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NATIONAL
ECONOMIST

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The National Economist.

Official Organ of the Farmers' Alliance, Agricultural Wheel,
and Farmers' Union.

DEVOTED TO

SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Volume I.

Published at Washington, D. C.



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The National Economist

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

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

WASHINGTON, D. C. THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1889.

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VOL. 1.

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No. 1.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST takes its position in the field of journalism with no flourish of trumpets or ostentatious display of pyrotechnics. It is not, nor will it ever attempt to be, a showy publication that catches the eye, tickles the senses, or panders to popular tastes and prejudices. Neither will it strive to supply its readers with the current news of the day. That is a distinct branch of work and now so thoroughly performed by an immense number of daily and weekly papers that the public is offered almost every hour large sheets of from eight to forty pages closely printed in small type at an expense of two or three cents each, thus leaving nothing to be desired in that line. But as the name and avowed objects of this journal indicate, its aspiration will be to appeal to the reason and judgment of its readers and to educate in the principles of society, finance, and government rather than to relate the visible effects of the violation of such principles. To perform this work it will of necessity be a plain, sober, solid home journal, dealing with the serious and vital problems of the age and submitting measures and policies to the crucial test of analytical dissection under the calcium light of historical experience, statistical deduction, and logical reasoning. Under the confederated form of republican government, recognizing the voice of the people as the supreme law, nothing short of such critical analysis and affirmative and intelligent indorsement can justify the individual in favoring any policy. An object very much to be desired is that the masses of the people should think more for themselves and not, as is now too often the case, accept the declarations and conclusions of leading journals or men without analyzing and understanding them. Questions of public policy are not too complicated for the average common mind if properly presented and examined according to the plain rules of common sense. But a popular belief that they are too complicated, coupled with a lack of the means and opportunity to so examine them on the part of many, has led to this now too common and much to be deplored custom of accepting platforms and political creeds at second hand from those who arrogate to themselves the wisdom and sagacity to act as oracles. This tendency, if persisted in and allowed to increase, must in time prove fatal to the present system of government, because popular self-government can only continue while the people possess sufficient intelligence to govern themselves, and whenever they accept their doctrines and policies second hand it becomes autocratic and not intelligent, and as such is subject to all the vices and abuses that selfishness may dictate,

whether there is any necessity for such a class. An examination of the drones, their habits, customs, and profits, will be interesting and beneficial. The producers are usually divided by economists into three classes, the agricultural, the manufacturing, and the commercial (which includes transportation); and in regarding the relative importance of each by the light of the statistics of this country for the last thirty years, the loyal citizen must be alarmed at the rapid decline of wealth and importance shown in the class of agricultural producers. Can this condition of affairs continue? Is not the country in a critical condition in consequence and rapidly approaching a crisis? Evidently energy could not be expended in a better cause than an effort to correctly evolve methods calculated to check such disastrous results. Agriculture must ever be the basis of all true prosperity in this country, and any apparent flush of prosperity enjoyed by any class, if it be at the expense of the true interests of agriculture, must of necessity be short lived and attended with a corresponding degree of depressing reaction. That is to say, if unjust conditions have prevailed whereby other classes have, through the power of governmental support, been made prosperous at the expense of agriculture, such classes have been sapping the life-blood of their own tenure of existence; and while it may have made them abnormally fat, it is because they in their greed were not content with good rich milk from the cow, but have been feasting on her flesh also, and will soon have the bones picked clean, when they will get neither meat nor milk and starvation must stare them in the face. The perpetuation of such unjust conditions must be equally as fatal to all other classes as to the agriculturist.

A correct solution of the great problems of the present by any person or publication will be productive of no good unless it meets with a responsive approval from the people, and that is impossible without thorough enlightenment on the part of the people in regard to all the particulars and principles. This demonstrates the necessity for the publication of this journal as a means of producing such enlightenment, and should it succeed in any degree in achieving that result it will have been a blessing to mankind.

In taking the exalted position that only such principles and policies will be advocated and contended for as can be sustained by experience and precedent or by sound logical reasoning, it will be necessary on the part of readers and journal to avoid the common error of jumping at conclusions and then seeking evidence to sustain them. If the premises are

sound and correct a true conclusion will follow. While these investigations will be conducted on general principles of justice and equity, they will at present be carried on with a special tendency to an examination and solution of the now most prominent features of the situation—that is, finance, transportation, and land. There is much confusion in regard to each of these subjects, and if it be possible to lead the million farmers who read THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST through the same course of plain, simple, and irrefutable reasoning from actual cause to inevitable effect in each one of these important branches, it will bring order out of chaos and result in great good. This is striking at the very foundation of the superstructure, because the agriculturist is the great conservative and thinking element of the nation—the ballast, as it were. He it is who holds the volatile elements of society from running into excesses, and he it is who must step forward and insist upon reforms. City life is conducive to polish and show, but country life to depth of thought and research. In presenting the solid food for thought to the agriculturists of the country it is done with implicit confidence in their judgment to receive and indorse the same, and a firm belief that when they indorse the measure their honesty and integrity will compel them to advocate such measures until they prevail.

THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA.

Clippings from the Proceedings of the Regular Annual Meeting held in Meridian, Mississippi, December 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, 1888.

OFFICERS PRESENT.

C. W. Macune, President.
L. L. Polk, 1st Vice-President.
R. T. Love, Vice-President for Mississippi.
S. B. Alexander, Vice-President for North Carolina.
H. P. Bone, Vice-President for Alabama.
Linn Tanner, Vice-President for Louisiana.
A. B. Johnson, Vice-President for Missouri.
J. H. McDowell, Vice-President for Tennessee.
E. B. Warren, Secretary.
A. E. Gardner, Treasurer.
Ben Terrell, Lecturer.
H. C. Brown, Assistant Doorkeeper.
T. E. Groome, Sergeant-at-Arms.
The President filled vacancies by appointing the following, *pro tem.*
J. W. Beck, of Georgia, Chaplain.
T. J. Bounds, Doorkeeper.
Evan Jones, Vice-President for Texas.
W. A. Wilson, Vice-President for Georgia.
H. McRae, Vice-President for South Carolina.
W. M. Huey, Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms.
G. L. Clark, Assistant Doorkeeper.
J. W. Reid, B. J. Hubbard, and J. C. DeLoach, were appointed Secretaries.

Committee on Credentials appointed, consisting of Quicksall, of Kentucky; Dimmick, of Louisiana; Tracy, of Texas; Bone, of Alabama, and Payne, of North Carolina. They reported as follows:

LIST OF DELEGATES.

ALABAMA.—H. P. Bone, T. M. Barbour, R. M. Honeycutt, J. H. Harris, H. G. McCall.
GEORGIA.—J. W. Beck, C. T. Zachary, D. W. Dyal, A. F. Pope, W. A. Willson, R. L. Burk, J. H. Turner.
KENTUCKY.—J. E. Quicksall, W. S. Stone.
LOUISIANA.—W. M. Mann, J. M. Stallings, A. Dimmick, W. R. Womack, A. T. Hatcher, T. A. Clayton, T. S. Adams.
MISSISSIPPI.—W. A. Boyd, Robert C. Patty, G. W. Dyer, W. M. Steel, J. W. Copeland, S. D. Lee, J. C. DeLoach, H. F. Simrall, F. M. Glass, D. R. Hearne, D. F. Chapman, J. H. Beaman, W. L. Mitchell, G. L. Donald, G. A. Tennison, H. H. Ratliffe, T. L. Darden, member Committee on Secret Work.
NORTH CAROLINA.—J. F. Payne, W. M. White.
SOUTH CAROLINA.—J. W. Reid, A. C. Lyles, H. McRae.
TENNESSEE.—J. P. Buchanan, T. B. Harwell, J. C. Castles, W. T. Grant.
TEXAS.—W. T. Baggett, B. J. Hubbard, H. C. Stephenson, G. L. Clark, Evan Jones, W. D. Ivey, F. M. Sellers, B. J. Kendrick, R. M. Flowers, M. G. York, W. M. Huey, W. W. Durham, R. J. Sledge, C. M. Wilcox, T. M. Smith, Harry Tracy.

INDIAN TERRITORY.—Chas. Roberts.

MISSOURI.—M. V. B. Page.

KANSAS.—W. P. Brush.

The President gave notice that some few days ago he appointed a conference committee of three, consisting of G. B. Pickett, of Texas; C. L. Smithson, of Mississippi, and L. L. Polk, of North Carolina, to confer with a similar committee from the National Agricultural Wheel, in reference to organic union of the two orders.

REPORT OF CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

MERIDIAN, Miss., December 5, 1888.

To the President of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America:

We, your joint committee appointed to consider a plan for the consolidation of the National Agricultural Wheel and National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, beg leave to submit the following report:

1st. We most heartily recommend the proposed consolidation of the two orders.

2d. We recommend that the name of the consolidated order be THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE-WHEEL AND CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA.

3d. We recommend that the two bodies meet in the court-house, in this city, at 3 o'clock this afternoon, in joint session or in committee of the whole, to be presided over by the president of the National Alliance.

4th. We recommend that on all questions or matters relating to the organic laws of such consolidated body each body shall be entitled to an equal number of votes, and on all committees appointed to perfect such consolidation the two bodies are to have equal representation, to be determined by their respective presidents.

L. L. POLK,
G. B. PICKETT,
F. A. COM.
W. S. MOREAN

E. M. NOLEN,
W. H. HICKMAN,
C. T. SMITHSON

Moved by Chas. Roberts, of Indian Territory, and seconded by J. S. Castle, of Tennessee, that the rules be suspended and report be adopted.

After some discussion, F. M. Sellers, of Texas, moved the previous question, which

was agreed upon, and the vote being then taken on the original motion, it was carried.

"The time having arrived to adjourn for the purpose of meeting with the National Agricultural Wheel as a joint committee, the President announced that previous to such adjournment he wanted the legal situation understood, and held that as a joint committee the body in which they were about to participate would have no power to change any laws of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, and that all action taken by the joint committee would have to be re-enacted by this body to become a law in this order, and if such action modified the constitution it would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the State organizations within one year."

A communication received from New Orleans Maritime Association requesting this body to appoint a committee to confer about matters pertaining to the shipping interests of the South. Request granted and committee of one from each State appointed. This is the committee: Sledge, Beck, Harwell, Lyles, Clayton, Harris, Beaman, Roberts, Payne, Brush.

SECOND DAY.

According to adjournment yesterday, the joint session resumed its work.

The constitution was adopted seriatim, and an election of officers was held, with the following result: For President, Evan Jones, of Texas; for Vice-President, Isaac McCracken, of Arkansas; for Secretary, A. E. Gardner, of Tennessee; for Treasurer, Linn Tanner, of Louisiana.

The following constitution was then referred to the several State organizations of the two bodies for ratification, and it was ordered that in the event of three-fourths of the Farmers State Alliances ratifying the consolidation, the President of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union shall issue his proclamation making known said ratification, and that when three-fourths of the State Agricultural Wheels shall have ratified the consolidation, in accordance with the terms of this agreement, the President of the National Agricultural Wheel shall issue his proclamation of said ratification. The consolidation shall then be officially made known by proclamation of the President of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

It was further ordered that, in the event of the ratification of the proposed consolidation, the next meeting shall be held in St. Louis, at 10 a.m., on the first Tuesday of December, 1889.

Constitution and By-laws of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

Whereas, the general condition of our country imperatively demands unity of action on the part of the laboring classes, reformation in economy, and dissemination of principles best calculated to encourage and foster agricultural and mechanical pursuits, encouraging the toiling masses—leading them in the road to prosperity and providing a just and fair remuneration for labor, a just exchange for our commodities and the best means of securing to the laboring classes the greatest amount of good. We hold to the principle that all monopolies are dangerous to the best interests

of our country, tending to enslave a free people and subvert and finally overthrow the great principles purchased to the fathers of American liberty. We therefore adopt the following as our declaration of principles:

1st. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government in a strict non-partisan spirit; and to bring about a more perfect union of said classes.

2d. That we demand equal rights to all, and special favors to none.

3d. To endorse the motto, "In things essential, unity, and in all things, charity."

4th. To develop a better state, mentally, morally, socially, and financially.

5th. To constantly strive to secure entire harmony and good-will to all mankind, and brotherly love among ourselves.

6th. To suppress personal, local, sectional, and national prejudices, all unhealthful rivalry and all selfish ambition.

7th. The brightest jewels which it garners are the tears of widows and orphans, and its imperative demands are to visit the homes where lacerated hearts are bleeding; to assuage the sufferings of a brother or sister; bury the dead; care for the widows and educate the orphans; to exercise charity towards offenders; to construe words and deeds in their most favorable light, granting honesty of purpose and good intentions to others, and to protect the principles of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America until death. Its laws are reason and equity. Its cardinal doctrines inspire purity of thought and life; its intention is, "On earth, peace and good-will to man."

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as the FARMERS AND LABORERS UNION OF AMERICA, with power to make its own constitution and by-laws.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The regular annual meeting of the National body shall be on the first Tuesday in December of each year, at 10 o'clock a.m., and at such place as shall be determined by a majority vote of all the representatives present.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The officers of this body shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be elected at each annual meeting, and whose terms of office shall expire when their successors are duly elected and qualified. Also a Chaplain, one Steward, one Conductor, one Doorkeeper and Assistant Doorkeeper, who shall be appointed by the President, but whose term of office shall expire at the close of the session for which they are appointed.

SECTION 2. No person shall be eligible to two salaried offices in the State and National organizations at the same time.

SECTION 3. All elections shall be by ballot where more than one name is put in nomination, and the majority of all votes cast shall elect.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. The fee for a State charter shall be ten (\$10) dollars.

SECTION 2. A per capita tax of five cents shall be paid by each male member into the National treasury by each State organization on or before the first day of November of each year.

SECTION 3. It shall be the duty of the President to issue a charter, attested by the Secretary, to each State organization organized according to law and instructions.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. The members of the National order are required to present at the regular annual meetings reports of the numerical strength and condition of the order in the State they represent, and of the success attending their efforts in co-operation; also mental and moral improvements.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

ARTICLE VI.

SECTION 1. The President shall have power to appoint organizers. A brother wishing to become an organizer shall make application to him, accompanied with a recommendation from the president and secretary of the State organization in which said applicant lives.

SECTION 2. The organizer shall work under the instruction of the President and shall report at least once a quarter to the National Secretary.

ARTICLE VII.

