit to the poor and ignorant was comparatively little and of short duration, while it gave an opportunity to the rich and speculative class to mass the lands in large holdings and reduce the people to the rank of tenants or vassals.

Pericles also distributed among the people the public revenues for the expense of their games and shows, and had pensions annexed to all public employments. He also had the fees for attendance at courts of justice and the public assemblies greatly increased.

Rollin says, in speaking of this measure of Pericles, that, "It is impossible to say how fatal this unhappy policy was to the republic and how many evils it drew after it. For these new regulations, besides draining the public treasury, gave the people a fondness for expense and a dissolute turn of mind; whereas they before were sober and modest, and contented themselves with getting a livelihood by their sweat and labor."

By such means as these Pericles gained such great influence over the people that he virtually exercised monarchic power under a republican form of government, molding the popular mind in whatever form he pleased, and presiding with unlimited authority in the assemblies. He thus virtually dictated his will and the people blindly endorsed whatever he proposed, without thought or hesitation.

Valerius Maximus declares that the only difference between Pisistratus and Pericles was that the one exercised a tyrannical power by force of arms and the other by the strength of his eloquence.

While noting the corruption of the masses in Athens by the use of money, and the ease with which the people were induced to bring about their own enslavement, let the reader call to mind the fact that just such means are operating to-day in our own country. Note the vast sums that are expended in National elections to influence the floating vote, in buying up thousands of ignorant voters; that are distributed in various localities in the hands of paid partisans to influence the ignorant and vicious; that are spent to bribe dishonest officials to tamper with the returns, to pay perjurors and intimidate the dependent. Then call to mind the vast sums of public moneys appropriated in various ways for the benefit of certain classes, to insure their support of the party making the appropriation; the granting of profitable positions to political servants, who work most successfully in the interest of

the party; the vast sums used to secure seats of utterly mercenary men in the highest branch of the National Legislature. Recall all these evil influences that are familiar to the American of to-day and note the similarity to the state of affairs in Athens at the time we are studying; then note carefully the effect upon the Athenian people and judge what may be reasonably expected as the result of our present condition.

These enactments were not brought about by the power of Pericles alone, but were the result of the action of the party led by him, which party was completely and absolutely under his control, and he was shrewd enough to so direct his policy as to appeal to the passions, greed, and prejudices of the most reckless class.

The policy of Pericles was to amuse and please the people, pander to every whim, and so keep them content by this shadow of liberty and popular government that they should not discover that they were really enslaved.

The next move of Pericles, to still further strengthen his influence, was a bold and hazardous stroke. The popular party was continually making efforts against the small remains of power still in the hands of the nobility, and Pericles determined to strike at the authority of the high court of the areopagus, for membership of which he was not eligible, and which he could by no means influence or corrupt.

By clandestine means he effected a great reduction of the power of this illustrious body. The greater part of the authority of this court was taken from it and only matters of little consequence left to its consideration. This virtually abolished this ancient and cautious council and brought all matters of consequence before the assemblies of the people, where the will of Pericles was virtually dominant, and in this way he drew to himself really an autocratic power.

Cimon, on his return to Athens, was greatly troubled to see the dignity of the senate trampled under foot, and used his utmost exertions to restore it to its former honor and position; but Pericles brought his cunning to bear against him and made the people believe that Cimon was too much of an admirer of the Spartans, and was willing to sacrifice the welfare of Athens to the supremacy of Sparta.

There was some shadow of truth in this, to those who did not stop to analyze the motives of Cimon, as he was a great admirer of the Spartans and their institutions, and whenever he censured the actions of the Athenians he was in the habit of saying that "the Spartans would not have acted in such a manner." This was merely to remind the Athenians of their duty and cite for them an example worthy of emulation; but Pericles through this means aroused the jealousy of the people against Cimon.

About this time, in the year 470 B. C., as though to further the designs of Pericles, a terrible earthquake happened in Sparta. In several places the earth opened and swallowed up villages, animals and people. The mountains were shaken to their foundations and many of their summits were torn away. The whole city of Sparta was laid in ruins and only five houses

were left standing. To increase the horrors of the time, the Helots, thinking it a favorable time to regain their liberty, seized whatever arms they could find and began indiscriminately to murder all who had escaped the earthquake. The Spartan soldiery rallied in the center of the town in order of battle and the Helots fled to the neighboring cities and began an open war upon the Lacedemonians. Several of the neighboring cities took up the cause of the Helots and all joined the Messenians, who were at that time at war with the Spartans.

The Lacedemonians in this great extremity sent to their ancient allies, the Athenians, to ask for help. Pericles induced his partisan Ephialtes to oppose the granting of such aid. He asserted that it would be bad policy to aid them, or to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which he said ought to be left in its ruins and the pride of Sparta humbled forever.

Cimon was incensed at such inhumanity and mean desertion of the friends who had stood by the Athenians in their adversity, and the aggrandizement of the state through the misfortunes of their friends. He declared that it was unwise at least "to leave Greece lame of one leg, and Athens without a counterpoise."

His earnestness and noble recognition of the claims of gratitude had their effect upon the people and they decided to send relief to the Spartans.

Cimon saw clearly that the Athenians were so elated with their grandeur, so proud and so ambitious of still greater power and eminence, that they needed a curb to check their reckless impetuosity; and that for this balance there was no more proper influence than that of Sparta. So by the consent of the people Cimon marched at the head of 4,000 men to the aid of the Spartans.

This achievement of Cimon, in influencing the Athenians to act justly and honorably

against what his enemies attempted to show was their interest, is a proof that virtue was not entirely dead in the breasts of the people, but only blinded by the persuasions of Pericles; and it was only required that they be awakened to their duty and directed in the right course.

They had been under the spell of selfish interests so long, had so blindly followed without thought the lead of the mercenary Pericles, that they had really ceased to think for themselves and followed heedlessly the lead and direction of the reckless demagogue they admired.

The arrival of Cimon with his forces quelled the revolt in Lacedemonia for the time, and the Athenians returned to their homes.

Soon after, the revolt broke out afresh and the Helots and Messenians seized the fortress of Ithome. Cimon again marched to the relief of their ancient friends; but the Lacedemonians, most likely having learned of the sentiment expressed against them in Athens, became suspicious of the Athenians and sent them back under the suspicion of intending to turn their arms against them. This action of the Lacedemonians greatly offended the Athenians, and they declared that from that day they would be enemies to all who should favor the Spartans. They carried their resentment so

far that it was little trouble for Pericles to induce them to banish Cimon, by the ostracism, for ten years.

This was the first ill-feeling between these two great Greek states, which afterward grew into such unfortunate complications.

Those who had shut themselves up in Ithome defended it for ten years against the Lacedemonians, who finally captured the place and gave the defenders their lives upon condition that they would leave and never return to Peloponnesus. The Athenians, to exasperate the Lacedemonians, received the conquered people with their wives and children and settled them in Naupactus. The inhabitants of Megara at the same time went over from the Spartans to the Athenians.

In this way several leagues were concluded on both sides and many battles fought, the most important of which was Tanagra, in Boeotia, which Diodorus says was equal to Marathon or Platea. In this battle the Athenians defeated the Spartans and the Thebans.

At the time of this battle (456 B. C.) Cimon, considering that existing conditions relieved him from the effects of his proscription, took up his arms and, gathering together some soldiers, went to his tribe to fight in the cause of Athens against the Lacedemonians, but those who had excited the sentiment against him caused him to be ordered away from the field.

He, however, exhorted his companions to remain and do their full duty in defense of their country. These men, who only numbered one hundred, fought desperately, and all fell in the action. This heroism had its effect upon the Athenians, and they regretted sincerely the wrong they had done to Cimon and his adherents. Cimon was recalled from banishment, and Pericles, seeing the effect his behavior had had upon the people, drew up the decree recalling him.

As soon as Cimon returned he stifled the spark of war which was just bursting into a flame, saved Greece from the horrors of civil strife, and reconciled the two states so far that they entered into a truce for five years. In this way the influence of a just and patriotic man saved the people of Greece for a time from the horrors into which the chicanery of a demagogue was about to plunge them merely to advance his selfish and treacherous ambition.

To prevent the Athenians, who had now grown haughty and overbearing, from having an opportunity of making an excuse to attack their neighbors or allies, Cimon decided to lead them to a great distance from home against the common enemy, thus giving exercise to the impatient ambition of aspiring young men and at the same time strengthening and building up the state. He fitted out a fleet of two hundred sail, sent sixty of these into Egypt, to the aid of Amyrteus, and himself sailed with the rest against Cyprus. Artabazus, the Persian governor, was at the time near that island with a fleet of three hundred sail, and Megabyzus, the general of Artaxerxes, was on the coast of Cilicia, with an army of three hundred thousand men.

As soon as the fleet which had gone to Egypt rejoined him, Cimon attacked Artabazus and

took one hundred of his ships. He sunk many more, and drove the rest as far as the coast of Phoenicia. On his return he attacked Megabyzus and cut his army to pieces. His design was, after the capture of Citium, which he was besieging, to sail to Egypt and to undertake the subversion of the Persian Empire; but about this time Themistocles committed suicide, as has been noted, and Artaxerxes, tired of a war in which he had suffered such great losses, resolved to put an end to it. He therefore made overtures to Cimon for peace, which was concluded on the following conditions:

1. That all the Grecian cities of Asia Minor should enjoy their liberty with such laws and forms of government as they might choose to adopt.
2. That no Persian ship of war should be allowed to enter the seas between the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles; that is, from the Euxine Sea to the coast of Pamphylia.
3. That no Persian general should advance any troops within three days' march of those seas.
4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the King of Persia.

Thus, in the year 449 B. C., ended the war which, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, had lasted fifty-one years complete, and in which vast numbers of Persians and thousands of Greeks had perished. But the new civilization was triumphant; Oriental despotism had forever been crushed in Europe, and the western world was to begin its onward march under new institutions and brighter auspices than had ever been the fortune of any people of Asia.

While this treaty was under negotiation Cimon died, and his life went out amid a blaze of glory and while the entire Greek nation were shouting his praises and doing honor to his great virtue, ability, and patriotism.