SECTION 1. No person shall be admitted a member unless he has been a citizen of the State in which he resides for six months past, and not then unless he be a farmer, farm-laborer, country mechanic, country school teacher, country physician, country minister of the Gospel, and editors of strictly agricultural journals, of good moral character; believes in the existence of a Supreme Being; of industrious habits, and is a white person over the age of sixteen years. Further, when any member of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America shall engage in any occupation which would render him ineligible before initiation, said member shall at once be dismissed from the order and furnished by the Secretary a written statement of the cause of his dismissal.

Provided, That the above shall not apply to members of the order who may be selected to buy and sell as merchants under the supervision of the order: Provided further, That any kind of brokerage, banking, law or commission business shall debar those engaged in the same from membership.

SECTION 2. It shall be the duty of the President to issue charters, attested by the Secretary, to each State Farmers and Laborers Union of America organized according to law and instruction.

SECTION 3. That they have organizations in as many as seven counties in the State for which the charter is desired.

SECTION 4. That they will adopt and use the secret work of this The Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

SECTION 5. That they will not adopt laws or usages contrary to the constitution of this National order.

SECTION 6. That they have adopted a constitution and by-laws, and present a copy of the same to be filed with the National Secretary.

ARTICLE VIII.

SECTION 1. All rights and powers not herein expressly delegated are reserved to the State organizations severally.

ARTICLE IX.

SECTION 1. This constitution can not be altered or amended, except upon a written resolution clearly setting forth the change or addition to be made, which must be read in open session on at least two separate days, and adopted by a two-thirds majority.

Resolution by PAYNE, of North Carolina:

Whereas, cotton is the chief product of the South, and whereas the manufacture at the South of cotton into cotton fabrics is becoming a leading enterprise and should be sustained and encouraged, and whereas it is believed that the manufacture of cotton bags for guano will promote the interest of our farmers, and whereas it is believed that these cotton bags for guano will prove as serviceable and useful to the guano manufacturers and factors as the material now used, and that the adoption of such instruction as received at the common schools in the different counties. That it is, therefore, most important, and it is imperatively demanded, that the children represented by this large class should receive some theoretical and practical instruction in the pursuit from which they must necessarily derive their main support in the struggle of life. Your committee, therefore, believe it most urgent that an addition to those usual and common studies be included in free school curriculum, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and such further English instruction as would enable students to comprehend the current literature of the day. That elementary instructions should also be given in those branches of natural science which should give children an insight into what is necessary to enable them intelligently to realize that they are dealing every day with life in the growing of crops and the raising of stock, and that they must see that the great object of the tiller of the soil should be to preserve his capital invested in the fertility of his soil and in the improvement of his stock. That unless he properly cares for his property in land, in stock and in crops, according to now well-defined and well-understood laws of nature, that his property will gradually depreciate in value and his business be a failure.

proper covering for guano.

2. That the manufacturers of guano throughout the country be, and they are hereby, earnestly requested to adopt cotton bags as covering, for the guano is sold by them for the most part to the farmers of the South.

3. That cotton bags be, and are hereby, recommended as suitable covering for all kinds of grain and ship stufs.

Resolution by HARWELL.

Whereas, our organization will find its strongest safeguard in the intelligence of its members; and whereas, the education of farmers is one of its chief aims; therefore,

Be it resolved, That our best interests, as a class, and the future welfare of the order, demand for the common schools of the country a system that will promote the practical education in them that will best qualify for the actual duty of the farm; and

Resolved further, That a committee of three be appointed by this body, the duty of which shall be to outline a system of education for farmers' children who are limited to the common schools, to be submitted to this body at its next annual meeting for its consideration and adoption, if found worthy, the prime object being to secure such systems as will best develop thought and promote the practical education, the progress of the age, and the changed conditions of life and labor now so imperatively demanded.

Referred to a special committee composed of Lee, Harwell and Beck, who reported as follows:

The Committee on Agricultural Education reported as follows, and the report was adopted:

FARMERS NATIONAL ALLIANCE, MERIDIAN, Miss., Dec. 8, 1888.

Your committee, to whom was referred the resolution with reference to outlining a system of education for farmers' children, confined to the common schools, and which shall promote a practical education in them, and will qualify them for the active duties of the farm, respectfully submit that statistics show that in the Southern States especially, and in the country districts all over the United States, that largely over one-half of our population are now engaged in, and must for a long time follow, the pursuit of agriculture, and that among this class only a small number are able to give to their children the advantages of a collegiate education, but must necessarily depend upon such instruction as is received at the common schools in the different counties. That it is, therefore, most important, and it is imperatively demanded, that the children represented by this large class should receive some theoretical and practical instruction in the pursuit from which they must necessarily derive their main support in the struggle of life. Your committee, therefore, believe it most urgent that an addition to those usual and common studies be included in free school curriculum, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and such further English instruction as would enable students to comprehend the current literature of the day. That elementary instructions should also be given in those branches of natural science which should give children an insight into what is necessary to enable them intelligently to realize that they are dealing every day with life in the growing of crops and the raising of stock, and that they must

see that the great object of the tiller of the soil should be to preserve his capital invested in the fertility of his soil and in the improvement of his stock. That unless he properly cares for his property in land, in stock and in crops, according to now well-defined and well-understood laws of nature, that his property will gradually depreciate in value and his business be a failure.

Continued on page 6.

The Origin, Growth, and Development of the Exchange Movement in Georgia.

BY FELIX CORPUT, PRES.

The Farmers Alliance Exchange of Georgia owes its origin, as do all like organizations, to a desire upon the part of a material interest to recover lost ground and better its condition. For years it has been a conceded fact that, while the country generally prospered and increased in wealth, the agricultural interest was falling short and becoming more and more involved. No concert of action existed among the farmers, and what was everybody's business became nobody's business. Hence we find ourselves, twenty-three years after the change of conditions and circumstances at the South, and after the relative position of farm labor to capital or employer, as changed, had been fairly tested, together with new systems and theories, well-nigh a bankrupt people.

About this juncture, and when the darkest hour seemed upon us, light dawned; the Alliance, now a gigantic organization, springing then from an exceedingly humble beginning, was gaining ground. It had come—it had come to stay. This organization, unlike those of like character which had preceded it, only sought to organize one interest. Hence its deliberations and legislation were not called upon to harmonize antagonistic aims and purposes. Beginning in Texas as it did, its enthusiasm soon spread to Georgia.

At first accepted with many fears and misgivings, it was looked upon with distrust, and the best and most progressive of our farmers refused to believe in it. "The farmers could not be organized, they could not govern themselves; grouping them together would only be the means of rendering them an easy prey to wily schemers etc." These and many more sayings of a like character met us at every hand; but the work of organization progressed, and within six months after the first Alliance found a footing in Georgia, the order had grown to a membership of 20,000, represented by over 700 Alliances in fifty counties.

to the detriment of the masses, and which therefore result in unjust discrimination and oppression to the tillers of the soil and wage-earners of the country. The circular letter alluded to was well received by the rank and file of the order, and our growth and development seemed certain to be both rapid and strong, but differences of opinion existed. The plan, perhaps, had its faults; it certainly had its enemies, who, being ready to take advantage of even small factions and dissensions in the order, used these as effective weapons, and succeeded in forcing the interest at first created in the Exchange to abate, thus losing to the order the advantage of having an organized plan and system by which, and through whose agency, the matter of fertilizers, which is now disturbing the minds of our people, might have been adjusted to the satisfaction and advantage of both manufacturer and consumer.

Nearly half a year was thus lost to the opportunities of the Exchange, but the order is wiser now, recognizes its mistake, and is once more forging ahead with every prospect of an early establishment of a trade center of its own. We hope that this new life is lasting, for, while in perfecting the Exchange scheme, was frittered away, the order continued to grow, and, instead of an organization in fifty counties, with 700 Alliances and a membership of 20,000, as found in June last, we now have over 110 organized counties, with more than 1,800 Alliances and a membership of over 75,000 to draw from. This membership, comprising our most practical and thorough-going farmers, are taking hold of the Exchange, and recognize the necessity of its successful organization and hearty support, as one among, if not the leading, economic issues of the day. It can therefore be truthfully said of the Exchange movement in Georgia, that the clouds are passing away, the sky is brighter, and the prospects more inviting than at any time in the past. We expect to find continued opposition, and that weak brothers will fall by the wayside, but hope to be able by words of cheer and the good example of their brethren—they of sterner stuff and stronger will—to keep them in line, and see to it that the desire for individual gain and ambition is sacrificed, as well as opposing factions and measures swept aside, to make room for true patriotism and clean methods.

Organization, Educational and Co-Operative.
BY PRES. EVAN JONES.

As the labor question has become prominent among the vital issues of the day, and is now agitating the minds of the agricultural population throughout the nation, we realize the fact that it is important and necessary for us to understand the real cause or causes of industrial depression.

May He who ruleth all things and holdeth the destiny of nations in his hand hasten the day when the banners of consolidated labor will wave triumphantly from every hill-top in our land, and the people thoroughly understand the great principles that underlie our organization, to the end that we may, through a well-defined system of co-operation, break the shackles that bind the industries of our country in servile chains, and say to our people, You are free men.

While the business efforts of the various State Alliances have been crowned with such unvaried success, they can not alone claim to have achieved all the honors in this field of economic reform. The Agricultural Wheel of the State of Arkansas comes forward with a brilliant record, and the reader will be well repaid by a glance over the report of the business effort of that organization to be found in another column.

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If labor and land are not to blame for the great evil that is now threatening our country we then must look elsewhere for the trouble. If the people will take the time to examine statistics and investigate present conditions they will see that the substance of the producers is actually eaten up by rings, trusts, and gigantic corporations.

If the people create wealth they certainly would enjoy prosperity if there was a just distribution of the values created by them; but under an unjust system of distribution the producer fails to get his fair and proper share of the product of his own labor. Hence the producer of wealth becomes poor, while those great corporations who control the produce of the nation become enormously rich. From this we conclude that one of the questions for the people to solve is a means of bringing about a just distribution of the values created by labor. From these premises it is reasonable to conclude that the object of organization among the agriculturists is not only to teach our people how to produce larger crops or conduct their farming operations more economically, for it is an evident fact that farm economy, the improvement of the social status of the farmer, the development of agricultural science, mental and moral training, are natural results of organization in counseling together; and, further, it is an evident fact that a republican form of government lives alone in the hearts of the people; and its laws, the political, social, financial, and educational institutions should be just what the people desire to have them. Hence, if we would perpetuate our free institutions and the general welfare and prosperity of our people, it is of vital importance that the conservative and industrial classes have a well-defined system of organizations, educational and co-operative, through which they can again obtain control of the products of the farm and prevent their passing into the hands of the great corporations who are now absorbing all the profits from the labor of the producing masses.

For this purpose the Farmers Alliances, the Wheels, the Unions, etc., are organizing, and for this purpose they are consolidating; and when we reach that period in the history of our nation that the agricultural masses realize the fact that their cause is a common cause, and through a well-defined system of organization and education they learn the important lesson of co-operation and are prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for liberty, they then will accomplish a fulfillment of their hopes.

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The Farmers Alliance and Politics.BY HON. S. B. ALEXANDER,
President State Alliance of North Carolina.

In all the States in which the Farmers Alliance has been organized, except Texas, it is comparatively a new organization. The rapidity with which it has been organized has astonished every one, and it is unreasonable to expect that its members should comprehend the full scope of this grand organization with the limited opportunities afforded them. The first section of the declaration of principles is misunderstood by more of our members than any of the others—caused by newspapers and persons not members of our order, designedly or otherwise. We frequently see statements like the following: "The Alliance must not go into politics," "Keep the Alliance out of politics;" "Politics must not be discussed in the Alliance," etc., etc. Rice, sugar, wool, and potatoes may be political topics one year, and the next their places may be supplied by other farm products. To hold that the Alliance can not discuss laws or proposed laws that affect their interest is to deprive our members of the inalienable right of self-protection. The first section of the declaration of principles reads as follows:

"1. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government in a strictly non-partisan spirit."

This declaration makes it the duty of Alliances to consider any laws or proposed measures that will either benefit or discriminate against the agricultural classes. This must be done in "a strictly non-partisan spirit," the object of the Alliance being to educate its members "in the science of economical government," so they can vote intelligently, and not depend upon the "taffy" of political speakers or the "one-sided tracts" of political literature.

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enemy. The Alliance urges its members to uphold its principles, and if there should be any members "so clogged" by party ties that they can not stand up like brave men, give them a withdrawal card; the Alliance is better off without them.

Alliance Business Effort in Mississippi.

BY HARRY TRACY.

The Farmers Alliance Exchange of Mississippi was created by an act of the Farmers State Alliance of Mississippi at a called session of that body, held in the city of Jackson, Miss., on the 14th of February, 1888.

Under this act a board of fifteen trustees was elected from among the accredited delegates, apportioned as follows: Two from each Congressional district and five from the State at large. One-third of these trustees were elected to serve one year, one-third two years, and one-third for three years. The trustees' duty was to outline a general policy and enact by-laws governing the management of the Exchange, and to elect from among their number a board of three directors, whose duty it was to employ a general business manager, fix his salary, place him under a sufficient bond, elect a financial agent and fix his bond also, and define the duties of the business agent not otherwise provided for by enactment of the trustees, and to receive and verify monthly statements submitted by the general business manager as well as by the financial agent, and to consolidate those monthly reports into an annual report to the trustees; those trustees in turn to verify the directors' report and make up their annual reports therefrom to the State Alliance at the annual meetings of that body. Thus we have seen the Alliance Exchange is purely a creation of the State Alliance.

The board of directors, at a meeting held in Winona, Miss., in June, 1888, located the Exchange in that city, and will, from time to time, locate branch Exchanges in such other cities as the exigencies of the business in their judgment demand. The board of directors also obtained from the State of Mississippi a charter provided for under its corporate laws, placing the capital stock at \$250,000, in shares of \$10 each, with power vested in the directors to increase the capital stock to any amount not to exceed \$500,000. This charter provided that the Exchange might begin business as soon as \$4,000 was paid in. These proceedings were confirmed and charter perfected at the regular annual meeting of the State Alliance, held in the city of Jackson in August, 1888. The board of directors then elected W. R. Lacy general business manager, and instructed him to open an office in Winona and begin operations as soon as \$4,000 had been paid in. S. C. English was elected financial agent, and instructed to turn over such funds as he had or might receive for stock to the general business manager. The financial agent has turned in about \$10,000. On this capital the Exchange only recently began operations; the manager is proceeding very cautiously, peremptorily refusing to take orders for small lots of goods or for such goods as he is not sure he can make a decided saving to the parties ordering.

This business is now averaging about \$700

per day, and rapidly increasing. So far as

heard from, every transaction has given perfect satisfaction.

Under the workings of the Exchange the goods are shipped direct from manufacturers or importers to the parties ordering, over most direct and cheapest routes; the party ordering remitting with the order about approximated cost of the goods ordered, the general business manager in turn instructing those from whom he purchases to draw on him at sight, bill of

lading attached to the draft, for the amount of invoice.

The business manager, in turn, draws against the same bill of lading, against consignee, for any balance that may be due on same. This style of business gives perfect satisfaction so far, and judging by indications visible, the Farmers Alliance Exchange of Mississippi will, in the near future, assume proportions that are sure to wield an influence upon the mercantile interests of Mississippi that will make it the prime factor in emancipating the agriculturists from the unjust conditions that are gradually drifting them into tenantry, and all its attendant degradation. The brethren in this State have in contemplation the erection, in the near future, of a bagging and wagon factory of their contemplated industries. I shall have more to say in future.

I am meeting with splendid receptions wherever I go in this State, and from the outlook the Farmers Alliance in Mississippi will be second to none in the United States.

The colored people are rapidly organizing into separate Alliances and the white Alliances manifest a unanimous desire to co-operate with them in all financial matters. This will, I am sure, do more to promote peace and harmony in the South than any other thing can possibly do.

Everybody is expecting great results from THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. Wherever the editor is known his ability and loyalty is unquestioned, and as a consequence the ECONOMIST goes like hot cakes.

Called Meeting—of Vital Interest.**To the County Alliances of Georgia.**

It has been thought best upon consultation with the officers and members of the committees of the State Alliance to call an informal meeting for the purpose of consultation and co-operation between the members of the order in Georgia, looking to the supply of bagging, ties, and fertilizers for the next season. If any arrangement is made by which we are to skip the unwarrantable and wicked imposition on the cotton producer of the last season, it must be attended to before the annual meeting in August next. I therefore request each county Alliance to elect one delegate from each county Alliance to meet in Atlanta on the 4th day of April next, at 9 o'clock A. M., at Representative Hall. Each county Alliance will be expected to defray the expenses of its delegate, and I hope that such plans as they may deem best to be adopted will be matured and their delegate instructed to present them for consideration. As timely action may prove the means of saving a vast sum of money and much confusion to cotton planters of the South, I most earnestly beg of the president of each State Alliance in the cotton belt to hold similar consultations or send accredited delegates to the meeting in Atlanta on the 4th of April next, that whatever may be done shall have the hearty co-operation of Alliancesmen interested in the questions then to be considered. The officers also of the State Alliance are expected to be present. Let our best men from every county assemble and adopt some plan by which the outrage perpetrated upon us by the bagging trust, and the Government tax on ties, shall be obviated.

L. P. LIVINGSTON,

President F. S. A.

CORA, GA., February 26, 1889.
Papers friendly to the effort will please copy.

The Farmers Alliance of Alabama has received \$150,000 in cash and as much more is to be paid in during the year to their business agency fund.—Southern Alliance.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE.

(Continued from page 3.)

Your committee submit that the great straits to which the farming classes have been reduced at the dense centers of population have developed great progress in the art and science of agriculture in recent years, and that agricultural education is now well defined and understood. That there has now been reduced to scientific order certain great elementary principles well defining what is essential and necessary to maintain, to restore and to increase fertility in land, also for the proper care and growth of stock and crops. That in Europe of late years these great principles have been successfully taught in the common schools, fitting the children of farmers for at once engaging intelligently in that pursuit from which they must obtain their livelihood; that success has been so far attained by this thorough process of agricultural education in the colleges and common schools that for the last twenty years the yield per acre all over Europe has been gradually increasing, instead of diminishing as in the United States. That in this country there are now certain text-books covering the elementary principles of agriculture, so simplified as to present the leading practical features of the science and art of agriculture as to bring it within the comprehension of boys and girls capable of studying and imbibing the studies now taught in our common schools all over the country. That at certain colleges and schools it has now been demonstrated beyond doubt that children more readily take hold of these practical matters affecting their every-day life, and with which they constantly come in contact and see before them in nature, than they do the essential yet dry facts connected with the study of reading, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, and similar studies.

Your committee feel assured that positive action of this body on this subject, pointing to the necessity of instructions of the elementary principles of agriculture in the common schools, will at once produce suitable text-books to meet the wants and necessities of the farming classes.

Your committee further find that already two most excellent and suitable text-books are now published—prepared by Prof. F. A. Gully, director of the Agricultural Experiment Station of Texas, and by Dr. Lupton, professor of chemistry in the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama.

Your committee deem this report of the highest importance to the people whom we represent; therefore,

Be it resolved, That we recommend that each State Alliance memorialize its legislature and most earnestly petition it to pass some law requiring the instruction of the children attending all public schools as herein recommended.

T. B. HOWELL,
J. W. BECK,
S. D. LEE.

The committee of one from each State, on the method by which the organic union could be perfected, made the following report, which was adopted:

To the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America:

Your select committee, acting under instructions, beg leave to report the following resolutions, to wit:

Resolved, 1st. That we approve the proposed constitution and by-laws this day adopted in joint session with the National Wheel, and that the same be printed and transmitted with all convenient dispatch to the several State and Territorial Alliances for consideration.

Resolved, 2d. That when as many as three-fourths of said State and Territorial Alliances shall have ratified said proposed constitution and by-laws, the President of the National

Alliance and Co-operative Union shall make proclamation to that effect, and when concurrent action shall have been had by the National Wheel, the President this day elected by said joint session shall make proclamation providing for the organic union of State, county and sub-Alliances and Wheels respectively, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe.

Resolved, 3d. That the present organization of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America be preserved intact until such proposed organic union shall have been effected.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT C. PATTY, Chairman,
For the Committee.

Moved that a special committee of five be appointed to formulate some plan by which better prices may be obtained by the producers for their cotton. Carried, and committee appointed, as follows: Payne, Sledge, Mitchell, Hatcher, and Dyal. Reported as follows:

Mr. President:
Your committee appointed to consider the memorial of Brother W. S. Stewart, of Pine Grove Alliance, Charlotte, N. C., have considered said memorial and recommend the adoption of the following resolution.

Resolved, 1st. That a committee of three be appointed to be known as the "Cotton Committee."

2d. Said committee shall organize as soon as possible and elect one of their number chairman.

3d. Said committee shall issue blanks, to be transmitted through such channel as they may deem best, to each sub-Alliance and Wheel where cotton is raised.

4th. The blanks shall be filled by each member of the sub-Alliance with the number of bales of cotton he will raise, the number he will be obliged to sell before the 1st day of January, the number he can and will hold until the 1st day of March, the number of bales he can and will hold until the 1st day of May, and the number he can and will hold until the 1st day of July.

5th. The secretary of the sub-Alliance shall transmit said report to the county secretary, who shall consolidate them and transmit each consolidated report to the State secretary, who shall consolidate them and transmit a copy of the consolidated report to the chairman of the Cotton Committee.

6th. The Cotton Committee shall have power to treat with manufacturers or others for the sale of the cotton held and deliverable at any of the days specified; or sooner, if in their judgment fair prices can be obtained.

7th. The Cotton Committee shall issue a circular from time to time to the sub-Alliances and Wheels in the cotton belt, urging them to raise sufficient supplies for man and beast, in order that they may be better able to hold their cotton and aid in this work.

8th. The Cotton Committee shall have power to change anything in this plan in order to simplify it, but must not change anything that will hinder the accomplishment of this great work.

9th. Any member who pledges cotton to be held for a certain time, and violates said pledge, shall be guilty of conduct unbecoming an Alliance man.

10th. Each State, county, and sub-Alliance and Wheel may have a cotton committee to assist in the execution of this work.

11th. The chairman of the Cotton Committee is authorized to draw warrants on the national treasurer for all the expenses of the execution of this work, and the said committee shall be allowed their actual expenses until the next meeting of this organization, at which said meeting said Cotton Committee shall sub-

mit a report of their proceedings—the expense account to be itemized. J. F. PAYNE,
R. J. SLEDGE,
A. T. HATCHER,
D. W. DYAL.

The following, introduced by Harwell, with the amendment by Pickett, carried:

Whereas, The farmers of the United States hold the balance of power and constitute a conservative element in politics, and may not only shape legislation in their own interests, but may wield a powerful force in restraining the extravagance of legislative bodies if properly united and advised; therefore,

Be it resolved by this body, That there should be close co-operation between them in every section, and to this end there should be appointed by this body a committee on legislation, the duty of which shall not only be to suggest needed legislation, but also to keep before the members of the order the character of pending legislation, its relation to their interests and their duties in the premises, and to further promote these ends; and

Be it further resolved, That there should be between the several agricultural associations of the country an alliance offensive and defensive, that they may, through their joint influence, promote friendly legislation, redress wrongs, and impress their rights and politics upon the government as their interest may demand; therefore,

Be it resolved, That this body shall appoint a committee on legislation and conference between this and other orders, or take whatever steps that may be in its judgment best calculated to accomplish the ends in view:

Provided, however, That all committeemen appointed to visit the law-making departments for the purpose of memorializing said departments shall do so at their own expense.

A resolution introduced by R. M. Humphrey, superintendent of the National Colored Alliance, asking that a degree be formed for the financial co-operation of his members and the members of Alliance, was referred to the Committee on Co-operation.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION.

Whereas, A large per cent. of the products of this country are produced by the colored farmers and laborers, and a large proportion of supplies are purchased by them; therefore,

Be it resolved, That it is detrimental to both white and colored to allow conditions to exist that forces our colored farmers to sell their products for less and pay more for supplies than the markets justify; therefore, we recommend that the following plan of co-operation be adopted:

1st. That a common secret work be formulated, to be given to all farmers' organizations which shall comply with the following conditions: That they admit none but farmers, farm laborers, country mechanics, country doctors and country school teachers and country ministers, and any member engaging in any occupation that would render him ineligible shall be given a withdrawal card; provided, it shall not apply to members employed to transact business for the organizations.

2d. That they shall strictly forbid partisan, political, and sectional or religious discussion or action within the organization.

3d. That white organizations shall positively prohibit the admission of colored men to membership into their organizations. Colored positively prohibit the admission of white men into their organizations.

4th. We recommend, further, that this co-operative effort be left entirely to State organizations.

5th. That State organizations desiring to avail themselves of this plan shall appoint a committee of five to meet in conference for their mutual benefit, and that each county ex-

rganization, white and colored, appoint a like committee for their mutual benefit.

G. L. CLARK, Chairman,
A. F. POPE,
A. COLEMAN LYLES.

The Committee on Lecturing made report as follows, which was adopted:

Mr. President:

Your Committee on Lecturing submit the following:

Recognizing the greatest importance of a uniform system of instruction, we would ask your body to adopt the following system:

The lecturer's department shall be under the charge and direction of the lecturer of this body.

It shall be his duty to thoroughly inform himself upon the purposes and principles of the organization; and, upon the request of the executive committee of any State, to visit and lecture the membership in said State, due notice of such visit having first been given. He shall, upon recommendation of the executive committee of any State, appoint one or more lecturers, who shall report to him such information, statistics, etc., as may be deemed necessary. For his services as lecturer he shall receive five hundred dollars, and his traveling expenses shall be paid by the States visited and lectured by him. He shall also instruct the members in the secret work. We further recommend that public lectures be given whenever practicable; and, further, he shall visit and lecture each State at least once a year.

(Signed)—Smith, McRae, Brush, Adams, Page, Roberts, and Harwell.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL ORGAN.

The report of the Committee on National Organ was received and adopted by unanimous vote. Their report was the following proposition, from R. Sledge, et al.:

The undersigned hereby respectfully present the following plan and proposal for your consideration and adoption:

We will organize a company, with ten shares of one thousand dollars each paid up capital, composed of good Alliance men, and will not increase the number of shareholders, and will hold all the shares or any part of them subject to purchase at full face value by the Farmers and Laborers Union of America when that body has funds for investment in that enterprise. Said company will start and run for a term of ten years, more or less; a newspaper, to be not less than a four-page seven-column paper, issued weekly, and devoted to the circulation of official news and the interests of agriculture, and the general dissemination of the true principles of political economy, strictly non-partisan in politics and non-sectarian in religion; to be a clean and neat paper of high moral tone, such as will be a source of true education to the youth, of emulation to those in active middle life, and of congratulation and comfort to the aged.

The company will execute a bond to the President of the order and his successors in office, in the sum of fifty thousand dollars, that all contracts by said corporation with members of the order, either for subscriptions or advertising, will be strictly carried out. Said company will, should you accept this proposition, locate said paper in the city of Washington, D. C., and put it into successful operation on or before the first day of April, 1889, and will furnish same to all yearly subscribers at one dollar per year.

A. B. JOHNSON, Ch'n,
R. J. SLEDGE,
W. P. BRUSH,
J. A. TEETS,
ROBERT C. PATTY.

The following report of the committee on a

reform of the present method of baling, covering, and handling the cotton crop was adopted:

Your committee appointed to consider the question of a general reform in the present method of baling, covering, and handling the present cotton crop, and to confer with a delegation from the Maritime Association of New Orleans, who visited Meridian to express their views on this all-important matter, beg leave to report that they have examined the question as fully as the limited time at their disposal has allowed. They have been able to arrive only at general conclusions in the premises, but, from the information obtained from the delegation from the New Orleans Maritime Association and others, they are unanimously of the opinion that it is imperative, in the interest of the cotton producers, that some uniform size of baling box be adopted by all gin-presses in the country, and that all bales of cotton not coming within the prescribed dimensions and weight be declared by the organizations representing the various cotton interests in this country and abroad to be unmerchantable.

In the opinion of your committee this matter of tare ought to be settled in such a way as to place all materials used for cotton bales on the same footing in this respect. Such a settlement would then allow the different materials to enter the open market entirely on their own merits. But this result can not be arrived at without the co-operation of the Cotton Exchanges of this country and abroad.

Another feature of this question of covering is the importance of a perfectly wrapped package. Many farmers seem to think that it is a large saving to omit putting on side pieces. This is a fallacy. In the first place, the same tare is deducted from the partly covered as from the wholly covered bale, and the shipper of the former loses, in the net weight of his bale, the weight of the missing side pieces.

It seems almost needless to point out that a partially covered bale loses much more cotton, and at the same time picks up more dirt in handling, than a fully covered one. This causes the double loss of the cotton that drops from the bale, and of the soiled cotton that has to be picked from the bale before a buyer will accept it.