Cimon was the last general who accomplished great deeds in the name of Greece. After him it remained for the orators and demagogues to sow the seeds of discord and division among the people, and lead them to betray their liberties into the hands of treacherous schemers, who worked their final ruin; and first among these was Pericles.

THERE is one little matter worthy of calling the attention of the people to, and it is this: While nearly every act of Congress has been in favor of capital, tending to aid the concentration of wealth, the pretense has always been to benefit the laboring man. Now, why this pretense?

Evidently because the schemers are wise enough to know that the laboring classes are the power of the Nation, and that if they should act in harmony it would be impossible to oppose them successfully. Labor has surely been deceived often enough by the plausible pretenses of these tricksters to know better than to listen again to the song of the siren. Is the past experience not sufficient to teach the masses that their safety lies in acting for themselves and refusing to make any kind of alliance with the pretended friends who have uniformly betrayed them? Labor has no friends out of the ranks of the workers. The time has come for the industrial masses to make a square issue against plutocracy in any and every form.

A Further Talk to Dakota Farmers.
T. D. HINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILL.

Farmers of Dakota, in my last letter I asserted that your interests and the interests of all wealth-producers were the same. I will prove this assertion after furnishing you with a little more testimony relative to the condition of some of the wealth-producers of this State. Our farmers are in a desperate condition, as will be shown before finishing these letters, but their condition is not as bad as that of another class, whose labor is just as essential to our continued progress as ours is to their continued existence. I desire to adduce a little more evidence as to the condition of our coal-miners and as to the ability of our law-abiding State to suppress any riotous demonstration of which they may be guilty. The first witness is the secretary of our State board of charities, Rev. Fred Wines. A special to the Chicago News from Spring Valley says:

"Dr. Wines, of the State board of charities, arrived here to-day from Peoria, where he had been investigating the condition of the miners around that district. His visit here was on a similar errand, and in a conversation with the Daily News representative he said that he had met the miners' relief committee here and was very favorably impressed. He said that he saw the names of 540 heads of families who were applicants for charity here alone, and in addition to that he made a personal canvass from house to house, and said that he considered it a case of genuine suffering from privation in many instances, and one which would merit relief from such persons as were charitably disposed without any question. The women and children were not, he thought, to blame for the lock-out, and the responsibility for it would be hard to fix. He saw Charles A. Devlin, the general manager of the Spring Valley Coal Company here, and Mr. Devlin said the questions scheduled at Peoria by the State board would be answered, so far as they related to his company, at Joliet, August 7th."

You will notice that the reverend gentleman makes no positive statements, but "the women and children were not, he thought, to blame," and since they were not to blame for the lock-out, "the responsibility for it would be hard to fix." But perhaps the gentleman was mistaken. It may be that upon second thought he will change his opinion. Perhaps the women and children were to blame for being women and children. If they had only been horses or cattle, or even poodle dogs, they would have been deemed of value to somebody competent to take care of them, and no doubt would have been properly fed and cared for; but having permitted themselves to be born women and children, and subject to all the pains and penalties of the human family, and being unable to endure the pangs of slow starvation quietly, and their evident misery appealing with irresistible force to the sympathies of their husbands and fathers, finally drove the latter to adopt the desperate expedient of a strike. So you see, Rev. doctor and brother wealth-producers, all, the women and children were to blame, and Dr. Wines can now very readily place the responsibility for the lock-out where his inclinations evidently prompt him. If any of your Dakota farmers doubt the ability or the readiness of this great State to uphold the majesty of the law (whatever that means) read the following dispatch from Springfield:

"Colonel Bennet, of the 4th regiment, now at Camp Lincoln, issued orders to-night requiring all the men to remain in camp subject to immediate duty. It is believed that an outbreak among the miners at Braidwood is feared. Acting Governor Ray says he has no official information of a threatened outbreak."

Now read what Frank Lawler, a member of Congress from Chicago, says about the condi-

tion of affairs at the place where the "out-break" was threatened.

"Lawler has just returned from an investigation of the condition of affairs in the Braidwood regions and reports it as most horrible. In one instance, he says, a horse died in town and the flesh was stripped from the bones in a few minutes and eaten by the famishing people. The breasts of mothers nursing their infants, he says, have literally dried up for lack of nourishment, and children may be seen with the skin hardened and dried clinging to the bones of their faces. Preparations are being made to ship about fifty tons of provisions to the Spring Valley miners."

In my last letter I expressed a feeling of contempt for the lack of spirit shown by Irishmen on a certain occasion, and I was about to institute a comparison between the Braidwood miners and the Irish tribute payers, which would have been not at all favorable to our citizens at Braidwood; but, upon second thought, concluded not to. I am inclined to think my remark last week was but an ebullition of vanity or personal egotism inspired by a full stomach, or which, at least, could never have been conceived had that important organ of my physical body been educated gradually and steadily up to the point of relishing diseased horse flesh as a diet.

It is easy enough for men well fed and healthy to feel their blood boil with indignation at the slights, insults, and abuse heaped upon their weaker fellow-creatures. It is easy enough for them to think how they wouldn't stand it; how they would show more spirit than to stand it; how all the militia, and the regular army to boot, couldn't compel them to submit tamely to such outrages as were put upon the Braidwood miners, their wives and children. But stop a bit. Any of you well-fed farmers or others who feel your lip curling with scorn at the lack of spirit exhibited by Braidwood miners, stop, and try honestly and hard to put yourselves in their place, not by a sudden transition from your plenty to their nothing, but by the same steady, gradual down-hill process which put them where they are, extending over weeks and months and years, until you find yourselves occupying the position in society, they now occupy, and then say, if you honestly can, that you would do differently from what they are doing. Suppose you, my friend and brother, were born and bred a coal-miner. As a rule, coal-miners, like farmers, and, in fact, like all other wealth-producers whose vocation in life requires steady, exacting physical labor, are not well educated, and, as a consequence, are easily imposed upon by those who are. Suppose, while you were pursuing your arduous and dangerous labor deep under ground, a gang of educated schemers at the top were engaged in laying plans to rob you of a portion of your hard-earned money. At the close of a hard day's labor, when you come up to the surface, perhaps you will find a device rigged up to take from you a part of your earnings. It will be called a "screen." The coal that passes over the screen is what the company will pay you for. The coal that drops through the screen, although the product of your labor as much as the other is, will be sold by the company, but you will get nothing for the labor of digging it. You protest against this palpable outrage and you will receive the sympathy of the public. But the company remains firm and you soon begin to notice that the interest of the public in the matter is dying out. It is very hard to keep men interested in an effort to right a wrong of which they are not directly the victims. Selfishness? Yes, certainly it is, and not only that, but since an injury to one labor is the concern of all laborers, the great wealth-producing "public" acts, to say the least, very unwisely when it allows its interests in your supposed case to die out. But, nevertheless, it

does let it die out, as you soon realize, and then, seeing no other course, you meekly submit to the company's first theft. As the operations of your company expand it soon perceives another point at which it may fasten a leech upon the unprotected fruits of your toil and retain to itself another portion of the wages which it so grudgingly pays you. It erects on its adjacent lands cheap tenement houses, for the use of which it charges extortioante rent, and you are soon made painfully aware that you must occupy one of them or quit the service of the company. This act of the company is speedily followed by the erection of "company stores," at which you are expected (?) to purchase all your supplies at a profit to the company ranging from two to three times as great as other stores charge. Of course you don't have to submit to all this. The company, with all its wealth and power, can't deprive you of your God-given right, your grand American prerogative, to quit its service whenever you choose to do so. In fact, it will no doubt occasionally remind you (lest you might otherwise forget it) that you possess that right. You may conclude to show your American spirit by exercising that right. Many men under like circumstances have so concluded, and, perhaps, it is in such exhibitions of "spirit" that the supply of tramps finds its inexhaustible source. But we will presume that you are aware of the condition of things existing; that you are aware that if you give up your present position the chances are you will become a tramp, and we will remember that you have a wife and children fully as dear to you as the wives and children of other men, not excepting the owners of coal mines. We will remember, what the mine owners perhaps had not forgotten, that your wife and children are not as physically able to tramp as you are, and, remembering all this, I, for one, am free to confess that while you, remaining with the company under the circumstances does seem to indicate a lack of "spirit," yet, for the life of me, I don't know what else you are to do but stay. To be sure, in staying you are obliged to sacrifice your independence, and this means that the "spirit" of freedom must be crushed back, and when you have once commenced the process of crushing back your feelings of independence, it is only a question of time and the frequency of the repetitions of the act until you will have entirely crushed out of existence all the "spirit" you may ever have had, and are completely ready to play the role now being enacted by the Braidwood miners. To be sure, history tells of many instances of oppression where the victims at last turned upon their persecutors and destroyed them, but such acts are usually the act of a desperate animal at bay. They are not inspired by an earnest, courageous, spiritual desire on the part of the oppressed to right the wrongs from which they are suffering, but rather by a blind, desperate, and reckless determination to get revenge for the wrongs already endured. Thus brothers, all, of high or low degree, whether Presidents or Senators, Congressmen or clodhoppers, instead of acting in such a manner as to indicate a belief on our part that we are of better stuff than the Braidwood miners and gopher-eating farmers, let us acknowledge, in humiliation and shame, that they are our own brothers, and that circumstances, not controlled by our God-like ability, elected them instead of us to be the victims of misrule.