The danger of fire to these partially covered bales is much greater than to those fully wrapped in bagging, and the general rates of fire insurance are constantly higher all around, being based on the most dangerous, not on the safest, packages. Common carriers do and will certainly take less care of a carelessly wrapped package than of a fully and carefully covered one, and the shameful neglect our cotton receives from almost all the carriers that handle it is largely due to our own lack of care in preparing it for shipment.

Your committee would therefore recommend that this body strongly urge on all cotton farmers to fully and carefully cover all their cotton bales, as thereby they will largely promote their own particular interests, and those of cotton producers and handlers and consumers in general. The whole subject is of such extent and importance, that your committee feel they have been unable to give it the serious and careful attention it demands; and they, therefore, recommend that a permanent committee of six be established to continue the study of these questions, with authority to confer with commercial and other organizations interested at home and abroad, and to take such action from time to time on behalf of this body as the situation and interests of all concerned may seem to demand, making known their progress to this order through the official journals of each State, and report at the next annual meeting. To compose the first committee we would suggest the following names: T. A. Clayton, Washington, La.; J. W. Beck, Milner, Ga.; T. J. Anderson, Paris, Tex.; J. H. Harris, Oak-Bowery, Ala.; A. M. Street, Booneville, Miss.; J. F. Payne, Alma, N. C. These brethren have given these matters careful attention, and are prepared to follow them up until some satisfactory solution has been arrived at.

Your committee would tender their thanks to the delegation from the New Orleans Maritime Association, and to Mr. S. Odeneheimer, for the valuable information imparted by them and for their courtesies to the members of the committee.

however, only a nominal value when stripped from the bales. This pine straw bagging is less inflammable than jute, but more inflammable than cotton.

The principal point to be settled before the adoption of any substitute for jute is unquestionably that of tare. At present, farmers covering their bales with cotton bagging have to stand a loss in weight of about ten pounds per bale more than those using jute and pine straw.

In the opinion of your committee this matter of tare ought to be settled in such a way as to place all materials used for cotton bales on the same footing in this respect. Such a settlement would then allow the different materials to enter the open market entirely on their own merits. But this result can not be arrived at without the co-operation of the Cotton Exchanges of this country and abroad.

Another feature of this question of covering is the importance of a perfectly wrapped package. Many farmers seem to think that it is a large saving to omit putting on side pieces. This is a fallacy. In the first place, the same tare is deducted from the partly covered as from the wholly covered bale, and the shipper of the former loses, in the net weight of his bale, the weight of the missing side pieces.

It seems almost needless to point out that a partially covered bale loses much more cotton, and at the same time picks up more dirt in handling, than a fully covered one. This causes the double loss of the cotton that drops from the bale, and of the soiled cotton that has to be picked from the bale before a buyer will accept it.

The danger of fire to these partially covered bales is much greater than to those fully wrapped in bagging, and the general rates of fire insurance are constantly higher all around, being based on the most dangerous, not on the safest, packages. Common carriers do and will certainly take less care of a carelessly wrapped package than of a fully and carefully covered one, and the shameful neglect our cotton receives from almost all the carriers that handle it is largely due to our own lack of care in preparing it for shipment.

Your committee would therefore recommend that this body strongly urge on all cotton farmers to fully and carefully cover all their cotton bales, as thereby they will largely promote their own particular interests, and those of cotton producers and handlers and consumers in general. The whole subject is of such extent and importance, that your committee feel they have been unable to give it the serious and careful attention it demands; and they, therefore, recommend that a permanent committee of six be established to continue the study of these questions, with authority to confer with commercial and other organizations interested at home and abroad, and to take such action from time to time on behalf of this body as the situation and interests of all concerned may seem to demand, making known their progress to this order through the official journals of each State, and report at the next annual meeting. To compose the first committee we would suggest the following names: T. A. Clayton, Washington, La.; J. W. Beck, Milner, Ga.; T. J. Anderson, Paris, Tex.; J. H. Harris, Oak-Bowery, Ala.; A. M. Street, Booneville, Miss.; J. F. Payne, Alma, N. C. These brethren have given these matters careful attention, and are prepared to follow them up until some satisfactory solution has been arrived at.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

By "The National Economist Publishing Company."
INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

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The publishers of this paper have given a bond in the sum of \$60,000 to the President of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America that they will faithfully carry out all subscriptions and other contracts.

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

Address all remittances or communications to—
THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Entered at the post-office at Washington, D. C., as second-class mail matter.

Important Notice.

A large number of blank orders for subscriptions are being sent out with the sample copies of this paper, and friends of the cause who receive same are requested to consider them a gentle hint to subscribe and a request to induce others to do likewise.

MUCH space is unavoidably given to clippings from the proceedings of the National meeting held at Meridian in December last. This is made necessary by the fact that such matter is of importance to the subordinate organizations, and as the funds only allowed the publication of fifteen hundred copies of the proceedings only a small per cent. of the sub-alliances will be supplied. The constitution of the proposed Farmers and Laborers Union of America should be read in every Alliance, Wheel, and Union, and delegates instructed as to the will of that body in reference to the adoption of that constitution at the next State meeting.

ALL through the South and West much interest is being developed in co-operative business efforts, consequently the ECONOMIST will strive to secure reliable reports from the various sections for publication. Up to this time Texas has been far in advance of the other States, but many of them are now organizing on much the same plan and are rapidly catching up. In another column may be found a good, sound, ringing article on the business effort being made in Georgia, from Felix Corput, president of the Farmers Alliance Exchange of that State. Mississippi, Texas and Dakota business efforts are also treated of in this issue.

SOME misapprehension has at times been manifested in the various farmers' organizations as to the latitude that should be allowed in the discussion of economic subjects within the order. This has brought out the communication, "The Farmers Alliance and Politics," which is published on the fifth page of this issue. It comes from the pen of the Hon. S. B. Alexander, president of the Farmers State Alliance of North Carolina. He is deeply in earnest in the farmers' great reform movement, and may be depended on for efficient service in the cause. He leads a State Alliance that aspires to be first in the ranks for efficiency by the December meeting next.

Explanatory.

A short explanation in regard to the farmers' organizations represented by THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, as the official organ, will perhaps be of interest to many readers.

The National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America is the supreme council of the Farmers Alliance and Farmers Union, as organized in the Southwestern States. The Farmers Alliance was started in Texas about the year 1873; it has undergone several very important modifications since first instituted. In 1885, 1886, and 1887 it made a wonderful growth in Texas, and about the same time in Louisiana the same organization in principle and objects flourished under the name of The Farmers Union. In January, 1887, delegates from these two bodies met and organized the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, according to the general law that had been passed by Congress, authorizing the incorporation of National trade unions. A charter was procured by filing articles of incorporation in the District of Columbia. A board was formed for the extension of the work into other States, and organizers sent out to explain the objects and work of the association. This commenced in the spring of 1887, and by January 1st, 1889, the order numbered fully one-half million registered members, scattered throughout the States of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Indian Territory, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky. It is a business organization for business purposes, and is a necessity of the times, being forced into existence by the necessity of a united effort on the part of the agriculturists to discover the causes of the depressed condition of agriculture, and then to act as a unit in a strong, solid, secret, and binding organization. The unprecedented growth of this and the similar organizations is the very best evidence as to the necessity of their existence, and the daily accumulating evidence of the still continuing rapid growth and enthusiasm for the cause points with unerring certainty to a grand success.

The National Agricultural Wheel is a like organization, having the same objects in view and seeks to accomplish them by the same methods. It was started about the same time, and claims a membership nearly as large. It has a National Wheel, and until last December had been an entirely distinct organization with a different secret work. In it are organized in many sections solidly—the farmers of Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and many in Texas, Louisiana, Indian Territory, Kansas, Missouri, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

On the 5th day of December, 1888, the National council of both these orders met in the city of Meridian, Miss., and agreed upon a plan for consolidating both into one. They adopted a constitution, which is published in the clippings from the proceedings in another column of this paper. When that constitution shall have been ratified by three-fourths of the State organizations of both orders they will merge into the new order, "The Farmers and

Laborers Union of America," by a proclamation of dissolution on the part of each of the presidents of the old orders, and by the dissemination of the new secret work to the subordinate bodies of both by and under the direction of the president-elect of the consolidated body. It is the fond hope of those most active in this effort that all farmers in fact and all laborers whose interests harmonize with theirs, North, South, East, and West, may be united for self-protection and in the interest of justice to all and class favoritism to none.

It is from the above-mentioned orders THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST has received sanction as the official organ for the term of ten years. Therefore every effort will be made by it to aid and assist that great movement, and in its columns will always be found the true doctrines of the order faithfully defended.

The National Farmers Alliance is still another organization. Until about a year ago it was a non-secret and loosely organized farmers' association of the Northwestern States. Its workings in Dakota and Minnesota have included business enterprises similar to the Alliances of the Southwest, but in the States of Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, and Kansas the business features have not received so much attention. Action has been taken by that order within the last year in favor of offering the various States a secret work and drawing the lines of organization a little closer, with the object of increasing its efficiency. It is certainly striving for the same objects by the same methods as the first-mentioned organizations, and many of the leaders of both hope to see a harmony of effort and unity of action between the two. If they could adopt the constitution offered to the Alliance and Wheel by the Meridian council, and would accept the same secret work, practical consolidation would be already accomplished.

Under the system of government therein defined each State reserves to a certain degree full jurisdiction within its borders, and meets all local conditions in its own way.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST has received no endorsement as the official organ of the National Farmers Alliance of the Northwestern States, but since it seeks to serve the interests of all farmers, and will be the leading paper of America in favor of organization on the part of agriculturists, it hopes to have a very large circulation throughout the States of the Northwest.

ELSEWHERE in this issue will be found a memorial from the National Farmers Alliance, which met in Des Moines, Iowa, in January to the Congress of the United States. No position will at present be taken by this paper on the subject of the memorial, as it is the policy of the editorial management not to announce its conclusion on the three great pressing questions of the present—money, transportation, and land, but to commence the investigation of these subjects from a careful analysis of the principles involved and to so cautiously test and demonstrate the premises that the conclusion when earned will be convincing and irresistible.

History and Government.

All forms of human government have been and are but experimental. This must be true, because civilization and enlightenment are progressive, and as we steadily progress toward a higher plane in these respects all conditions change with our advance, and governmental forms and systems must alter and remodel themselves to conform to the continual change in the conditions they are devised to control. To say that any fixed system of government must remain immutable in all the minutiae of its detail is to proclaim against the advance of civilization, to lock the wheels of progress, and compel humanity to move in one unchanging round, to extinguish genius, crucify science, and murder energy. It would be not only to check all advancement, but to turn the wheels of progress backwards and start them on that dread incline that leads to ruin and decay. The battle of life is fierce and cruel; eternal vigilance is the price of safety. There can be no hesitation, advance or die is the battle cry; there can be no wavering, no standing still even for a moment. The foe is ever watchful, ever cruel. Stern necessity bears aloft the sword and haggard want and poverty brandish the spear which strikes the death chill into the fainting heart.

As it is with individuals so it is with nations, which are but an embodiment of individuals; all must progress or die; therefore the science of government becomes of paramount importance and its earnest study of vital consequence to every individual. Especially is it of importance to the American citizen, whose government is the subject of his will; and not only is it his duty to study the vital questions which suggest themselves that they may be intelligently acted upon, but it is necessary that all the minutiae of governmental affairs be gone into lest some shrewd and unscrupulous influence or power may by the means of legislative enactment steal away his liberty apparently with his own consent.

As life is progressive and governments necessarily required to adapt themselves to conditions, the American citizen must of necessity make careful study of the matters affecting his government, as on it depends his happiness and prosperity, and it rests with him as to how these are to be affected. The present unrest throughout the nation, the antagonism of classes and sections, the universal impression among the masses that something is wrong, and affects them oppressively while they are uncertain as to the cause and remedy, are the result of the neglect of the people to properly inform themselves upon the great economic questions from which all these evils arise. The general impulse towards organization among the producing masses evidences this recognition of danger, and the instinct common to all gregarious animals has induced them to rally for mutual protection. So far no clear understanding of the evils or their remedy has been arrived at, but the people are in a condition to study the true principles of government earnestly and effectively. The time has come when patriotic and philanthropic men can sow influences that will be the salvation of the nation, and the

people's minds are in condition to receive the seed and bring forth abundant fruit. We consider that the true way to get the best results is to lay facts before the people that they may draw their own inferences, leaving their judgment unbiased. The next question which arises is where to begin to give the masses a proper comprehension of present evils, their origin, magnitude and danger, and a means of devising a way of relief. Evidently the proper place to begin is the beginning; and, as political evils began with political government, it would be well to begin there and learn what they were, where they originated, what was their effect, or, if relieved, by what means. Where are we to get this information? Certainly from history.

History is a record of man's experiences, and bears evidence of the results of his endeavors to establish a just and stable form of human government through the ages of his existence and struggles with economic ques-

tions. THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST will be so im- pacted that it will be an absolute necessity of every farmer's family in the United States, or if the lawyers, merchants, doctors and oce of want to keep themselves as well posted as farmer's sons and daughters on the principles of government, as demonstrated by the economy, they too will have to reac- journal. A series of articles will be presu- on the railway problem, discussing the qu in a clear, logical, and unbiased manner; gain- ing from cause to effect, and, taking known actions and acknowledged truths as premises, ad- en- the inevitable conclusion thus reached whe they agree with the generally preconceived id in regard to the subject or not. The s, in course will be pursued in regard to all g more questions involving important principles. Each will be taken to discriminate between a pa of hurry and flurry, when "policy" meth- are so freely taught, this will be found hig of advantageous. No matter whose toes are tri upon, the ECONOMIST will take the high ground that there can be no compromise betw emb and wrong, and that consequently the off shall beated plea of policy will not justify the vio tion o a single true principle.

THE immense number of people interested in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST who intend to subscribe and are waiting to see the first number and before sending in their name, and money, coupled with the fact that this army of them in 500,000 persons, are scattered throughout the whole United States, and that it is ne for as many as contemplate binding each's arriva of this journal into a book to commence st num the first number, has induced the publisher to hold back the second number one we been de order to allow as many as desire to get between subscriptions in to commence with that they

This is some extra trouble, but it is done and the benefit of subscribers, and all should be the first subscriptions in at once.

THE farmers of Maryland have waked articles on m, when book of be dated

Memorial.
To the Honorable the Congress of the United States:

Your memorialists, citizens of the United States, and delegates to the National Farmers Alliance in annual meeting assembled, respectfully represent:

That the present economic and financial condition of the country is anomalous, inasmuch as, while the production of wealth is unprecedented, the condition of the producers of wealth is not improving, but is, on the contrary, retrograding. While no period has witnessed a greater aggregate increase of wealth than the past twenty years, at the same time the farmers of the country are sinking deeper and deeper in debt. It is becoming rare to find farms which are not mortgaged, tenant farmers are rapidly increasing, and failures of country merchants are becoming more numerous day by day.