But, brother farmers of Dakota, I propose to show you something of the condition of the farmers of this State, in order to verify the statement made in my last, that our present ability to live better than you do is directly owing to the fact that we were here long before you were in Dakota, and at a time when it was possible to farm at a profit. I will begin the account of our farming operations with the

year 1860, and will bring it down to the December report of our agricultural board for 1888. From 1860 to 1888, inclusive, gives a period of twenty-nine years. The figures of which I shall make use are those furnished by the statistical reports of our State agricultural board for August and December, 1888, and since these figures are the annual account of our farm productions made at the close of each season, these can not be charged with having been doctored in order to make out a case. It would require entirely too much space to itemize each year's account of all our productions, so will select our three principal crops, corn, wheat, and oats, and will divide the time into two principal periods, of eighteen and eleven years, respectively; the period of eleven years extending from 1860 to 1870, inclusive, and the period of eighteen years extending from 1871 to 1888, inclusive. If this last period were divided into two periods of nine years each, the whole period of twenty-nine years would be divided into three nearly equal periods, but, since this course would not materially alter the result, I have, for the sake of brevity, pursued the plan adopted. The aggregate value of our corn, wheat, and oats for the entire period of twenty-nine years is found, by a simple sum in addition, to be \$3,306,414,849. The average price of oats for the first period we find was 36 cents, and for the last period 25 cents—a difference of 11 cents. The total corn crop produced during the last period was 3,850,388,031. Multiply this amount by 9 cents, subtract our loss as given above from the total, and you will find that instead of losing \$72,364,618, we would have made a net profit of \$274,170,304. The average price of wheat for the first period we find was 36 cents, and for the last period 25 cents—a difference of 11 cents. The total amount of oats produced during the last period was 1,397,153,391 bushels. Multiplying this amount by 11 cents, subtracting from the amount thus obtained the amount we lost on oats as given above, and we find that the price averaged as high during the last period as it did during the first; instead of losing \$21,752,462, our net profits on oats would have been \$131,934,411. Adding up these totals we find that with prices averaging during the last eighteen years as high as they averaged the preceding eleven years, instead of losing \$36,343,279 we would have made a net profit of \$607,811,003. By adding this sum to the total profit made during the first period, which we found above to be \$254,223,452, we find that the aggregate profits of our twenty-nine years of toil would have been \$862,934,455. Our investigation thus far has shown quite pointedly that the question of our prosperity or adversity is a question of the price of our produce. Since this is true, not only as regards the products of our labor but as regards the products of every species of labor, all wealth-producers are deeply concerned in whatever tends to regulate price.

	Profit.	Loss.
Wheat	\$94,302,911	
Corn	145,705,039	
Oats	14,215,502	
Total profit first period of eleven years	\$254,223,452	
Total value of our corn, wheat, and oats produced from 1871 to 1888, \$2,177,000,002.		
The profit and loss account stands as follows:		

	Profit.	Loss.
Wheat	\$57,773,801	
Corn	\$72,364,618	
Oats	21,752,462	

Net loss last period of eighteen years

\$30,343,370

Subtract the net loss of the last eighteen years from the net profit of the first eleven years and you will find the aggregate profit for the entire period of twenty-nine years to be as stated above, \$217,880,173. And this accounts for our being able to live better than you do. But maybe you think our crops have failed since 1870 because of chin-ch-bugs, drought, or flood, or from some other natural cause, and that this will account for our lack of profit since then. Well, we'll turn to our records and do a little more figuring and see. Adding up the annual average yield of wheat per acre for the entire period of eleven years, and dividing the sum by eleven, we find the average for the first period to have been 12 4-11 bushels per acre. Applying the same method to the eighteen-year period and we find the average to have been for the entire period to be even 13 bushels per acre. The oats we find to have averaged for the first eleven years 28 2-11 bushels per acre, and for the last eighteen years 33 1-18 bushels per acre. Corn we find to have averaged for the first period 30 8-11 bushels per acre, and for the period of eighteen years 29 5-11 bushels per acre. Wheat has, therefore, averaged 1 bushel and oats 5 bushels better, and corn 1 bushel worse, the last eighteen than the preceding eleven years. It is not a failure of crops, then, that accounts for our losses.

We turn again to our crop reports and we find that the average price for corn, wheat, and oats is given for each of the twenty-nine years. Thinking, perhaps, a little figuring in that direction may aid us to solve the problem, we again use pencil and paper and this is what we find: The average price of wheat from 1860 to 1870 was \$1.16 per bushel, and from 1871 to 1888 it was 91 cents, a difference of even 25 cents. Our total production of wheat from 1871 to 1888 was 575,729,950 bushels. Multiplying this number of bushels by 25 cents, the difference in the price paid during the two periods, we find that if the price had averaged as good the last eighteen years as it did during the first period of eighteen years, our profit on wheat, instead of being \$57,773,801, would have been \$201,706,288. Turning to corn we find that it bore an average price during the first period of 42 cents, and the last period of 33 cents—a difference of 9 cents per bushel. The total corn crop produced during the last period was 3,850,388,031. Multiply this amount by 9 cents, subtract our loss as given above from the total, and you will find that instead of losing \$72,364,618, we would have made a net profit of \$274,170,304. The aggregate value of our corn, wheat, and oats for the entire period of twenty-nine years is found, by a simple sum in addition, to be \$3,306,414,849. The average price of oats for the first period we find was 36 cents, and for the last period 25 cents—a difference of 11 cents. The total amount of oats produced during the last period was 1,397,153,391 bushels. Multiplying this amount by 11 cents, subtracting from the amount thus obtained the amount we lost on oats as given above, and we find that the price averaged as high during the last period as it did during the first; instead of losing \$21,752,462, our net profits on oats would have been \$131,934,411. Adding up these totals we find that with prices averaging during the last eighteen years as high as they averaged the preceding eleven years, instead of losing \$36,343,279 we would have made a net profit of \$607,811,003. By adding this sum to the total profit made during the first period, which we found above to be \$254,223,452, we find that the aggregate profits of our twenty-nine years of toil would have been \$862,934,455. Our investigation thus far has shown quite pointedly that the question of our prosperity or adversity is a question of the price of our produce. Since this is true, not only as regards the products of our labor but as regards the products of every species of labor, all wealth-producers are deeply concerned in whatever tends to regulate price.

HERE is a practical illustration of the effects of monopoly that is worth noting. During the investigation of the railroad rebates in the summer of 1887 it was developed that the Standard Oil Company had drawn in rebates in seventeen months from four railroad companies the enormous sum of \$10,151,218. That is to say, for the transportation of an equal amount of oil other refiners had to pay these four railroad companies over \$10,000,000 more than was paid by the Standard Oil Company. Experience has shown that they will dock with great regularity when allowed. But some of the States have laws that prohibit the docking of cotton. If the coming legislatures in such States will make jute an exception, this plan might be effectually carried out.

If a thousand plutocratic schemers can, under unjust laws and institutions, take for their own enjoyment one-half of all the wealth annually produced in the Nation, it must naturally follow that the remaining millions must manage to exist on the half that is left to them. This is about the way in which our "liberal institutions" work in the distribution of values, and it is this condition of affairs that the people must rely upon themselves to alter.

only not satisfied with this 250 per cent. advantage, but demanded that this overcharge be paid to them, which was done. Such are the ways of monopoly, and this is called shrewd business management.

The pulpit, the press, and the politician have been alarmed at the socialistic and communistic movements in the great cities, and have sounded their warnings of the danger to be apprehended from them, while they seem to be blind to the oppressive and relentless tyranny of the monopolies, which is the source from which such evils spring, and which promise to result in an oligarchy as hateful as either communism or anarchism. Destroy the power which is the parent of these dangerous growths, and they themselves must die.

BETWEEN Dobbs Ferry and Tarrytown, in the suburbs of New York, within a distance of six miles, there reside sixty-three millionaires, and it is doubtful if in any portion of the world such a number of rich persons can be found. Several of these persons have fortunes so gigantic as to have attracted the attention of the entire world. Some of these are widows of deceased millionaires. Some are men in charge of some of the largest railroad combinations, telegraph companies, banks, trusts, and other monopolies of the Nation. The aggregate of their fortunes is estimated at more than \$500,000,000.

WE boast of American equality, and yet does any order of nobility in the Old World hold more effective power over their people than is exercised by the managers of our trusts and monopolies, our transportation system, and vast aggregated capital? Mere rank and name are of no consequence; it is the substance of power that counts and not its mere glitter and tinsel. We have to-day hundreds of men in the United States richer than any equal number of nobles that could be selected from all Europe, and their power is in proportion to their riches.

A QUICKER way of securing regulations that would recognize the difference between the weight of jute and cotton bagging would have been to demand that cotton be accepted and declared the standard and that the Exchanges be allowed to dock jute 8 or 10 pounds per bale. Experience has shown that they will dock with great regularity when allowed. But some of the States have laws that prohibit the docking of cotton. If the coming legislatures in such States will make jute an exception, this plan might be effectually carried out.

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Clubs of Five.

The Economist has arranged with Hon. Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutocracy, or American White Slavery," to distribute that book as a premium to persons sending in clubs of five annual paid subscriptions at one dollar each. The book to be mailed in return is bound in paper, post paid at this office. This offer does not include names sent heretofore.

The farmers of the West must certainly be in a bad way. In proof of the assertion the following from the Kansas City Live Stock Indicator furnishes appropriate reading:

A representative of a leading farm mortgage company, when asked, a few days since, what the farmers of the West would do with the proceeds from the sale of the products of their farms this year, the yield of the cereals having been so bountiful, replied: "They will pay:

"1. Interest past due on mortgage.

"2. Mortgages held on farm implements by implement men.

"3. Floating indebtedness owing to store-keepers at home."

As the gentleman is in a position which requires him to be posted upon the financial condition of farmers, his answer to the query may prove to be of interest. Another year of good crops will cause the farmers to be in better shape than for the past four years.

If another year of good crops be needed to put the farmer in better shape than for the past four years, what effect a crop failure would have is fearful to contemplate. Really, though, it is

hard to decide upon what the Indicator bases its assumption that one (or any other number, for that part) good crop will materially benefit the Western farmer. As the trouble has been to get a market for what he has grown heretofore, perhaps nothing will really permanently benefit him which is not a step toward reducing his interest burdens. The representative quoted does not contemplate such a result, as it would be a step toward retiring farm mortgage companies from business.

THE Southern Interstate Farmers Association, in annual session at Montgomery, Ala., August 21, unanimously adopted the report of its committee on cotton covering, as follows:

Recognizing the fact that jute bagging, which has heretofore been exclusively used by cotton planters as a covering for their product, was during the past season most unnecessarily raised in price nearly 100 per cent. by the manufacturers of that material, and recognizing likewise that such an arbitrary and cruel rise in price could only have been made possible by what is now known as a trust, and inasmuch as under the spur of such wrong, suitable substitutes have since been discovered for cotton covering, your committee do most earnestly recommend to every cotton producer throughout the land the absolute discontinuance of the use of jute bagging, whenever a substitute can be obtained.

Your committee goes further and proclaims that this recommendation, whether viewed as a retaliatory measure, or simply as a measure of self-protection, is equally justifiable, and they recommend like action or non-use when possible of every article which has been placed or shall hereafter be placed under trust for the purpose of excluding competition and thus enabling the projectors to fix their own price on the same.

If jute have any friends, no effect is produced upon the sentiment of the farmers of the cotton States by their advocacy of that fiber.

JNO. J. KNOX, late Comptroller of the Currency, and at present the head of a big New York bank, seems to consider checks and bills of exchange as most excellent institutions. He says the total coinage of this Government in its hundred and odd years of existence sums up about \$1,890,000,000; scarce enough for one week's ordinary transaction if paid out over the counters of the banks. The gentleman is quoted further:

The coinage of all the mints of the land for the past year would not make the payments of the banks for an hour and forty-five minutes on any average day's business. The total coinage of the United States is estimated at \$800,000,000, but it would not last three days if used by the banks in making their payments. Coin, then, plays but a small part in the daily commercial life of the Nation. It is the basis, but not the vehicle, with which our business is moved.

As has been said, the idea of Government aid to railroads by means of grants of public lands originated in 1850. Let our public men have the benefit of the most charitable construction of their acts, and let us say that they considered that the development of our transportation system within the shortest time possible was of such vast importance as to justify the sacrifice of the public lands to a great extent; that they looked only to the advancement of the interests of the present generation and overlooked the important truth that the

The Modern Plan of Conquest.

In the former paper on this subject it was said that "alien ownership of lands in the United States originated in mercenary greed, was nurtured in fraud and corruption, and accomplished by the basest treachery to the people." Alien ownership of land in the United States had its origin in the granting of public lands by Congress to railroad corporations, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of such roads. Previous to this time it was a recognized law of nations throughout the world,

barbarous as well as civilized, that no alien could hold lands. There had been, at times, special provisions made in certain cases, where an alien could hold for commercial or other especial purposes, but under the guarantee and responsibility of reliable citizens of the State granting the particular favor.

Previous to 1850 the United States possessed vast bodies of lands in the Western States and Territories. These lands were the common property of the States, and were held by the General Government, as it were, in trust for the people, as a source from which the population might derive their support and upon which the increase might build up homes where they could sustain themselves and their children. The idea of the Government using these lands for any other purpose than to transfer them as homesteads for the future citizens of the Nation most probably never occurred to the framers of the Constitution, or special provision would probably have been made prohibiting any other use, as other disposition is contrary to the spirit of our institutions and subversive of the rights of the citizen. However, no matter what was the real nature of the tenure of the General Government, it occurred to some speculative genius in 1850 that to induce a grant of a portion of such lands for the purpose of building railroads would be a profitable scheme; and the development of the railroad system a plausible excuse to make to the people, whose children were thus to be robbed of their inheritance, while a few mercenary speculators were to be raised to fabulous wealth and dangerous power.

In order to fully understand the origin and effect of this alien ownership of American lands it will be necessary to review briefly the system of Government aid to railroads, and trace these lands from the hands of the corporations to those of their present owners; examine the character of these holdings and the effects growing out of the system, not only upon our social system but also upon transportation, commerce, finance, and, finally, the Government itself and the welfare of the people at large.

The real vehicle with which our business is moved is the subject of much investigation just now, and the final discovery must be that the people pay entirely too much for its use as a substitute for the currency of the Constitution. Perhaps one-twentieth of the transactions of commerce, ostensibly cash, really imply the use of money. But bills of exchange and checks cost something, and when used as cash they somehow come high.

Government only held those lands in trust for the use of coming generations, and that by transferring the title to corporate bodies, and thus making these lands mere commodities of commerce, mere objects of speculation, they were making the lives of coming generations of Americans commodities of speculation for the holders of the titles they thus transferred. The declaration of the ancient Breton code is unquestionably true, "land is perpetual man," and when we trade in land we trade in man.

Who first conceived this idea of land-grant in aid of railroads is not known; but it was first brought before the attention of the people by the Illinois Central Railroad Company, whose interests were championed by Stephen A. Douglas, in the United States Senate. Mr. Douglas seems to have been thrown out of balance by the idea of a great highway of trade extending from the southern to the northern boundary of the State, and splendid results to immediately follow the construction of such an artery of commerce blinded him to the claims of posterity upon the Nation, and he failed to recognize the many evils that would spring up eventually as a result of the action he proposed.

The possibility of these lands finding their way in large bodies into the hands of alien owners probably never occurred to many, if any, of the representative men who supported the measure in the beginning, as at that time no alien was allowed to hold lands in this country. Nor did Mr. Douglas, or in fact any of the representative men, seem to realize that they were asking the United States to build a road for a corporation to be then turned over to them to be operated for their private profit. In other words, that they were asking the people to contribute the means to build a road for their own convenience and then to make it a present to a body of favored individuals who were authorized to levy toll upon the people who had built it for the privilege of using it.

Common sense, it seems, would have suggested that if the Government built the road it should have operated it at the least cost for the benefit of the people and not made, as it were, a free gift of it to a favored corporation. However this may be, the fact is that an act of Congress, approved September 20, 1850, granted to the State of Illinois six sections of land per mile of road in aid of the construction of a railroad from Cairo to Chicago and Dunleith. This grant was transferred by the State to the Illinois Central Company, in consideration of which, and in lieu of all other taxes, the company agreed to pay the State an amount equal to 7 per cent. of the gross earnings from freight and passengers moved over their lines. The amount of land embraced in this grant was about 2,595,000 acres, and consisted of a broad strip of land lying on each side of the line of the road throughout the entire length of the State, and for a distance of six miles on each side of the track. The amount of the sales of this land up to January, 1873, was over \$24,000,000, and the road still held 344,367 acres of the choicest lands.

This grant, estimated at the average value of farming lands in Illinois, as reported by the

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

BY JAS. F. HUDEON,
Author of "The Railways and the Republic."

No. 17.

EXAMPLES OF NON-COMPETITIVE FAVORITISM.

The preceding article presented a supposititious case of discrimination between shippers at the local station of a railway where there is no competition, for the sake of presenting its character and pointing out the power by which such an injustice is maintained. It is now pertinent to examine some cases in which exactly such discriminations have had an actual existence.

First, it is well to repeat the fact already referred to, that the great majority of such discriminations never reach the dignity of a public record, or attract so much attention as to make the proof of their existence accessible. A preferential rate which concentrates the business of shipping grain, or selling coal, or some other equally fundamental function of commerce, in the hands of a single firm, at a merely wayside station, as a rule, does not reach such publicity as to attract the public attention. The injustice to the people who might wish to go into competition in such lines of business at the local stations is as great, relatively, as that of a discrimination which controls a national business

or monopolizes the production of a great staple all over the country. The exactions which such preference permits the favored persons to inflict upon the people of the unimportant local stations is as great to them as those which result from the much more notorious and infinitely more wide-spread abuses. But the aggregate amount of the trade controlled by such preferences is so small, and the possibility of obtaining redress has been so remote, that it is safe to estimate that ninety-nine out of a hundred have never been presented to any tribunal competent to take testimony, or been brought before the attention of the public in any form whatsoever.

Nevertheless there have been cases in which exactly this form of railway favoritism has been shown to exist, and one of them presents almost the identical type of discrimination pictured in the preceding article, with the exception that it involved a different staple and was carried to a far wider scope and more vital degree.

The entire grant to railroads, not including grants from the States, aggregates 296,000 square miles, an area greater than Texas and nearly five times the area of all the New England States, a principality greater than all England, Scotland, and Ireland.

It was necessary to convert these lands into cash. The demand for homes for American citizens was not sufficient to cause the disposal of them in this way within a sufficiently short time to enable the speculators to realize the vast fortunes they were struggling for. Means of realizing from them immediately must be provided, and just here is where the step was taken that opened the way for the invasion and threatened conquest of this Nation.

lished by the testimony before the commission. The testimony of the firm itself stated that they had been allowed "one cent as a terminal charge, and two cents additional at times to meet competition," which favor of three cents upon a staple on which very small margins permit large profits in traffic of wholesale amounts may readily be imagined to have been sufficient to enable them to control the business. But the testimony of the complaining farmers, before the commission, stated that they could not "get rates for shipment to Chicago within five or eight cents of the figures which the elevator men obtained." It will be seen that the testimony concerning this case presented exactly the wrong to the public stated in the imaginary case of the preceding articles. The producers of grain could not get from the favored firm the prices which they considered themselves entitled to for their grain. Consequently they made an attempt to ship the grain to Chicago, but found themselves unable to obtain the rates given the firm which the railroad company had placed in possession of the monopoly of that business. The railroad company not only by its adjustment of rates forbade competing dealers and warehousemen to offer the farmers the chance to store and ship their grain, but it made it impracticable for the producers of the grain themselves to ship their product to the central market on terms of equality with the favored concerns. In other words, the monopoly of the business established by the preferential rates not only infringed upon the rights of any person to engage in that business, but imposed an extra burden upon the producers and forbade them the relief which they might have obtained by making the shipments themselves.

It is worthy of note that the majority report of the Pacific Railroad Commission took the same view of railway rebates as Mr. Fink and his disciples. "Rebates are bids for business," says the majority report on page 117. But in presenting this view the majority carefully abstain from taking notice of the fact that this particular discrimination referred to included a vast majority of the elevators of this firm at local stations where, if there had been no such discrimination, the Union Pacific Railway would have obtained all the business of shipping grain from those localities in any event. It also fails to notice the fact that at the points where there was competition between railroads, the rebates given to this elevator firm were not such as to prevent competition with it by other elevator firms who were able to obtain, by means of railroad competition, similar rebates. The truth of what has hereto been said with regard to the ability of shippers at competitive points to get the reduced rates which might otherwise be given solely to a favored firm on account of the fear of the railroads that the business will go to other lines is substantiated by the report even of those who adopt the erroneous view. "The rebates to the Omaha and Rio Grande Smelting and Refining Works is one of the most important in amount appearing on the books of the Union Pacific Company. It was made clear to the commission that if these rebates had been refused to that

company the business which they secured to the Union Pacific Railroad would have been diverted to other channels," says the majority report of the commission.