In addition to this private indebtedness, there is a corporate and municipal indebtedness which is of appalling magnitude, and which causes a further exhaustive drain upon the energies of our people.

While the farmers of the country are becoming involved in debt, the artisans and laborers are finding the conditions of life harder, many are idle, many are working on reduced me, and poverty and distress were never more common in our land than now. This causes dissatisfaction and strikes, often riots and bloodshed, exasperates employers, and continually widens and deepens the chasm between labor and capital, which ought to have no existence.

On the other hand, forced by a continually narrowing margin of profit to reduce expenses and secure safety for investments, manufacturers and dealers are driven to combine to accomplish these ends, and trusts which seem pernicious and tyrannical are formed.

Meantime there are two classes of men who seem above the reach of adverse financial fortune—money-lenders and railroad owners. Of these the former are reaping a harvest of wealth unprecedented in the history of the world.

While we do not wish to complain of the prosperity of any class, we believe that the prosperity of a state is measured by that of all its people instead of a few of them; and that any nation is surely on the road to decay where a few handlers of wealth absorb the greater proportion of its productions, while its producers remain stationary or grow poorer.

Your memorialists believe that as these disorders are financial in their character, their causes may be found in the financial system of the country.

First, the volume of the currency furnished by the Government is insufficient to transact the business of the country upon a cash basis, and the people are, therefore, forced to do it upon a credit basis. This must be apparent at a glance.

In 1865 we had about \$1,900,000,000* currency of all kinds in circulation; we had only 31,000,000 of population, of which 10,000,000 people of the Southern States, were then just beginning again to use our money. We were in doing business upon a cash basis; we were free from debt and prosperous. We were in that condition in spite of an exhaustive war and solely by virtue of the volume of currency made necessary by the war. We have now of all kinds of money less than \$1,600,000,000.

We have over 60,000,000 of population, instead of 31,000,000, and our annual production, by virtue of our extended agriculture and the increased use of mechanical appliances, is three times what it was then, thus making a relative decrease of two-thirds in our money

volume. We are now universally in debt, only a few of our people are prospering, and they at the expense of all the rest. It is obvious from this comparison that the great evil is a restricted volume of money.

Your memorialists believe that to restrict the currency of a people to an amount insufficient to transact its business operates solely to the advantage of the money-lending class, and is disastrous to all other classes.

Money possesses two powers which are of transcendent importance—the power to fix or measure values, and the power to accumulate by interest. It is an accepted financial law that the value or price of property or products maintains a certain fixed relation to the amount of money available for circulation. With a shrinking volume of money, values shrink, and *vice versa*. This law applies to all accepted money. A shrinkage in the volume of accepted paper currencies has the same effect upon prices, productive industry, and prosperity as a shrinkage in the volume of metallic money. This shrinkage may be absolute or it may be relative. An increased population, with a proportionately increased volume of business, and the volume of money stationary, would have the same effect as the shrinkage of the volume of money with production stationary.

Money being the instrumentality by which commodities are exchanged, an inadequate volume of it means stagnated trade, low prices, diminished reward for labor, restricted production, and an increase of the weight of existing obligations.

This power to fix values, and the power to accumulate by interest, are the qualities which give money control over labor and production, and enable the money-lenders to accumulate in their hands the greatest share of produced wealth.

The depression of prices and the growing indebtedness of the country have been continuous since the effort to bring the basis of our money to the single gold standard began—in short, since the contraction of the currency relative to production began. This depression must continue and must be aggravated, as long as this relative disturbance continues. Prices are only the expression of the relation of money and other things, and there is no bottom to prices as long as money may grow relatively less in volume. The present economic situation is simply the logical result of the change in these relative conditions which has been going forward for the past twenty years: a greatly increased population and production; a diminished volume of currency; a continual depression of prices and values; a constantly swelling volume of debt; the depression of labor; a clogging of demand resulting in so-called overproduction, and a prodigious golden harvest of interest.

Your memorialists invite your attention to the pregnant fact that prices of products measure the reward of labor and the value of interest. As prices shrink, the reward of labor diminishes and the value of interest increases. Thus, while production brings to the debtor less reward, interest commands more of his products. Hence, in both directions is the indebted producer scathed, while with every successive fall in prices the money-lender commands more of the proceeds of his labor. The prodigious concentration of wealth in our cities, and in few hands, is also the logical outgrowth of this depression of prices, coupled with the accumulative power of interest. To

Signed on behalf of the Alliance by
J. BURROWS, President.
H. I. LOUCKS, Vice-President.
AUGUST POST, Secretary.

A. J. STREETER, Committee on
ALLEN ROOT, Memorial.

*Note.—Total circulation in 1865: state bank, \$142,683; demand notes, \$12,603; one and two years' notes, \$1,038,924; \$13,710 in compound interest notes, \$10,036,080; national bank currency, \$25,005,828; National bank notes, \$148,137,860; legal-tender notes, \$431,068,428; coin, \$400,000,000; temporary loan, redeemable on ten days' notice, after thirty days, bearing 4 to 6 per cent. interest, and paid out by the Treasury on current account, and entering into the circulation, \$600,000,000 to \$600,000,000.

AD GEN. S. D. LEE'S PAPERS.

Agricultural and Mechanical College—"Curriculum of Colleges and Universities"—Object of Congress in Providing for the Establishment of These Institutions.

I propose writing a few articles about agricultural and mechanical colleges, and intend showing the object and intent of Congress in providing for them and the necessity for their establishment. What I shall write will be in a non-partisan spirit, intended to overcome objections to these institutions, which are honestly entertained by many who should be their friends.

In the older States there are colleges and universities which have grown up with them; many of them richly endowed and others supported by State appropriations.

As the newer States were organized, similar ones were established, and in most instances provision was made for their liberal endowment by Congress by donation of public lands. Many of these endowments, both to the colleges and common schools, have been lost by the States.

These universities and colleges, in all the States, were generally patterned after the old English colleges, and their curriculums were gotten up to educate young men, and fit them for the three learned professions of law, divinity, and medicine. The theory of their instruction was based on the idea that a thorough study of the ancient classics was the only true road to learning. These colleges, besides giving a general liberal education, also provided special schools for law, divinity, and medicine, making liberal and ample provision for those intending to pursue these professions. In doing this, they afforded most excellent and necessary higher educational facilities only to a small part of the people—but made no provision for the special training and wants of the great majority of the people engaged in the multiplied industries and learned pursuits of the present day.

The census of 1880 brought out the fact that in the decade of 1850 to 1860 the farmers were one-half of the population, and had increased the productive wealth during the ten years 101 per cent., and that they owned just one-half of the wealth of the entire country.

In 1880 they were still nearly one-half of the population, but during the decades 1860 to 1880 they had only increased their productive wealth 9 per cent. instead of 101 per cent. from 1850 to 1860, showing a loss of 92 per cent. in twenty years; also that in 1880 they, as a class, only owned one-fourth of the entire wealth of the country, instead of one-half, as in 1860. It is even worse than this, for much of the land of farmers is mortgaged. This mortgage in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri is estimated at \$3,422,000,000, and it is notorious fact now that lands in these States have greatly depreciated in value, and the farm lands of the New England States and New York very much of late. To put it in different shape, in the twenty years 1860 to 1880 the farmers added to the agricultural wealth of the entire

United States \$4,122,588,487, they composing about one-half of the entire population. During this twenty years the other half of the population (not farmers) added to the wealth of the country \$23,359,794,854, or nearly 500 per cent. more than the farmers made. This shows at least a lack of comparative prosperity. The inquiry was made, Why so purely literary? Why for the especial benefit of only three or four classes of people? Why so little science? Why so much theory and so little practice? These were pertinent questions, and when made authoritatively by Charles Francis Adams at Harvard, a few years since, they attracted great attention. Under public pressure, these curriculums have been partially and gradually changed. But even these changes have been made only to meet the wealthier and better-educated classes, rather than to meet the necessities of the masses of our population. These colleges have added departments for engineering, analytical chemistry, domestic economy, commercial training, schools of pharmacy, dentistry, schools of arts of various kinds, poly-

technic institutes, normal colleges—in fact, departments for the theoretical and special instruction of nearly every calling, but have persistently ignored agriculture, which, as an art, is virtually the basis of all arts, and of all wealth. This is the pursuit, too, that one-half of the population of the United States is engaged in, and in Mississippi four-fifths.

The recent changes and additions in the curriculums of the common schools are following the same policy. In addition to the "three R's," we find recent introductions of philosophy, botany, physiology, and practical instruction in carpentry, wood-engraving, type-writing, stenography, cooking, sewing, etc., but we hear nothing of the introduction of the study

of the elementary principles of agriculture in the common schools, an art that four-fifths of the boys and girls of Mississippi must necessarily earn their support from. This, too, in face of the fact that the principles are as well arranged, and understood, and as easily mastered by dull boys and girls as are the dry facts of arithmetic, grammar, spelling, geography, or history. The great straits to which the farming classes or peasants in Europe were brought, about the beginning of this century, has made a complete revolution in agriculture. In 1840—just forty-eight years ago—Liebig reduced to practical and scientific order what was necessary to maintain fertility in soil, and to restore fertility.

These universities and colleges, in all the States, were generally patterned after the old English colleges, and their curriculums were gotten up to educate young men, and fit them for the three learned professions of law, divinity, and medicine. The theory of their instruction was based on the idea that a thorough study of the ancient classics was the only true road to learning. These colleges, besides giving a general liberal education, also provided special schools for law, divinity, and medicine, making liberal and ample provision for those intending to pursue these professions. In doing this, they afforded most excellent and necessary higher educational facilities only to a small part of the people—but made no provision for the special training and wants of the great majority of the people engaged in the multiplied industries and learned pursuits of the present day.

The census of 1880 brought out the fact that in the decade of 1850 to 1860 the farmers were one-half of the population, and had increased the productive wealth during the ten years 101 per cent., and that they owned just one-half of the wealth of the entire country. As a consequence, there are now over four hundred agricultural schools and colleges in Germany. The same system is found in France and other European states. As a result of this thorough system of agricultural education among the peasants, the yield per acre of land in Europe has been gradually increasing—while in the United States, statistics show, it is gradually decreasing. The statistics as to the condition of the agricultural classes in the United States points to the absolute necessity of their being better educated.

The recent discoveries of science and art have made very great changes in the industries of the world, and the education afforded by the older colleges and universities was too contracted, and favored too much certain small classes of our population, and narrowed down too much the choice of selection in preparation for the different pursuits of life; and were evidently favoring the wealthier classes and discriminating for them only, by not affording special training for the pursuits the majority of our population were following. The census of 1880 shows that in a population of 60,000,000 at the present time, only 85,671 persons were doctors and surgeons; 64,698 were ministers, and 64,137 lawyers, making 214,506 persons in the learned professions, less than a half-million, while the balance of our population earned their livelihood in other pursuits—one-half being engaged in agriculture and the others in commerce, in manufacturing, in transportation, in the mechanic arts. These glaring facts caused the courses of study in the colleges and universities to be subjected to critical examination. The inquiry was made, Why so purely literary? Why for the especial benefit of only three or four classes of people? Why so little science? Why so much theory and so little practice? These were pertinent questions, and when made authoritatively by Charles Francis Adams at Harvard, a few years since, they attracted great attention. Under public pressure, these curriculums have been partially and gradually changed. But even these changes have been made only to meet the wealthier and better-educated classes, rather than to meet the necessities of the masses of our population. These colleges have added departments for engineering, analytical chemistry, domestic economy, commercial training, schools of pharmacy, dentistry, schools of arts of various kinds, poly-

technic institutes, normal colleges—in fact, departments for the theoretical and special instruction of nearly every calling, but have persistently ignored agriculture, which, as an art, is virtually the basis of all arts, and of all wealth. This is the pursuit, too, that one-half of the population of the United States is engaged in, and in Mississippi four-fifths.

The great progress now being made in the world has brought about new conditions, which affect the farmers. For instance, the facility and cheapness of transportation has done away with all local competition. In 1880 it cost 18 cents to transport a bushel of grain from the West to New York, or from New York to Liverpool. Now it only costs about 2 cents. So thrifty farmers in any country have not only to compete with each other, but with thrifty farmers in the West, and, in fact, all over the world. Skill and invention have brought down prices in all products, including farm products. The farmer, therefore, must be educated and become more skilled, or he will be at the mercy of other callings.

S. D. LEE.

THE following is the substance of an anti-trust bill which has just passed the Indiana senate by a vote of 43 to 2, and which is said to be favored by a large majority of members of the house: All trusts, pools, contracts, arrangements, or combinations now existing or hereafter made between persons or corporations, or between any person or persons and one or more corporations, made with a view, or which tend, to prevent full and free competition in the production, manufacture, or sale of any article of domestic growth, production, or manufacture, or in the importation or sale of any article grown, produced, or manufactured in any other State or country, or which are designed or tend to fix, regulate, limit, or reduce the production, manufacture, or sale, or to fix, regulate, increase, or reduce the price of any article of growth, production, or manufacture, or which are designed to tend in any way to create a monopoly, are declared to be conspiracies to defraud, to be unlawful against public policy, and void. The second section makes all persons directly or indirectly engaged in any of the acts described in the first section guilty of conspiracy to defraud and punishable by a fine of not less than \$1,000, nor more than \$10,000, and imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than five years. The third section makes each member of a trust, pool, etc., liable for the debts of all the other members, the same as if they were partners in the firm. By the fourth section it is made the duty of the prosecuting attorney of the county in which a member of a trust, pool, etc., is situated to bring suit for the forfeiture of its charter if it be a corporation organized under the laws of Indiana. By the other sections it is provided that membership of a trust, pool, etc., by a plaintiff shall be cause for the abatement of any suit if the fact is pleaded by the defendant; that a person or corporation injured by a trust, pool, etc., may recover therefrom double damages and an attorney's fee; that members of trusts, pools, etc., may be made witnesses against them, and be obliged to produce all pertinent books and papers under their control, notwithstanding such evidence may tend to criminate them, although it must not be used against them in criminal prosecutions.

UNTIL the "batch" of subscriptions arrive that will follow the distribution of the first number of this journal, the publishers will not know whether the edition of the second number should be 50,000 or 150,000; it has therefore been decided to give subscribers an extra week between the first and second numbers in order that they may have time to send in their names and money, and may have their subscriptions to commence with No. 1, and thus secure the first year complete. Every one of them should be preserved, as they are of a convenient size and shape for binding, having plenty of margin to trim. They will contain a series of articles on various subjects that will make them, when bound, each year to itself, a valuable book of reference. The next number will be dated Thursday, March 28.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The present month marks an important and memorable era in the history of Washington and of the Nation.