In other words, where there was competition between the railroads, the railroad was forced to give such rates as would secure business, and the business of one shipper was as good as another. If competition was the cause of such discrimination as concentrates the traffic in the hands of a single shipper and refuses equal rates to other shippers, we ought to find at the competitive point the ability of the railroad to maintain its discrimination to a single firm and to refuse them to others, and at the local points, where there is no competition, it should be the case that there are no discriminations. But the fact being that the discriminations at local points were the ones from which the shippers and producers found no means of escape, and that the rebates at competitive points were granted because the railroad would lose the business unless it granted them, discloses the truth that it is not competition, but the absence of it, which enables discriminations to build up trade monopolies.

The investigation of the Hepburn committee of the legislature of the State of New York, several years ago, into the management of the railroads of that State, furnishes another case in point. The committee gave its especial attention to the subject of rebates granted on the local traffic along the lines of the two principal railroads of that State, and the facts established were completely destructive of the theory that it is competition between the railroads which produces the discriminations and preferences in rates that are most injurious to the public interests. Cases of discrimination in which dry goods, grocery firms, wool dealers, shippers of crude oil, pork and paper were given from one-third to one-half the open tariff rates on the Erie and New York Central Railroad, form a leading feature of the report of that investigation. At certain points those railroads meet with competition from indirect railway lines or from water routes, and the result of that competition is apparent in the fact that at Elmira, on the Erie Railroad, nine firms, and at Binghamton ten firms obtained the same special reductions from the open rates. At the competitive points, practically all the competing business firms were placed upon the same basis, for the reason that if one firm or more had been disfavored and refused equality with its competitors, it was able to turn its shipments to the competing railroad and thus obtain virtual redress.

On the New York Central Railroad the same feature appeared even more generally. For nearly the entire length of that railroad it meets with the competition of the Hudson River and the Erie Canal, and consequently upon the class of goods that is susceptible of shipment by the water route every dealer was able to obtain upon application special rates which would secure his business to the railroad. Of course this way of doing business presents the evil stated by the committee in its report, that if a man, relying upon the good faith of the railroad company which ought to prevail in the

management of routes for public transportation, shipped his goods without making a prior bargain with the railroad as to the rates he was to be charged, he was subjected to the penalty of being charged the higher list rate published by the companies as their nominal and regular charges. The company also used these discriminations for the sake of extorting agreements from the shippers that they should not ship any of their goods by canal, thus endeavoring to enforce a rule that the public served by the trade should not have the benefit of the cheaper method of transportation upon the commodities which were suited for transportation by water. But as competition was present all along the line of the New York Central Railroad it followed that on the class of goods which were suitable for shipment by water no monopoly of the traffic in those commodities was built up by the favoritism of the New York Central, and all shippers obtained practically the same special rate. Of the six thousand special rates which were proved by that investigation to have been granted by that leading corporation of the country, the vast majority represent rather loose and unbusiness-like methods of transacting its business, than the vital abuse of concentrating in favored hands the business in which the whole public should be at liberty to compete. But at the local stations on the Erie Railway, at which there was no competition, and in the line of business along the New York Central whose goods could not be suitably shipped by river or canal, the escape from whatever discriminations were established by these rebates was impracticable.

In an investigation made by the secretary of internal affairs of the State of Pennsylvania, several years ago, a coal operator, who owned large interests along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, testified that, in the spring of 1877, he made a contract to deliver a large amount of coal to the gas works of Philadelphia. This interfered with the interests of another large producer of gas-coal in Western Pennsylvania, which had hitherto held a monopoly of supplying gas-coal to that city by virtue of railroad favors. The favored coal corporation was located on the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. In the same year the officers of the Baltimore and Ohio informed the operator who was endeavoring to ship his coal to Philadelphia that their company and the Pennsylvania Railroad had entered into a written agreement that no coal from the line of the Baltimore and Ohio between Cumberland and Pittsburgh should be sold between Delaware Bay and Cape Cod for three years. In pursuit of this agreement the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad raised its rate on coal from the mines of this operator one dollar per ton to points between Delaware Bay and Cape Cod. This shut the disfavored operator out of the market in which he had made contracts to deliver his coal, and the result was, shortly thereafter, that he went into bankruptcy. His mines were bought at bankrupt sale by a certain prominent railway capitalist, and since the property has passed into the hands of an owner to whom the railroad interests were favorable, it has never been heard that there was any difficulty in getting the coal

shipped from those mines to any part of the country.

In this case there was a remarkable absence of any facts tending to justify the theory that this case of flagrant discrimination was produced by competition to obtain business. In the first place the disfavored shipper of coal was located on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad where there was no competition, for the transportation of their coal. Every ton of coal that they produced had to be shipped by the Baltimore and Ohio. In the next place the agreement in virtue of which the Baltimore and Ohio practically forbade its shipper to sell his coal in Philadelphia and New York was an agreement between the railroads to suppress competition. It was a partition, between the two railroads, of the markets to which each should transport its coal, for the sake of maintaining railroad rates free from competition; and the vital feature of that agreement was the preference which gave one leading coal corporation the monopoly of supplying gas-coal to the two principal cities of the country. Finally the discrimination made by the Baltimore and Ohio in raising its rates so high that the disfavored shipper from its own line could not ship his coal to the market where he had contracted to deliver it, was not made for the purpose of obtaining business, but it was made to drive away business. In every feature of this gross example of railroad injustice, it contradicts the theory that favoritism in rates is produced by competition, and is resorted to for the purpose of gaining business. If that had been the cause of favoritism, there should have been no favoritism in this case, for the competition was absent, in the first place, by the fact that the business originated in the local traffic of the Baltimore and Ohio; in the second place, by the fact that there was an agreement between the railroads to suppress competition; and in the third place, that the result of the discrimination was absolutely to reject business by the railroad enforcing it.

The discriminations which enriched and built up the Standard Oil Company have been referred to in this connection, and a spaciously constructed edifice of facts distorted to the theory has been built up by Mr. Fink and others to sustain the claim that these discriminations were made by the railroad as a result of competition, and in order to secure the business of that monopoly of the petroleum trade. This argument will be taken up at length when, in future articles, we come to consider the subject of rebates and discriminations at points where competition should exist, and where the business is controlled by combinations between the railroads. But in connection with the question of discriminations at local points where there is but a single railroad without competition, it is pertinent to allude to a case of that sort which became somewhat noted through being exposed before the court in whose charge the railroad making the discrimination was placed as a bankrupt corporation. In the oil fields near Marietta, Ohio, the Standard Oil Company had a single competitor, Mr. George Rice, a refiner of Marietta,

The agent of the Standard Oil Company demanded of the receiver of the railroad that he impose a freight rate upon the oil shipments of Mr. Rice of 35 cents a barrel; that he should make a rate to the Standard Oil Company of 10 cents; and that he should pay over to the Standard Oil Company 25 of the 35 cents a barrel paid by Mr. Rice; thus making the rate which the railroad received on the traffic of both shippers 10 cents per barrel, and paying the Standard Oil Company a black-mail upon the shipments of its competitor of 25 cents per barrel. It would seem almost incredible that any officer of a railroad corporation could accede to such an arrangement as this; but the fact is established beyond question that the receiver of the corporation, on consulting his lawyer, who was also the counsel of several eminent Standard Oil men, made this iniquitous arrangement. The evidence of it was brought out in court; and Judge Baxter removed the receiver from his trust with a scathing comment upon the corporation methods which should perpetrate such an injustice.

Here every feature militates against the idea that such an outrageous case of favoritism was created by competition. In the first place there was no competition in the transportation of the commodity involved. All the oil produced either by the Standard or by Mr. Rice had to go over the line of this railroad. It was obvious that Mr. Rice could not long sustain competition against the Standard Oil Company while the favorite company had an advantage of 25 cents per barrel, not only upon the oil which it shipped itself, but was secured exactly the same advantage and income upon the petroleum which was shipped by Mr. Rice. The rebate could not be offered for the purpose of securing business, for in addition to the fact that the railroad had the business anyhow, its practical result was to make it impossible for the disfavored shipper to continue business and to drive away his shipments. All the theories about competition as the cause of discriminations, applied to this case, involve a claim that this most flagrant example of discrimination was produced by a competition which did not exist; that the railroad official resorted to favoritism for fear that the business would escape him when he controlled the sole route of transportation; and that, for the sake of obtaining business, he established a rebate, which on the face of it would have the obvious effect of driving business away.

The cases referred to in this article are sufficient to establish the possibility of discrimination between shippers at local points, where competition in transportation is notably and by the very state of the case entirely absent as a factor. The number of such cases could be indefinitely extended, if necessary; and when they had been extended, so that the mere citation of them would fill a dozen articles of this size, we might rest assured that the tithe of them had not been enumerated. But in all of them they show the utter factitiousness of the idea that competition is the cause of individual favoritism in railway charges. Competition is entirely absent from such cases of favoritism, and in its place we find the presence of an exclusive

control by the railway. That fact sufficiently establishes the real cause of the discrimination; it is because there is no competition to afford the disfavored shippers relief that such abuses become binding. It is the monopoly of transportation that breeds monopoly in the branches of traffic to which the transportation is vital. Without the exclusive control of the transportation the railroad could not uphold these abuses, and the disfavored shipper would be able to find relief. The principle stated in the preceding articles is thus supported by the facts so far as they apply to local traffic where competition is entirely stifled.

The power of the railroad to enforce vital discriminations and build up monopoly in the branches of trade dependent upon its transportation rests entirely upon its exclusive control of the transportation and the absence of any competition as a check upon its exactions and favoritism.

A Definition of Money.

Mr. Pat B. Clark, of Madras, Texas, sends the following definition of money:

Value is determined by comparison. The value of all other things are determined by comparison with money. Therefore money may be called the standard of comparison for determining values.

News from Augusta is to the effect that three large mills there have engaged in the manufacture of cotton bagging. Thus, when needed, a greater supply is assured to the planter. Enough will be on the market, if properly distributed, to delay delivery of the crop very little, if at all. As control of the market would be of great advantage, there is no danger of any loss from delay.

It might be well while boasting of the dignity of our race and the unconquerable Anglo-Saxon spirit to remember that the vaunted liberty of our ancestors was enjoyed only by the upper classes, the favored few of fortune, to whom the inferior classes were slaves. It was not until the thirteenth century that wages began to be paid, and it is only about six hundred years that there have been laborers receiving pay for their labor. Prior to that time the entire return of labor was appropriated by the lord, but the laborer was fed, clothed, and housed, while now he is merely allowed enough in money to supply about the same necessities for himself. Is this sufficient progress in six hundred years to plume ourselves so much on?

The Davy Crockett Historical Society of Limestone, East Tennessee, is collecting data for a history of the celebrated Tennessee Texan, including anecdotes and sayings. The society desires to establish at the birth-place of Colonel Crockett a free museum, and solicits correspondence through the secretary, Q. J. Stout, Limestone, Tenn. Old Texans may render material aid in complying with this request.

ALREADY one-fourth of American farms are cultivated by tenants, and steadily the lands are drifting into the hands of the great holders.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY, OF WOODSTOCK, MD.

THE ROAD HORSE.

In former articles we have put forward the opinion that for business purposes, and even largely for pleasure-riding, the saddle-horse has been rendered obsolete by the great excellence of the American driving-horse, and by the lightness, cheapness, and general excellence of modern vehicles, and the generally improving condition of modern roads. The extraordinary development of that class of vehicles known as road-carts has, as stated, put the price of a first-rate vehicle and harness below the price of a first-class saddle and bridle. With such a class of vehicles at such prices, and such driving-horses as may now be had everywhere, no doubt at all horseback riding must give place to that means of travel to a much greater extent than it has already done. Buggies, moreover, and other wheeled vehicles will be still further forced down in price by the popular cart. Altogether it is easy to see that the future holds a large demand for business driving-horses, no less than for speedier and showier and better bred driving-horses for the pleasure-driving of the wealthy. Pony-carts, moreover, for ladies and for children, are destined to have a long, popular career. The demand for the speedy class of gentlemen's roadsters is likewise as well sustained and growing, and is a sustaining demand which supports the trotting turf. Road horses, then, may be classified as follows: At the head of the class trotting, turf horses, followed in order by gentlemen's roadsters, business horses, ladies' and children's cart horses and ponies, carriage horses, coupeé horses, and what are styled pack-horses, do not belong to the class of road horses, but are more properly designated by the general terms carriage or coach horses. That the American trotting-horse is the superior of any harness horse ever produced is true beyond the power of controversy. What, then, is this American trotter? He is merely in breeding a very high grade of the English thoroughbred race-horse. Great trotters and great trotting families differ as to the percentage of known thoroughbred blood they have, but all, without exception, possess a large percentage of it. We do not intend in this place to enter upon a discussion which has been maintained *pro* and *con* with warmth and vigor and even with acrimony; the question, viz., are further crosses of the thoroughbred necessary or advantageous to the American trotter? But the advantage, nay, the necessity of the original resort to that blood is never denied from any intelligent source. There is no knowing what the average horse-writer of the period is going to affirm or deny, and when he begins to argue from the "record," there is no telling what he will prove or disprove from that source. The great fallacy which destroys all value of many such writings is the tacit assumption that all unknown blood is destitute of any proportion of thoroughbred blood. There are a very few great trotters having authentic pedigrees representing five successive generations of known ancestors on both sides. Perhaps not one can be named with that number known, among which are not included great thoroughbred sires or dams, or both. There are some who think that all trotting excellence is due to the transmitted influence of a single horse, to wit, the thoroughbred imported Messenger, yet there are great trotters and great families of trotters having none of the blood of that great horse. Moreover, none of his sons nor daughters, nor grandsons nor granddaughters, possessed extreme speed at the trotting gait.

If it is claimed that a trait possessed by a progenitor, but not remarkably developed, has the capacity to increase in intensity as the number of generations of intervening descendants increases by the mere momentum of the initial force, the claim is absurd. If the argument is that a descendant of Messenger of the fifth generation possesses extreme speed because he is descended from Messenger, who did not possess great speed as a trotter, and not because the five intervening generations or a great part of them were selected, trained, and developed trotters, that argument is not worth listening to. There is no doubt that standard-bred American trotting-horses have been produced just as all other improved breeds of animals have been—that is, to say, by breeding the best trotting mares to the best trotting stallions and interbreeding their best descendants. That that process of breeding has been vastly assisted by the speed and endurance tests of the turf, and by the immense care and skill devoted to training the animals for those contests, is very certain. That the thoroughbred English race-horse is the foundation upon which, by these methods, the American trotter has been built, is equally certain. Nor does any well-informed horseman believe that the success to which we have attained could ever have been attained without recourse to that foundation. Whether further infusions of that blood are necessary or will be beneficial or hurtful to the breed of American trotters as now standardized are other questions, which we do not intend now to discuss. We will only state at present our own conclusion without argument upon it. Our conclusion is that some trotters and some trotting families do need more blood and will be benefited by thoroughbred top crosses put on the brood mares, to be then bred back to standard trotting sires. Other trotters and other families do not need such crosses, and will be injured and not benefited thereby. Such top crosses in any case must be made with great care and judgment, and in the matter of breeding back to trotting sires very great judgment and skill will be indispensable to success. At present thoroughbred sires should only be had recourse to for the production of brood mares, no males of such breeding should be kept entire. The time is not far distant, and many judicious men think has already arrived, when the thoroughbred trotter will be as distinct a breed as the thoroughbred race-horse, and further intercrossings of the two breeds will not be admissible, and will in every case do harm and not good. It is a question highly interesting whether the form for speed at the trotting gait is in any way, and if in any way, in what way, modified from that of the typical race-horse. The writer believes that there is an essential modification in the proportionate length of the different anatomical elements entering into the composition of both the fore and hind limbs. The cannon bones are longer and the thigh and humerus shorter in the trotting than in the running horse. Careful measurements of the skeletons of Lexington and the great progenitor of trotters, old Henry Clay, which stand side by side in the National Museum, at Washington, show that the cannons of the trotter are an inch longer and his thighs and forearms an inch shorter than those of the incomparable old race-horse. Measurements made by the writer of General Grant's Arabian, Leopard, the most perfect animal of that race he ever saw, show precisely the same relative proportions of the length of the different bones as the skeleton of Lexington exhibit, whereas those of Sam Purdy, Orange Blossom, and several other trotting stallions show a nearer approach to the measurements of the skeleton of Henry Clay. In animals in which the letting down of the hock and knee and the consequent shortening of the cannons is carried to extremes, such as the hare and the greyhound, trotting

NITROGEN COMPOUNDS.

In a former number, presenting some remarks on the great natural functions of nitrogen, reference was made to its indifference toward other chemical bodies as its distinctive character. On the other hand, when forced into combination, it forms sometimes remarkably permanent bodies. In a very large class of its compounds, nevertheless, its disposition to rupture the molecule, resuming its original, free, and independent status among the elements, characterizes those compounds as the most terrible known explosives. Nitroglycerine may be taken as the best known substance of this type,

Nitrogen chloride is, however, a still more terrible explosive, and so prone to what seems almost spontaneous explosion as to be perhaps the most dangerous substance known to the chemist. Other complex nitrogenous substances of animal origin, among them most animal poisons, are characterized by the extreme perishability of the molecule by processes of putrefaction, fermentation, and decay. But in the alkaloids we find complex molecules containing nitrogen atoms far more permanent than any other class of organic substances. Strychnine, morphine, quinine, and the like are far more permanent under all ordinary conditions of exposure than most metallic salts. The extraordinary persistence of strychnine has been often remarked. It has been recognized, all its deadly toxic properties and all its distinctive chemical characters unimpaired, after more than ten years continuous exposure in constantly renewed masses of putrefying flesh. It is hardly possible to destroy strychnine, except by burning it. It retains its deadly character, notwithstanding a great variety of chemical treatments. The frail and perishable character of all albuminoid substances and animal poisons contrasts vividly with the persistent permanence of alkaloids. These alkaloids have very positive chemical traits. They have mostly very definite crystalline forms and very definite formulae, and are powerfully basic substances. If we look for the purpose or utility of these alkaloids in the economy of the plants producing them we shall not find what we seek. The purpose or utility of their existence is only revealed in the wider economies of nature. Consider, for example, the poverty of our *materia medica* deprived of medical alkaloids. Even Darwin himself, with all his immoderate zeal for his hypothesis of evolution by natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, would scarcely have maintained that the alkaloid-producing plants received any advantage in the great struggle for existence from the alkaloids they produce. But the products of individual organisms, by this hypothesis, must have the object and cause of their development in the advantage of the organism producing them. It can not provide in its economy for the advantage or necessity of hostile organisms, which would be for that organism to turn aside out of the great struggle for existence and commit *felo-dese*. That mind must be of puerile fiber which fails to perceive that the plant kingdom is merely nature's laboratory for the manufacture of protoplasmic products for the use of the animal kingdom. Protoplasm is simply animal food. The promise that seed-time and harvest shall not fail is merely a promise that the forces working in that laboratory will never strike, and when man impiously presumes to form a "trust" to "corner" their output, what ought to be done to such a man? Hanging is too good for him. It is not within the power of his body to endure adequate punishment; and if there be no eternal torment, if there be no everlasting hell, there is no power in nature which can sufficiently punish him. Men, however, possess the power to disable him from further enormities. They may kill him, which will be effectual, or they may shut him up in prison, or they may strip him of the instruments of his robbery as fast as he acquires them, or they may redistribute his plunder as fast as he piles it up.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRY, ETC.

BULLETINS.