With the opening of the month we begin the march toward another station on the road to National grandeur; but what evils, pitfalls, or misfortunes may lie awaiting us along this stage none can tell, because hidden by the mists of futurity. Washington is thronged with representatives from every section of the Nation. Some buoyant with hope and elated by the brilliancy of the visions fancy paints of the future splendor and glory of the Nation to be achieved by the incoming powers. Others are serious and bear the marks of deep anxiety upon their thoughtful faces, dreading the horrible possibilities and doubting the probable results of a policy of which they are still in doubt. Nothing is certain. The thoughtless are frantic with enthusiasm and the serious gloomy with doubt. The mob shouts and enthuses and the thoughtful tremble with dread anticipation. The city is a chaos of uncertainty. The broad avenues and beautiful streets are thronged with people of every class and from every section. The towering monument looks down solemnly on all like the mighty genius of silence holding the secrets of the future close locked while scorning the weakness of human mind, which is dazzled by the brilliancy of the present, although a mighty darkness may fall upon tomorrow. The details of the inaugural ceremonies the reader can get from the dispatches and letters of correspondents to local papers. Such matters have no place in these columns; but as the plans and course of the administration develop, the ECONOMIST will analyze and discuss them. It is not the pomp and display of incoming power which interests the solid people of the Nation, but the effect and influence of the exercise of that power upon the rights and liberties of the people and the stability and justice of our institutions. The ECONOMIST makes no prophecies nor will blame in advance, but will criticise closely, honestly, and fearlessly, without prejudice and without fear or favor. It is acts and policies which are important, and not mere display and glitter, which delight the mob and entertain the idle.

Especial attention is directed to the call of J. R. Miles, president of the Tennessee Wheel, and J. P. Buchanan, president of the State Farmers Alliance, for a joint meeting of the two orders to be held at Nashville, Tenn., on Tuesday, July 23, 1889, for the purpose of uniting the two organizations under one name and constitution, as agreed upon at the convention held at Meridian, Miss., December 10, 1889.

Another important call is made by the President of the Georgia State Alliance for a meeting to be held at Atlanta, Ga., to organize a plan of opposition to the cotton bagging trust. Both calls appear in another column.

HON. EVAN JONES, president of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and president of the Farmers State Alliance of Texas, from whom a communication on the situation may be found on another page, is an old worker in the cause of agricultural organization. He was raised a farmer in the State of

Missouri, has lived in Texas a number of years, and followed that occupation. He was elected president of the Farmers State Alliance of Texas at its called session in Waco in January, 1887, re-elected at regular session in August, 1887, and re-elected again in August, 1888. In December, 1888, at the joint session of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America and the National Agricultural Wheel he was elected president of the proposed consolidated order, the Farmers and Laborers Union of America. He received the nomination of the Union Labor party of Texas for governor in 1888, but declined to run for any office, declaring his intention to work for the order.

HON. HARRY TRACY, one of the old "wheel horses" in Alliance work, has accepted a request from the Mississippi State Farmers Alliance to deliver a number of lectures in that State. He has done valuable service for the cause in Texas, where he is sometimes called the Sam Jones of Texas. He makes no specialty of oratory, and is not very fastidious as to his personal appearance, but has an inexhaustible fund of quaint remarks and similes that tend to more forcibly impress his points upon his hearers than frequently attends the most forcible oratory. He it was who told his hearers they would never accomplish much work if they held out a lightning rod with both hands all the time for fear they would be struck with a swindle.

A Postal Telegraph System.

BY CHARLES ROBERTS.

The framers of our Constitution fully realized the powers and duties of government, although they could hardly have foreseen the rapid developments which have taken place in the past fifty years in all that pertains to commerce. But they builded better than they knew, even for our time, when they put in our National Constitution that clause which gives to Congress the power to regulate commerce between the States.

Commerce consists of three elements: Money, transportation, and the transmission of intelligence. In the beginning there was no doubt as to the necessity of exercising this power, and Congress assumed absolute control over money, and over the transmission of intelligence, and also prohibited private individuals from competing with it, thus creating a government monopoly. No one will argue now that these two important elements of commerce would have been better managed in the hands of private corporations. All must admit that while the system of money and our postal service might be improved, nothing could be gained by delegating the powers of Congress to private individuals, either in safety, efficiency, or economy. It is sometimes argued that the postal arrangement is unjust, inasmuch as it taxes a person two cents for carrying a letter one mile, while it taxes no more for carrying a letter three thousand miles. Yet, with the multitude of our correspondents, this matter very nearly equalizes itself. And if the control of the Post Office Department of right belongs to the Government, it is the duty of Congress to assume control of the telegraphs. What the patrons of the telegraph companies want is safety, efficiency, and cheapness. Under the present system cheapness is impossible, as it is a well-known fact that dividends must be paid upon millions of dollars of watered stock in the hands of a great monopoly. Moreover, no good argument has ever been advanced against the government control of the telegraphs, and there is nothing new in the proposition.

Germany controls and operates her telegraph system.

system, and gives general satisfaction. Frank owns and operates her telegraphs, and derives quite a revenue from that source. Italy controls and owns her telegraph and telephone, and nearly all the British India, Australia, and nearly all the British colonies except Canada own their telegraph and railway system.

Nearly all the civilized world except the United States own their railroads and telegraphs.

A great advantage of a government telegraph over the present system would be its cheapness. Let the Government purchase all the lines between Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Portland; make the post-office telegraph stations in those cities, put the rates at one cent per word on all messages, without regard to distance, and prohibit private telegraph traffic, and try the system for a year. Then, if it should be found to be successful, let the Government take control of all the lines and telegraph offices in the United States.

I have heard the argument advanced that the telegraph companies would not sell to the United States. This is a mistaken idea. The act of Congress of July 24, 1886, entitled, "An act to aid in the construction of telegraph lines, and secure to the Government the use of the same for postal, military, and other purposes," section 3d, reads as follows:

"Provided, however, That the United States may, at any time after the expiration of five years from the date of the passage of this act, for postal, military, or other purposes, purchase all the telegraph lines, property and effects of any or all of said companies at an appraised value, to be ascertained by five competent, disinterested persons, two of whom shall be selected by the Postmaster-General of the United States, two by the company interested, and one by the four so previously elected."

As there can be no reasonable objection to a postal telegraph system, why not try the experiment? If telegraphing is a good thing for a few, why should it not be placed within the reach of all, and its use extended until every post-office in the United States is also a telegraph office?

It is well known that the present rates for telegraphing are exorbitant and place the telegraph, which is one of the greatest productions of the age, beyond the reach of thousands who would be glad to avail themselves of its benefits if they could afford to do so. We are informed by experts that messages can be sent over the wires for one-half a cent a word, at a profit, if there was business enough.

Reduce the cost, and the business will naturally increase. This is shown by our mail service. When the question of cheap postage was mooted, the argument was used that it would create a deficiency in the Post-Office Department, but the evidences are that with each reduction of the postage the revenues increased, notwithstanding the fact that our postal routes have been greatly multiplied through sparsely settled sections, thereby increasing expenses.

I hold that the same rule will prove true, only to a greater extent, in a postal telegraph system, and, believing that the time has come to agitate the measure, now that we have over two million farmers organized throughout the South and West, we should make our influence felt in the next Congress by petition from every quarter to our members of Congress, and by agitation among our neighbors, until the measure becomes a law.

In my next I will show the cost of telegraph lines, the amount of money invested, the amount of tax paid, the amount of watered stock, and the immense tax taken from the people to pay interest and dividends; also some of the expenses of lobbying in Congress to prevent legislation, as well as some of the expenses attached to defeating candidates for Congress, who are known to be in favor of a postal telegraph system.

THE NATIONAL.

THE EXCHANGE.

As Adopted by the Executive Committee of the State Wheel.

Whereas the Agricultural Wheel and other labor organizations of the States of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida have established Exchanges by which the farmers are enabled to save the vast profits on merchandise and the sale of their products that now go into the pockets of middle-men; and

Whereas cotton, corn, wheat, and other products of farmers can not be handled by farmers and direct trade had with manufacturers and consumers without an Exchange; and

Whereas an Exchange is absolutely necessary to give financial standing in the commercial world to the State, county, and subordinate agents, so that in any case of rejection of cotton or other produce sold for the reason of overgrading, loss of weight, or unsoundness, financial reparation can be had without delay or doubt; and

Whereas said agents can not purchase many articles direct from manufacturers and supplies from farmers and other State agents without the assistance of an Exchange; and

Whereas, it has been and is demonstrated that in the selling of cotton and other produce the farmers can save all commissions and expenses that now go to middle-men, and sell and ship direct to manufacturers in this country and Europe through the use of an exchange therefore;

ARTICLE 1. The executive committee of the State Agricultural Wheel of the State of Arkansas, by the power vested in them, acting for and in behalf of the State Wheel, hereby organize an Exchange, to be called the Farmers and Laborers Union Exchange of Arkansas, with an authorized capital of \$500,000.

ARTICLE 2. The Exchange shall be managed by a board of five directors, who shall be elected by the delegates from the counties to the State Wheel that have contributed \$100 or more to the Exchange fund, and each county shall have one vote for every \$100 the membership of said county shall have contributed to the Exchange, and said directors shall elect of their number a president and secretary, but no member shall be eligible to the office of director or business manager who has not contributed at least \$5 to the Exchange fund. Should the State Wheel fail to elect a board of directors, then the old board of directors shall hold until their successors shall have been elected and qualified, and in case there are no directors elected, then the executive committee of the State Wheel shall act as a board of directors, provided they are otherwise qualified, until such board of directors are elected and qualified.

ARTICLE 3. The directors of the Exchange shall elect a business manager who shall not be of their number, and who shall give a qualified and in such sum as the directors shall require for the faithful performance of his duties.

ARTICLE 4. It shall be the duty of the business manager of the Exchange to make contracts with manufacturers, as far as possible, for the sale of farm produce and the purchase of manufactured articles, and to purchase direct from farmers of one section of the country such farm produce as is desired by other farmers, to financially guarantee, through the Exchange, trades and weights of cotton and other produce; to direct county agents where to ship and grade to ship, to publish price-lists, tooster, and, so far as he can, build up co-operative stores; to purchase goods for county agents, co-operative stores, and to promote the general welfare of the order in every possible manner.

ARTICLE 5. County agents of the Exchange shall give a qualified bond to the Exchange in such sums as the business manager of the Exchange may prescribe, not less than \$500, which bond shall be of record in the counties of their residence, and a certified copy thereof shall be transmitted to the business manager of the Exchange. Each county shall have as many business agents as may be necessary for the transaction of their business, and said agents shall be elected and paid by the county Wheel they serve or the Wheels that do business through him, provided there shall not be but one county agent at one place.

ARTICLE 6. It shall be the duty of the county agent to give to members of the several labor organizations he may act for prices of articles to be purchased through the Exchange, as near as may be, and to take orders for goods from all who are entitled to the benefits of the Exchange; to weigh and grade cotton or other articles of farm produce, and to keep the manager of the Exchange informed of all produce in his hands for sale, and to ship said produce upon the order of the business manager; to receive the money due and pay the same over to its proper owners.

ARTICLE 7. Agents of counties that have contributed \$100 or more to the Exchange fund, after they have made their bonds, shall be entitled to order goods on thirty days' time to the amount said county has contributed to the Exchange fund; and any county agents who shall fail to remit the amount due to the Exchange within thirty days shall be liable therefor on his bond for the full amount due, with interest at the rate of 10 per centum per annum, and all attorneys' fees and costs of collection.

ARTICLE 8. No member shall of right be entitled to the benefit of the Exchange until they have paid \$1 or more to the Exchange fund, and any member who shall use his or her certificate for the benefit of others not entitled to the benefits of the Exchange shall forfeit all right to the benefit of the Exchange.

ARTICLE 9. Persons who are not members of a labor organization may become entitled to the benefits of the Exchange upon the payment of \$5 to the Exchange fund, but they shall not use their certificate for the benefit of others not entitled to the benefit of the Exchange, under the penalty of forfeiture of all right to the use of the Exchange; and persons who are eligible and have conscientious scruples toward secret societies may become members of the Exchange and receive its benefits upon the payment of \$1.

ARTICLE 10. No money contributed to the Exchange shall be refunded to any one, nor shall certificates be considered as stock, or be transferable. The money contributed to the Exchange fund is a free gift for independence sake, and the right to the use of the Exchange, is of far more value than the money given to the Exchange fund.

ARTICLE 11. Every person who has a certificate of membership in the Exchange shall be entitled to order direct from the business manager.

ARTICLE 12. The business manager of the Exchange shall have certificates of membership, with stubs attached, printed and bound, and he shall number them and keep a record of the names in alphabetical order. Said certificates shall recite the name of the member, the amount paid, county and State, the holder, and the conditions upon which it is issued.

ARTICLE 13. Until further arrangements are made, the funds of the Exchange shall be deposited in some bank, to be designated by the executive committee, until such time as the board of directors shall otherwise order, and be subject to the draft of the State agent, who shall be responsible for the same on his bond.

ARTICLE 14. Where, in the opinion of the board of directors of the Exchange, there shall be money enough paid in to commence business, they shall notify the members that the Exchange is open for business.

ARTICLE 16. The principal of the Exchange shall never be used in the payment of salaries or other expenses, but shall be held intact for purposes for which it was contributed. Such rates of interest and fees shall be charged for its use as will pay for all expenses incurred.

ARTICLE 17. The directors of the Exchange shall establish such branches as will be to the interest of the order, and may act with the Exchange of other States.

ARTICLE 18. If the directors deem it to the interest of the Exchange they may solicit cities donations for the permanent or temporary location of the Exchange.

ARTICLE 19. A branch of the Exchange is hereby established in the city of St. Louis, to be in charge of the State agent.

ARTICLE 20. The State agent shall prepare and have printed blanks for subscriptions to the Exchange fund for the use of those who are not prepared to pay their subscriptions in cash.

ARTICLE 21. These articles may be amended by the board of directors at any meeting by a majority vote.

Adopted January 16, 1889.

ISAAC McCACKEN,
Chairman Executive Committee
Arkansas State Wheel.

By the late action of Congress four new States have been added to the Republic, North and South Dakota, Washington and Montana.

The papers of the two great parties see only its effect to increase the strength of one or cripple the power of the other. There is, however, another view of the subject which is more cheerful to the struggling producers of the Nation.

The newly admitted States are largely agricultural and their interests are particularly identified with the great producing sections—the West and South. The establishment of State governments will greatly increase immigration and develop the rich agricultural resources of that section. There monopoly has but a slight foothold, and Dakota is already prominent in the great industrial movement for the amelioration of the condition of the agricultural and industrial element of our people. The mining interests in Montana, although now prominent and controlled by Eastern capital, will be equalized by the rapidly growing producing interests, and the representation in Congress from these new States will greatly strengthen the hands of the producers at the seat of government. The growing sympathy between the producers of the West and South is gradually sweeping away the old sectional bitterness, and an alliance between the peoples of these great sections promises to create the power which is to bridle the rapacity of the speculative element which is bearing so seriously upon them. Hail to the new-born States!

The Alliance has obtained a foothold in Maryland. On Tuesday, the 26th ult., an Alliance was organized in the historic old village of Piscataway: Dr. A. L. Middleton is the president and James R. Edelin, of Stone Point, the secretary. Alliances would have been organized at Nottingham, Rosaryville, and Waldorf had not extremely inclement weather prevented. The farmers' movement is attracting great attention in that State, and from present indications it will not be long before a majority of the counties are organized. The organizer, Dr. J. A. Mudd, 1015 G street northwest, Washington, D. C., will visit any part of the State where the farmers desire to organize an Alliance.

Alliance News from Dakota.

The following article of Alliance news is clipped from the *Dakota Rivalist*:

On January 1, 1888, the Dakota Farmers Alliance Company opened their office in Aberdeen, D. T., for the purpose of transacting the business of the Alliance members throughout the Territory. The object of buying direct from manufacturers at the lowest jobbers' prices and supplying direct to the consumer could not be accomplished without an organization, and for this purpose the Dakota Farmers Alliance Company was incorporated under the laws of the Territory, with an authorized capital of \$200,000. Starting, as it did, with the opposition of a large proportion of the business men in the lines of goods they contemplated handling on an entirely new departure, it has been watched with eagle eye by the American business world, and its fame is already spreading not only over America, but the European farm and daily journals are commenting on its success and advising the establishment of a similar organization in England. In the early stages of its business venture its road was beset by many difficulties that not only to its management but to the manufacturers was a knotty problem to solve. Officered as it was by men of long years of business experience, who called in consultation the best business talent in America, the wheel was started rolling, and, although the route was at first uphill, it has continued to move steadily on until to-day its business far surpasses every establishment of whatever kind in Dakota.

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE.

To the following gentlemen is largely due the great success accomplished. It has been an Herculean task, and they have worked not only during the day but 11 o'clock at night has been their usual quitting time, but frequently they might have been found at their desk at 2 o'clock in the morning. Hon. George G. Crose, president, has been continually at work, either in the office or in the field, in organization. Don C. Needham, its secretary, has had a most trying position, but has carefully manned the ship, avoiding the rocks that were just underneath the water and ready to wreck it. Capt. J. B. Wolgemuth has attended to the receiving, storing, and shipping department, and has been untiring and efficient in the management, and the department has been a marvel of accuracy. R. B. Bentley, who has had charge of the order books, has always been found at his desk, prompt, accurate, reliable. W. L. Holden, in the order department, has proved himself to be more than ordinarily correct. Every one of the above gentlemen came direct from the farm to the office. The books are kept in a very accurate and systematic manner by Robert Elliott. The stenographer and typewriter, Miss Lizzie Chalmers, also deserves her share of the credit.

With the efficient management at the home office nothing could have been accomplished without the co-operation of the purchasing agents and officers of local alliances throughout the Territory. This has been given heartily in nearly every local organization. Again, the farmers of Dakota, members of the Alliance, have stood manfully by the organization, realizing that in its success depended largely the question as to whether they could remain in Dakota or would be compelled to sink their investments and try elsewhere to make a new start.

A careful study of how it is best to reach the 800 local organizations has been made and it has been determined that each county should select a county purchasing agent, and to him—on certain conditions which may be learned through the office—samples of all the goods handled could be furnished, so that the goods could thus be seen before purchasing. To show

what an enormous amount of goods would be required and what a large amount of capital would be necessary to place samples in the hands of each Alliance, it is only necessary to state that twenty-four farm wagons make a full car-load, and that it would require thirty-three car-loads to place one wagon with each Alliance.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

The following sales made during the season may be of interest:

Barb wire, about eleven car-loads; harrows, four car-loads; corn cultivators, five car-loads; plows—spring season, about three car-loads; seeders and drills, nearly seven car-loads; hay rakes, three car-loads; mowing machines, one hundred and seventy-three farm wagons, six car-loads; buggies, about two hundred; harness, about seventy sets; machine oil, seven hundred barrels. The company have contracted for, and are now having made, a farm wagon expressly for them, which will be known as the "Alliance," and will be fully warranted, guaranteed to be as good as any wagon in the market. They have a five years' contract for the entire Territory for the Wier Plow Company's (Monmouth, Ill.) goods. These plows have been handled by dealers throughout the Territory and stand pre-eminently at the head. They have no competitors. It is the aim of the company to handle only the very best goods made. Their recent coal contract is the largest by far ever made in Dakota, and numbers in cars as follows:

CARS.

Anthracite or hard coal	700
Hocking Valley	600
Illinois soft coal	700

And as an average car of coal is about eighteen tons it would make a grand total of 36,000 tons. It is expected that the above will not exceed 50 per cent. of the amount of coal they will handle during the season. It must be remembered that manufacturers had made contracts with local dealers to handle their goods this season before the Alliance Company were in condition to make contracts, and consequently much difficulty was experienced in finding some lines of goods to handle; but taken altogether the business has been very satisfactory. The stumbling blocks have been rolled aside and the Dakota Farmers' Alliance Company is now an assured success. It is difficult to determine just how much has been saved to the farmer in the deals so far made, but it is safe to estimate a saving on an average of 25 per cent. from the prices which farmers would have been compelled to pay had it not been for the organization of this company. This reduction does not apply to what has been handled through this company alone, but to all sales made throughout the Territory. The farmers not members of the Alliance have bought their goods at much lower prices, as dealers have been compelled to sell at a very small margin above cost.

THE GREAT TWINE DEAL.

Before closing this article, which has been necessarily brief, on account of lack of space, *The Rivalist* would call attention to the Dakota Farmers' Alliance Co.'s twine deal, which was by far the largest deal of the kind ever made by one company. You may figure it any way you please to suit yourselves, but you can not gainsay the fact that the same twine was sold in Dakota at 4 cents per pound less than in Illinois and at least that much lower than dealers started out to sell at in Dakota. Early in the season dealers were the friends of the farmer as they warned them continually that the Alliance Company could get no twine, manufacturers had refused to sell, they had no credit, etc.,

but nevertheless every order taken was filled and they managed to handle one-twelfth of the total output of American mills. For fear the especial friends of the farmer might not credit our statements on the twine, we publish below the name of purchasing agent and railroad station, together with the amount of twine shipped to each. It is a table well worthy of examination.

Name.	Place.	Lbs.
H. M. Cooper.....	Watertown.....	48,900
H. M. Smith.....	Sioux Falls.....	90,050
L. E. Whiting.....	De Smet.....	20,850
H. J. Caton.....	Salem.....	25,850
D. F. A. Co.....	Aberdeen.....	30,000
H. S. Deitz.....	Lake Preston.....	27,900
J. H. Patton.....	Carthage.....	20,550
S. D. Cooley.....	Huron.....	21,000
P. A. Johnson.....	Wentworth.....	30,700
W. Brownell.....	Woonsocket.....	23,550
H. M. Hanson.....	Howard.....	28,900
C. G. Brown.....	Ipswich.....	23,400
A. J. Comstock.....	Britton.....	25,000
H. F. Cook.....	Doland.....	25,550
J. Curtain.....	Northville.....	24,450
Ralph Hay.....	Britton.....	25,000
Z. D. Scott.....	Millbank.....	25,150
D. F. A. Co.....	Aberdeen.....	24,650
Do.....	do.....	25,400
Do.....	do.....	25,600
W. L. Martin.....	Frederick.....	27,100
D. F. A. Co.....	Aberdeen.....	29,500
F. S. Streland.....	Davenport.....	26,200
F. B. Fancher.....	Jamestown.....	25,250
C. H. Bander.....	Sanborn.....	27,700
G. W. Dakin.....	Page.....	24,550
W. J. Caufrel.....	Hillboro.....	26,500
F. B. Dennie.....	Mayville.....	28,500
T. R. Tobaison.....	Hutton.....	55,000
H. M. Clark.....	New Rockford.....	24,850
R. B. Hill.....	Linster.....	80,000
Calvin Movels.....	Devils Lake.....	46,200
Do.....	do.....	80,800
J. Stevenson.....	Park River.....	23,500
Robert Fletcher.....	do.....	27,050
Ivan Flaten.....	Drayton.....	24,300
Joseph Morrison.....	St. Thomas.....	25,150
J. F. Gill.....	Barthgate.....	21,700
D. McKenzie.....	Coupertown.....	20,000
D. F. McDaniel.....	Aberdeen.....	29,500
D. F. A. Co.....	do.....	32,750
Do.....	do.....	29,300
G. L. McGregor.....	Jamestown.....	30,000
D. F. A. Co.....	Aberdeen.....	60,000
Total		1,815,850

Add to the above the amount shipped in car-loads and distributed to two or more purchasing agents, amounting to 209,715 pounds, which makes a grand total of 1,525,565 pounds, or about seventy-six car-loads.

Gen. S. D. Lee's Papers.

THE legislature of Mississippi, having reduced the support usually given to the Agricultural and Mechanical College of that State, and passed laws otherwise discriminating against that institution which did not apply to other State educational institutions, Gen. S. D. Lee, the able president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, has written a series of articles reviewing the history of colleges, and defining the especial advantages offered by the class of institutions with which he is identified. These papers are able productions, and contain a vast amount of valuable information on a subject of especial importance to the agricultural element of our population. They are written for the *New Farmer* of Mississippi. General Lee is high authority on this subject, and there is no doubt the reader will be pleased to have the privilege of perusing them. The first of these papers will be found in another column, and especial attention is called to them.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

PROSPECTUS.
THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF

"The National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America," "The National Agricultural Wheel," and "The Farmers and Laborers Union of America."

Strictly a Farmer's Paper, devoted to Social, Financial, and Political Economy.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Will be issued weekly, a handsome sixteen-page paper, in large, clear type, of a convenient size for binding each year.

The editorial staff will contain an able assistant editor in each State in which the Order has a State organization.

The management has secured the services of C. W. Macune as editor-in-chief, and he will devote his entire time and energy to that important work.

The policy of the paper is to secure contributions upon economic questions from the ablest minds of the day, and no effort or expense will be spared to secure this end.

Although the organization of the corps of contributors is only just commenced, it is deemed best to announce the following as a partial list of those who will contribute to the columns of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

PARTIAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.

Evan Jones, of Texas, President of Farmers and Laborers Union of America; also President Farmers State Association of Texas; a sterling farmer, in fact, who is devoting his life to the cause of organization, and whose published articles are always teeming with grand truths and mature wisdom.

J. Burrows, of Nebraska, President of the National Farmers Alliance; a man who has been closely and thoroughly identified with the Alliance Movement in the Northwest from its beginning, and who now, taking an advance-ground in the social and financial economics.

From his pen come words of wisdom indeed.

W. B. McCracken, of Arkansas, President of the National Agricultural Wheel. Mr. McCracken is the great leader in the Wheel Movement, that has assumed such rapid and wonderful development in the Southwest. He has already made history in this great work that will be gratefully remembered by future generations, and readers may anticipate much benefit from his articles.

Col. Robert Beverly, of Virginia, one of the ablest thinkers of the National Farm Congress; a man who has devoted his life to the welfare of agriculture, and who has done much to improve the condition of agriculturists.

Felix Corput, of Georgia, President of the Farmers Alliance Exchange of Georgia; a thoroughly practical busi-

ness man and financier.

Gen. Stephen D. Lee, of Mississippi, President of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi; one of the most accomplished educators of the age; a logical writer and an expert in statistics, whose articles will furnish food for thought and discussion.

John M. Stalling, of Illinois, Past President of the National Farmers Alliance, whose mature years, massive brain and long service in the senate of his own State peculiarly qualify him to counsel and instruct the masses.

Judge A. W. Terrell, of Texas, one of the ablest legal minds of the nation, who does not hesitate to advocate and express economic doctrines calculated to benefit and emancipate the toiling producer.

Harry Tracy, "The King of Texas."

W. S. Morgan, of Arkansas, prominent Wheel-writer and Lecturer.

Ben Terrell, Lecturer National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America.

John M. Stalling, President of the Louisiana State Farmers Union.

J. A. Tette, of Louisiana, prominent in Alliance and Union work, and an able writer and speaker; one of the originators of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America.

N. W. Wright, Secretary N. F. A. and C. U. of A.

The Presidents of State Organizations as follows: S. B. Alexander, of North Carolina; S. M. Adams, of Alabama; L. F. Livingstone, of Georgia; L. P. Featherstone, of Arkansas; R. T. Love, of Mississippi; S. B. Erwin, of Kentucky; H. L. Loucks, of Tennessee.

Other names will be added as soon as authorized.

The business efforts of the various State organizations will be specially attended to, all the information obtainable will be presented to the readers.

Contributions will also be secured from the Members of Congress who lead in important movements without regard to political parties. All will be interviewed from time to time on important measures in which the readers are interested, and as they make tracks it will be the business of THE ECONOMIST to record it.

The list of contributors will be increased as far as possible, and as the size of the paper will allow, will be supplemented by a serial publication, up to 100,000 or over (which it certainly should with 1,000,000 members in the Orders represented alone) the management will have sufficient funds to employ the whole time of an able corps of contributors.

Remember THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is not a money-making scheme. The National Order did not have on hand the funds with which to start a paper.

Members present at the meeting should realize the necessity of the paper, and the amount to be raised.

Several gentlemen organized themselves into a company and agreed to furnish ten thousand dollars, or more, for that purpose, with the understanding and written agreement that there should never be more than ten shareholders, and that any or all the shares should be held subject to purchase at face value by the National body at any option; that the price of the paper should be one dollar per year; that it should be a weekly, and should be the official organ of the year, subject to amendment for cause, and that the company should give the president a bond in the sum of \$50,000 that they would fulfill all the contracts they might make for advertising or subscriptions.

The bond has been given according to the terms of the contract made with the committee as above specified.