In the report before us we find much very interesting and valuable popular scientific information on many subjects important to be understood by all practical men who in any manner have dealing in live stock. Among the contents we note Progress of pleuro-pneumonia of cattle and action taken to control it, Report on condition of the range cattle industry, Calf raising on the plains, Investigation of the disease known as "staggers" in horses in Virginia and North Carolina, Investigation of "Loco" plant and its effect on animals, and the letter of transmittal of the report to the Secretary by Dr. Salmon. Very much by the valuable matter of this report is new and original. A great part of the text is as entertaining as the best of novels. There is a large list of illustrations, some of them remarkably good, some wretchedly bad. On this head, a word in the nature of an open letter to the Hon. Secretary. A good illustration often half redeems bad or commonplace text, at the least there remains the reflection that "a thing of beauty is a joy forever." But a bad illustration of good, honest, competent, painstaking text is the most abominable thing in book-making. If a man reading with pleasure and profit good text finds a point not quite clear and turns to the illustration, which, if good, may clear it up at a glance; if bad, blurred, run together, blotted, and altogether indescribable and non-comprehensible, then will that reader, if under any circumstance he will do so, begin to curse and to swear. Have your illustrations done in the best style, Mr. Secretary, and pay for them—they are costly—or else do not publish them at all, for they must need cause men to sin, and they might very well cause some good man who does his work well and loves his intellectual offspring, to lay hands on himself. Moreover, in this book the contrast between the good and the bad is so violent and so shocking as to wholly upset the most phlegmatic reader. Probably nothing worse of the kind has ever been seen. We are not going to believe Dr. Salmon responsible for this misdemeanor. If it has been a mere mistake or accident, the broad mantle of charity is able to cover it up. If it has been the result of "influence," out upon it! At all events, if a mere fit of parsimony, as seems very likely, spare us hereafter these Cheap-John inflections. We have torn these caricatures out of one copy of the report and cast them on the fire.

In his letter of transmission, Dr. Salmon says that the works of the year abundantly confirm that cultures of diseased germs during their growth produce chemical substances which may be successfully used for protective inoculations. Since then, there are some who claim that the Bureau is not entitled to priority in this important scientific announcement. Nothing more important than this has been yet discovered in the progress of bacteriological studies. It was discovered and announced by Dr. Salmon in his report for 1885, and no prior announcement is on record. It has long been doubted by medical men, however, whether the bacilli themselves produced the diseases caused by their presence, or whether some product of their nutrition was the true *materies morbi*. The discovery of such a chemical product in these researches of the Bureau of Chemical Industry opens an immensely important field of research. Whether similar chemical bodies capable of producing disease may be generated outside the living organism independently of bacilli, or during the retrograde metamorphosis of tissue within the living organism, under altered states of the nervous system, or during the destructive chemical changes of the excretory products of the organism, remains a very interesting and important question.

THE FREDERICKSBURG FAIR.

The third annual fair of the Agricultural and Mechanical Society of the Rappahannock Valley will be held at their fair grounds, near Fredericksburg, Va., October 1st, 2d, and 3d. The premium list is liberal; the regulations are excellent; the accommodations of the city are very ample; the programme of sports and pastimes are all that could be desired; the exhibition will be first-class, and all who go there will

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

find welcome and hospitality and courtesy on every hand. These things this writer knows of that community of his own personal experience on many occasions. Nowhere within the limits of the great old commonwealth is the nobleness of the old Virginian character better preserved or more strikingly shown. Unostentatious, elegant, whole-souled, and hearty is the hospitality of steady-going, sturdy old Fredericksburg, and of that whole region of which it is the chief town. These fairs are institutions we are not willing to see neglected; their educational value is undoubtedly. As social gatherings and reunions they are enjoyable and promotive of good feeling, a thing not to be lightly regarded among a class of people not too much given to social and public duties. Let everybody encourage these annual fairs by their presence and their contributions, knowing that they are doing a good work which they can have no reason ever to regret, for who ever had reason to regret that he contributed on any occasion to the instruction or enjoyment of others? The tide-water region of which Fredericksburg is a sort of capital city, whether viewed from the standpoint of its historical associations or of its agricultural capabilities and importance, is one of the most interesting parts of the South. And there can be no question that its annual fair is to its people one of its most pleasing and important institutions.

A FULL file of the Humboldt Library of Popular Science has been received. These publications of the Humboldt Publishing Company, 24 East Fourth street, New York, are a boon to the industrial classes. They are valuable compendia of the works of the most eminent scientists of the age, and are furnished at a price that even the poorest may enjoy the privilege of reading them. No course of reading could be of greater benefit to the average citizen or youth than the publications of this company. Every field of science is represented and the researches of the ablest minds are put before the readers in a form adapted to the understanding of any. These valuable works are as cheap as the most worthless trash; the dealers flood the country with, being only 15 cents a number, or \$1.50 per year for twelve numbers, issued monthly. It is the intention of the ECONOMIST to review each number in succession, beginning with number one, and the labor will be well repaid if these publications can be gotten into the hands of the youth of the country and a healthy literary taste created. Alliance lecturers will find these publications of great value and assistance.

"AN Alliance girl" of Wilton, N. C., writes to the Progressive Farmer:

Our Alliance has taken stock to the amount of \$500 in the Alliance warehouse at Oxford, and \$100 in the Alliance tobacco factory, and has contributed \$57.50 to the business agency fund and hope to do more in the near future. A large number of our members went to hear brother Harry Tracy's speech and returned with renewed energy and strength of purpose to battle with the enemy until the victory is won and the poor, down-trodden farmer can step to the front and assert his rights. May God speed the day when the farmers will be able to break the iron bands which now enthrall them. Let us weary not in well-doing, in due season we shall reap if we faint not. Three cheers for the The Progressive Farmer and the NATIONAL ECONOMIST and the noble work they are performing throughout our land.

Good Alliance and accomplished girl.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 20.

The Navy Department has splendid suites of rooms in the War, State and Navy building. All matters relating to the Naval service are controlled by this Department. Something over \$15,000,000 is the regular annual expenditure for the department, although recently large additional appropriations have been made for the construction of new vessels. The department is divided into the following bureaus: Bureau of Yards and Docks, Bureau of Navigation, Bureau of Ordnance; Bureau of Provisions and Clothing; Bureau of Medicine and Surgery; Bureau of Construction and Repairs; Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting, and Bureau of Steam Engineering. All bureaus are directed by Naval officers.

The chief of the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing has charge of all contracts and purchases for the supply of provisions, water for cooking and drinking purposes, clothing and small stores for the use of the Navy. The employees are chief clerk, \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,800; two clerks at \$1,600 each; two clerks at \$1,400 each; three at \$1,200.

The chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery superintends everything relating to medicines, medical stores, surgical instruments, and hospital supplies required for the treatment of the sick and wounded of the Navy and Marine Corps. He is also charged with the control, construction, and repair of Naval hospitals, and the purchase of supplies for same. The employees are chief clerk, \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,600; one clerk at \$1,400; one clerk at \$1,200, and one at \$1,000.

The new ships in process of building are of the best quality, steel-plated, with all the modern improvements for naval warfare. Special appropriations for their construction are made by each Congress.

The officer in command of the Navy is Admiral David D. Porter, who assumed the position October 17, 1870. His salary is \$13,000 per year. The office of the Admiral is in the War, State, and Navy building.

There is a vice-admiral, whose pay is \$9,000 per year when at sea, and \$8,000 when on shore duty. Seven rear-admirals and twenty-one commodores are on the active list. Rear-admirals receive \$6,000 per year; commodores, \$5,000 when at sea and \$1,000 less when on shore; captains are paid \$4,500; commanders, \$3,500, and lieutenant-commanders, \$3,000.

The employees of the department are divided and salaried as follows: Chief clerk, \$2,500; disbursing clerk, \$2,000; four clerks at \$1,800 each; three clerks at \$1,600 each; a stenographer at \$1,600; four clerks at \$1,200 each, and three clerks at \$1,000 each.

Bureau of Yards and Docks—Chief clerk, \$1,800; draughtsman, \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,600; one clerk at \$1,400, and one clerk at \$1,000.

The Judge Advocate General receives, revises, and records the proceedings of courts-martial, courts of inquiry, boards for examination of officers for retirement and promotion in the Naval service, and furnishes reports and opinions on such questions of law and other matters as may be referred to him by the Secretary of the Navy. In his office are one clerk at \$1,600; one clerk at \$1,000; superintendent of the building \$250; engineer, \$1,200; assistant engineer, \$1,000.

In the Naval Almanac Office are two computers at \$1,600 each, two computers at \$1,500 each, and three at \$1,200 each.

this bureau are chief clerk at \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,600; one clerk at \$1,400, and one clerk at \$1,000.

The chief of the Bureau of Ordnance has charge of the manufacture of naval ordnance and ammunition; the armament of vessels of war; the arsenals and magazines; the trials and tests of ordnance, small arms and ammunition; also of the torpedo service and torpedo station at Newport, and the experimental batteries at Annapolis. The employees are chief clerk at \$1,800; draughtsman, \$1,800; one clerk, \$1,600; one clerk, \$1,400.

The chief of the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing has charge of all contracts and purchases for the supply of provisions, water for cooking and drinking purposes, clothing and small stores for the use of the Navy. The employees are chief clerk, \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,600; two clerks at \$1,600 each; two clerks at \$1,400 each; three at \$1,200.

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The chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repairs has charge of dry-docks and of all vessels undergoing repairs; the designing, building, and fitting out of vessels, and the armor of iron-clads. The employees are chief clerk at \$1,800; draughtsman, \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,600; one clerk at \$1,400, and one clerk at \$1,200.

Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting has charge of the equipment of all vessels of war and the supply of their sails, rigging, anchors, and fuel; also of the recruiting of sailors of various grades. The employees are chief clerk, \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,800; one clerk at \$1,600; two clerks at \$1,400 each, and two at \$1,200 each.

The Bureau of Steam Engineering is in charge of the Engineer-in-Chief, who directs the designing, fitting out, running, and repairing of marine engines, boilers, and appurtenances used on vessels of war, and in the workshops in the Navy-yards where they are made and repaired. The employees are chief clerk, \$1,800; chief draughtsman, \$2,250; assistant draughtsman, \$1,600; one clerk at \$1,400; one at \$1,200, and one at \$1,000.

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The Hydrographic Office has employed one clerk at \$120 per month; draughtsman at \$191.63 per month; draughtsman at \$175 per month; draughtsman at \$133.33 per month; draughtsman at \$120 per month; two draughtsmen at \$108.33 per month each; two draughtsmen at \$100 per month each; two printers at \$4 per day each; two engravers at \$4 per day each; one engraver at \$3.50; two engravers at \$3 per day.

The Naval Observatory is situated in the westerly part of Washington, on a Government reservation which extends to the Potomac River. It is under the supervision of a rear admiral of the Navy and is famous all over the world for its astronomical work, which is performed by a corps of distinguished astronomers. The observatory has a great equatorial telescope, which cost nearly \$50,000. Its object-glass is twenty-six inches clear aperture, and its focal length thirty-two and one-half feet. This was the largest lens in the country until the great Lick telescope was constructed. The instrument is placed in a large iron dome and has every attachment science has devised.

In the Naval Observatory there are employed a chief clerk at \$1,600; three civilian astronomers at \$1,500 each; and an instrument-maker at \$1,500. There are also on duty here fifteen Naval officers.

There are, besides the civil employees mentioned, about 200 Naval officers detailed for special duty in the department. Of course their pay would go on whether engaged in the department or not. These officers, besides serving in the different bureaus, compose the following boards, etc.: Board of Inspection and Survey; Office of Naval Intelligence attached to Navy-yard; to receiving-ship Dale; at Marine Barracks; United States Naval Hospital; Pay Office; Steel Inspection Board; Museum of Hygiene; Naval Dispensary; Naval Examining Board; Naval Retiring Board; Medical Board, and officers on special duty at Smithsonian Institution. From this it will be seen that the Navy is an enormous machine and requires men and money to operate it.

THE total number of farms in the United States is about 5,000,000; of these 1,280,000 are rented. Since 1880 there has been an increase in farm renting of 25 per cent.

No doubt many members of the Alliance realized, when they commenced the jute fight, a violent opposition would be brought to bear by the friends of jute. But no one could have realized to what extent deception and fraud would be used. Every conceivable ruse and report has been resorted to that would tend to create the belief that no difference in tare would be allowed, and consequently jute would be the cheapest, or the impression that an adequate supply of cotton bagging will not be made. These have been worked to the utmost, but with no visible effect upon the solid ranks of the Alliance and Wheel. The farmers know that England or any other country can not long demand an arbitrary tare of sixteen pounds when the actual tare is uniformly five and one-fourth pounds. Immediately on the

adoption of a wrapping of uniform weight, a fixed tare equal to that rate becomes just, and anything greater than that becomes unjust. They would have the same right to ask for a tare of fifty pounds as sixteen. Therefore, whether foreign countries like it or not, they will be compelled to yield, because they can not long demand a wrong. As to the supply, every one knows that to get early delivery they had to make early orders, and that orders made in May commenced delivery August 1st; then the orders are filled in the order in which they were placed. No man can come up at this late day and order cotton bagging for immediate shipment and, failing to get it, offer that as an excuse for using jute. He knew that to get bagging early he must order early, and if he orders late he must hold his cotton for late ginning. The people know and understand this and will not heed the reports of men who have had orders refused by the mills because they ordered large lots for immediate shipment.

The Alliance Peanut Union.

The Alliance Peanut Union was formed at Suffolk, Va., July 12th, with four hundred delegates from the Virginia and North Carolina counties engaged in peanut production in attendance. This organization has commenced its career by the adoption of a standard bag, which is 32 x 40 inches, to be of cotton, to be filled uniformly with 100 pounds of peas. Previous to 1887, bags had been comparatively cheap, selling as low as 9 cents, burlaps being the material of which they were made. Last year the jute combine notified the farmers that more must be paid, and sometimes as high as 18 cents was exacted, the lowest cash price being 14 cents. This year notice was served by the jute trust that 14 cents would be the price. This has been met by a declaration from the union that it will use only cotton. Cotton bags were shown at the meeting with capacity for five bushels, without seams, the price of which was lower than jute. The smaller sacks proposed by the Union would probably cost 10 to 11 cents, but as yet no price has been fixed, the factory guaranteeing the proper size.

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	Regular Price.	of both.
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"Southern Mercury," official organ Farmers State Alliance of Texas	1 00	1 60
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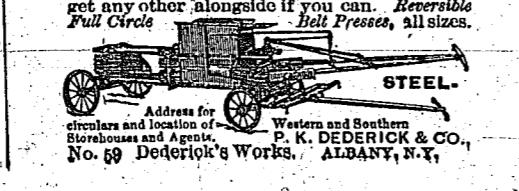
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PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

SINGLE COPY,
FIVE CENTS

VOL. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1889.

NO. 25.

Good Men and True.

"Sir King, thou seest sixty thousand good men and true who have sworn to do my bidding." Thus said Wat Tyler five hundred years ago, and the story of that incident is the first account of an effort upon the part of the producers of England to free themselves from a system of taxation which left to the laborer enough for only the most degraded existence. When the small farmers and artisans of the kingdom became aware that the exactions of king and feudal lord would only be limited by their ability to pay, discontent became universal, and it needed slight cause to fan the feeling into a rage. Just at this inopportune time a tax collector visited Wat's hovel and demanded a poll-tax upon Wat's daughter, claiming that she was fifteen years old and subject to it. Wat's wife denied this, and the collector insisted upon subjecting the girl to the indignity of an examination, that he might himself decide. Wat was working near by, and the noisy resistance of the women caused him to come in, and finding the official rudely endeavoring to enforce his demand, he struck the intruder dead. Realizing that he was now an outlaw, Wat called on his neighbors to defend him. Thousands flocked to his aid, and with the instinct of genius, he grouped them into some sort of organization and marched on London, determined to effect a settlement by which to secure immunity for himself and relief for his class. The story of his murder in the King's presence when under protection of a truce, and the disbandment of his now headless army, with the barbarous work of gibbet and hangman which followed, well illustrate the excesses of power without responsibility.

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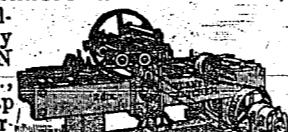
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under her flag when Wat Tyler made his protest. The strange anomaly is, that while wealth has increased a hundred-fold, and population fourfold, the laborers upon whom depend the commerce of the metropolis of the world are even more dependent than in times of Wat the Tyler, who owned his home, as probably did a large proportion of his co-operators. Five hundred years ago the worker traced his oppression directly to government, and needed no acute system of logic to understand that the excesses and profligacy of his feudal superiors fell as a tax upon his productive powers. Now an ingenious system of farming out taxing powers has removed government from apparent connection with the laborer's condition, and private corporations have come to represent the source of oppression as seen by him. Hence we now see no such threats to government as was shown when Wat and his sixty thousand good men and true sent a thrill of terror through the English establishment.

But are not the causes the same? Is not the relief demanded the same? If Wat desired that more of his production be left him by the establishment, in what did his complaint differ from that of the dock laborer who demands that his wage shall increase until his necessities be supplied therefrom? With all the change of time and circumstance, this latest labor demonstration is but a slight variation from the first of which English history gives an account. With the multiplication of machinery and increase in productive capacity a change for the better has come to the English laborer, but slowly and grudgingly has the paramount commercial system been forced to permit even this. The real improvement in the condition of the English laborer has come through the earnest endeavors of the trades unions of that country, and almost wholly within the last sixty years. Up to that time supply and demand had been the sole factors in the labor question, and the commercial idea prevailed unchecked by any counter force. With increased capacity for production came diminished value for his individual service, and the condition of the laborer was constantly more dependent. But for the discovery of America, which opened up opportunity for relief by emigration, the blackest night of barbarism would probably have been averted only by the growth of new systems planted in social chaos and watered with blood.

As this is written, London is the scene of an agitation in which four times as many "good men and true" are organized to demand relief from a system which they find as grinding as did the yeomanry of five hundred years ago. This agitation is accompanied with no threat of violence, and is an appeal for a fairer distribution of the proceeds of the labor of the petitioners. It has no intent of revenge, and its demands are an enhancement of wages and conditions.

Strange indeed, that, despite the current boast of writers and orators, five hundred years show so little advance in the condition of the laborer. There have been vast improvements in his surroundings. His work is done with appliances which have made his labor five times as effective as then. The shipping in dock in London awaiting adjustment of the strike to commence unloading comprise more tonnage than England could boast as floating

to the starving idle, help not a whit toward de-

termining the final result. He who would aid in settling this grave question which vexes mankind should look to causes. The multiplication of systems and the passage of statutes whereby temporary relief may come, but postpone the end for which all should strive. The freedom of industry from unnecessary taxes is an imperative duty. Whether by enabling the worker to engage to a fuller extent where now natural opportunity is taxed, or by any more just system of distribution, some remedy must be devised by which he who produces shall enjoy. Whether the centuries have brought the solution nearer is yet to be seen. By consent of enlightened nations, this is the mastering problem of the age. It confronts social organization like a Sphinx, threatening to devour who cannot answer. The remedy must come, else civilization fails of its purpose, the happiness of man.

[Official]

THE NATIONAL COTTON COMMITTEE
Meets and Passes Important Resolutions—Hold Your Cotton.

The National cotton committee of the Farmers' Alliance send greetings and important advice to the farmers of the South:
Hold your cotton!
That is the substance of it.

The committee held a quiet meeting at the Kimball House, Atlanta, Ga., the result of which was the adoption of the following resolutions:
1. That the National cotton committee recommend that the farmers of the South shall sell no cotton during the month of September, except what may be absolutely necessary to meet the obligations which are past due.

2. That the National cotton committee instruct the president of each primary Alliance, Wheel, or Union, or some person appointed by him, to meet the president and secretary of his county Alliance, Wheel, or Union, on Saturday, the 28th of September, at the county site, for the purpose of receiving further instructions from the National cotton committee.

3. That each State secretary of every State be charged with the duty of placing these resolutions immediately before the respective county presidents in every county in his State, and charge all expenses of printing and postage to the National Alliance.

4. That every farmer be urged to exercise special care and caution in sheltering and protecting his cotton in bales from damaging weather, and also from lying on the ground.

5. That every newspaper in the South in sympathy with the interests of the farmers, is requested to publish these resolutions.

R. J. Sledge, chairman; Kyle, Texas; A. T. Hatcher, Grand Cané, La.; W. R. Lacy, Winona, Miss.; S. B. Alexander, Charlotte, N. C.; L. P. Featherston, Forest City, Ark.; M. L. Donaldson, Greenville, S. C.; W