Let the farmers—the great conservative element of the country—know Reason and Intelligence as the great conservators of their ballot, and unjust conditions must speedily vanish.

Send all money and communications to—

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

According to the principles of government set forth in the Declaration of Independence and promulgated by our Constitution, the people of this Nation are sovereign. They alone bear the burden of governmental expense, and either reward by approval or punish by condemnation the acts of their servants whom they send to the seat of National legislation to represent and protect their interests.

Being thus sovereign, it becomes the duty of the people to investigate and scrutinize the acts of their representative and executive officers closely and critically in their most minute detail, as a familiarity with existing conditions and requirements is absolutely necessary in order for the people to judge intelligently of the acts of their servants and decide whether their best interests are being properly guarded or their substance frittered away in useless display, or for the personal aggrandizement of an ambitious and speculative few.

In order to judge correctly of the honesty or economy of any administration or representative body, it is necessary to be familiar with the conditions which surround and affect it, and the magnitude of the demands upon either or both.

Admitting this to be true, is it not a little remarkable that the great mass of our people should neglect to inform themselves fully as to the details of the manner of conducting the great directing heads of the governmental system which put in action and control the innumerable branches which radiate throughout the Nation and the world, giving life and action to one grand and complete system known as the Government, having its head and vital energies located in the city of Washington?

Recognizing the necessity for the possession by the people of full and complete knowledge as to the details of the conducting of the business in the various departments, and being located immediately in proximity to these great engines of government, THE ECONOMIST has determined to take up each in turn and in a series of articles endeavor to give to the people a proper conception of the magnitude of the labors of each and the manner of conducting them. It is also true that, as a rule, the people have very little idea of the appearance and character of the Capital City of the Nation, of the grandeur and enormous value of the public buildings which have been erected with the money earned by their labor, and in which all are interested. Neither have they any conception of the splendid works of art which are the property of the Nation and monuments of the genius of our people.

The Capital of the Nation should be a monument evidencing the progress, culture, and development of the people it represents; for from it foreign embassies judge of the dignity and power of the Nation to which they are accredited, and travelers carry impressions to all parts of the world, to be given to and adopted by all people.

It should therefore be a source of pride and

interest to every American that the representative city of the Nation is second to none in the magnificence of its public edifices, or the elegance and beauty of the city where they are located—for here can be seen facades as imposing, domes as magnificent, piles as towering and massive, street vistas as beautiful as may be found in any historic capital of the Old World. We reserve the initial paper of this series, believing that the subject is one which will be of peculiar interest to all, besides being of vast importance in enabling all to judge as to the economy of the administration of each department of the Government and of the necessity for the appropriation of any especial amount for any specific purpose. The initial paper of this series will appear in the next issue of THE ECONOMIST, and they will be continued, taking each department in succession until all have been reviewed.

The statistical matter will be interspersed with descriptions of objects and matter of importance which will relieve the monotony and excite interest. Washington is a beautiful city, one of which every American may well feel proud, and all should be familiar with its grandeur and its monuments to the enterprise, genius, and culture of our people.

Let all who feel an interest in this important subject send in their subscriptions in time for the next issue.

Alliance Exchange of Texas.

The business efforts being made in the various States by the Alliances, Wheels, and Unions is the subject of much comment and interest at the present time. A clipping from the *Dakota Ruralist*, descriptive of the effort in Dakota, and communications from Georgia and Mississippi, showing the progress in those States, may all be found in this issue. They make a grand showing, and indicate what may be accomplished by a united effort. But these are not all; Alabama, Florida, North and South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas all have important business efforts on foot, and will be heard from in course of time. Perhaps the most important business efforts undertaken by any State are those inaugurated by the Alliance of Texas. The membership in that State was organized in one hundred and thirty-five counties in August, 1887, and had about 3,500 subordinate Alliances, embracing a membership as reported by the secretary of about 200,000. It was decided by the State Alliance to establish its business effort under the laws of that State as a corporation, with a capital stock of \$500,000, under the name of "The Farmers Alliance Exchange of Texas." It would seem that with such an immense membership, and they a patriotic people who were devoted and true to the cause as it was possible to expect any people to be, that the business effort had advantages over a like effort in other States, but such was not the case; in fact it seems to have had disadvantages and adverse conditions to contend with to a greater extent than any other State has had or is likely to have. The immense number of the membership, scattered

A large per cent. of the capital stock of the Farmers Alliance Exchange of Texas has been paid up. A business aggregating about a million dollars was transacted last year. A headquarters for the business and the State Alliance was built. It is a solid brick, of beautiful and substantial construction, four stories high, one hundred feet wide and one hundred and fifty feet long, and accommodates also the offices of the official organ of the order in the State of Texas, *The Southern Mercury*, which paper had a circulation in June, 1888, of thirty thousand copies.

The Farmers Alliance Exchange of Texas now carries a stock of about \$50,000 worth of merchandise, and is forging along to a grand and complete success under the able and efficient management of S. D. A. Duncan, a man who deserves and enjoys the entire confidence and esteem of the membership.

over a territory as large as half a dozen ordinary States, many of them getting mail but once or twice a month, made it impossible for the managers of the business effort to keep them posted in regard to the effort being made in their behalf. It cost one hundred dollars to send a letter to each sub-Alliance, and would take from six to eight weeks to send such a letter and get a reply from 40 per cent. of them.

The enemies of the order, the natural-born fools, and the knaves could not resist such a tempting place to pour poison as the ears of those who were expecting too much and could get no definite knowledge of what was being done and were manifesting impatience as a consequence. It is not strange that many good men in that condition listened to seductive and plausible lies calculated to make them discontented with the effort and suspicious; but, thanks to the inherent patriotism and fealty of those people, they only listened temporarily and with the ear; the false and pernicious suspicions and doctrines never found lodgment in their hearts. They—like the old Scotch woman who said she could not help the birds flying over her head, but she could keep them from building nests in her hair—refused to accept false doctrine, and rallied to the support of their own institutions. The wolves are always ready to advise the sheep to allow them to kill the watch-dogs as superfluous, but the sheep have learned that the dogs will pay well for their keeping.

Again, the order in Texas was so strong when it commenced its business effort that its power was viewed with alarm by an army of middlemen, who thought its success would be a death knell to their methods, and therefore set themselves to work with one accord to produce dissension in the ranks. In this they had considerable success at first, because they got into the field before many understood the conditions; but as information spread their power ceased, and now the order in Texas may be said to have been tried as by fire, and the dross has been consumed away as chaff, and much of the pure, virgin gold of the order has cooled around the edges of the vessel, but is rapidly melting down with true philanthropy for the class, and mingling again in the active ranks of those who contend for true reform.

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The National Economist

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

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1889.

No. 2.

TRUSTS.

AS THE Nation develops and advances in material progress, new problems of economic policy are constantly being presented. The solution of many such problems is assisted by the experiences of the past as preserved by history, but recent years have shown a degree of development in commercial pursuits that entirely outstrips any parallel and marks the position now occupied by commerce as virgin soil, and the problems presented by it, entirely a new product, requiring the most mature judgment and careful discrimination to properly define the true position government should occupy in regard to protection, control, and franchise. Among the problems thus presented none seem to be of greater importance or attract more attention than the subject of trusts and combines, and their effect upon the production and distribution of wealth. If trusts and combines affect the production and distribution of wealth, they are fit subjects for special study by political economists, and should be either protected in the exercise of their rights, or controlled from an abuse of their powers, by the Government, as indicated by justice and the best interests of society. If they have no effect on production and distribution, they are of no special interest to economists, and may safely be left to regulate and control themselves without any Government interference.

The *North American Review* for February publishes an article by Andrew Carnegie, entitled "The Bugaboo of Trusts," in which the subject of trusts and combines is presented and treated of from an economic standpoint; and since that author's conclusions are to the effect that trusts and combines do not seriously affect the production and distribution of wealth, and since the *North American Review* is regarded as a journal in which the most profound and advanced thinkers of the age, only, are accepted as contributors, and since Andrew Carnegie may be considered equal to any authority in the known world to-day upon commercial and financial subjects, it is but fair to conclude that said article contains the very strongest arguments and all the points that can possibly be presented to sustain that conclusion. Such high authority leaves no vulnerable point exposed on so important a subject, if it could possibly be covered. THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, therefore, regarding said article as an epitome of all that can be said on that side of this great question, will proceed to review the article with no partiality and regardless of results. A synopsis of the position taken is: that humanity has greatly diversified and constantly changing tastes in its search for amusement, and that the

same spirit prevails in business efforts; that a craze for watered stocks and consolidations soon gives way to one of syndicates, it in turn to trusts, and that trusts will soon have to yield to a successor. In support of which the following startling announcement is made: "The great laws of the economic world, like laws affecting society, being the genuine outgrowth of human nature, alone remain unchanged through all these changes. Whenever combinations endeavor to circumvent said law, they fail." Trusts originate as a necessity from a depressed condition of manufacture following an extremely prosperous condition in that line of business, during which investments were made much in excess of the necessities of the times, and therefore the number and capacity of the factories being so great as to produce more than is consumed at the original or profitable price, prices fall until they reach the cost of production and even less. Under such circumstances manufacturers embrace any proposed method of relief. "Trusts either in transportation or manufacture are the products of human weakness, and this weakness is co-extensive with the race." The important question in regard to trusts is, "Do they menace the permanent interests of the Nation? Are they a source of serious danger? Or are they to prove, as many other similar forms have proved, mere passing places of unrest and transition?" Argument is produced to show that trusts are not permanent, and that they never can be, claiming that, whenever a trust is successful in raising the price of an article, that it immediately creates an inducement to capital and energy to embark in the production of that article, and the trust, in order to perpetuate its own existence and monopoly, is compelled either to buy out or admit such efforts, when started, and every one so started and admitted to the trust is an inducement to several more to pursue the same course, because it has been profitable; but this must in time prove fatal to the trust. Such is the principal part of the argument, summed up as follows: "Every factory that the trust buys is a sure creator of another, and so on ad infinitum until the bubble bursts. The sugar refiners have tried to get more from capital in a special case than capital yields in general. They have endeavored to raise part of the ocean of capital above the level of surrounding waters, and over their bulwark the floods have burst, and capital, like water, has again found its level. It is true that to regain this level a longer or shorter period may be required, during which the article affected may be sold to the consumer in limited quantities at a higher rate than before existed. * * *

Given freedom of competition, and all combinations to suppress competition, and competition, being supreme and recognized as the great safeguard and conservator of ultimate justice, in behalf of the American people, must in the end triumph against all combinations brought to destroy it. This argument is unworthy its author and bespeaks great weakness in the cause, since it is the best that can be produced. The fact that trusts are short lived, if it be a fact, does not tend to prove that they will or do not have a powerful and certain tendency to "menace the permanent interests of the Nation," neither does it tend to show that trusts are not successful in accomplishing the mission for which inaugurated. No form of

trusts that attempt to exact from the consumer more than a legitimate return upon capital and services write the charter of their own defeat." The gist of the whole argument is that competition is the great regulator on which the people may with perfect confidence depend to eventually neutralize any tendency on the part of trusts to become permanent. In the examination of this position it is well to note as a starting point that trusts are combinations to raise price, either by limiting the production of the commodities they affect, or by withholding from sale at former figures, secure the same results; and since it is an admitted truth of economics that consumption bears an inverse relation to price, it follows that the increased price combination seeks to acquire, by limiting production, will seriously affect distribution by diminishing consumption; therefore no denial is made by the article in question, either directly or by implication, that trusts and combines do affect, in a marked degree, the production and distribution of wealth. On the contrary, while that point is avoided, competition is presented as the great remedy, should production and distribution be seriously affected by trusts and combines.

It would take much time and space to present both sides of the argument as to the efficiency of competition as the true remedy for all commercial wrongs; it would also be a greater digression than is necessary in the consideration of this question. But in order to be extremely fair and to view the subject in exactly the same light used in its presentation, the position that competition is the true remedy is admitted, and with this understanding the most important question presented are examined. "Do they (trusts) menace the permanent interests of the Nation?" "Are they a source of serious danger?" As we have seen, Mr. Carnegie, after asking these important questions, proceeds to answer them in the negative, by showing that trusts are not permanent and can not be, because they are combinations to suppress competition, and competition, being supreme and recognized as the great safeguard and conservator of ultimate justice, in behalf of the American people, must in the end triumph against all combinations brought to destroy it. This argument is unworthy its author and bespeaks great weakness in the cause, since it is the best that can be produced. The fact that trusts are short lived, if it be a fact, does not tend to prove that they will or do not have a powerful and certain tendency to "menace the permanent interests of the Nation," neither does it tend to show that trusts are not successful in accomplishing the mission for which inaugurated. No form of

human organization has ever been permanent or lasting, it has only been a question of time with every organization man has ever attempted. The religion of Jesus Christ is the only organization that has stood the test of time, and perhaps the next most enduring has been Masonry, which owes its permanency, no doubt in a great degree, to the principles of the former. There is usually in all successful human organizations a clearly understood and well-defined object to be attained, and in proportion as this object is desirable and thoroughly understood, and the methods by which it is to be gained evidently practicable, so will be the rapid development and success of the organization. But mark the inevitable result; it is always the same, and must ever so be, whether success or failure attends the effort; either one is destructive: failure produces discouragement, disintegration, dissension, and rupture, while success obviates the necessity for a longer continuation of the organization—it has accomplished its mission and must die out. Mr. Carnegie, in admitting the known fact that trusts, as combinations to raise price, may for a time (no matter how limited) defy the regulating effect of competition, admits, and that unavoidably, sufficient grounds on which to prove the great necessity of Government prohibiting combinations that tend to suppress or hamper competition.

[The great cotton-seed oil trust of the South has never been seriously inconvenienced by opposition mills that had to be taken into the ring "and so on *ad infinitum*," but there are many skeletons of opposition enterprises that have been started to cope with that monopoly and have been crushed to the earth, never to rise again. The trust of the sugar refiners last year raised the price of sugar two cents a pound as soon as the plantation crop in the South was exhausted and kept it up till the plantation crop came in again in the fall. That trust and all other trusts as a rule have accomplished the object for which they were formed; *i.e.*, made immense sums for those who participated in them.] True, they only neutralize competition for a limited length of time, but that is all that is necessary in these days of quick methods and rapid transportation. Two cents per pound on all the sugar used by 60,000,000 people for six months in the year divided between the few sugar refineries of the United States must be a powerful auxiliary to the now alarming tendency to a Nation of "millionaires and paupers." This must needs be very alarming because the very patriotism on which a free government must depend is ever found in the ranks of a large and prosperous conservative middle class. No patriotism in a pauper—he has nothing to be thankful for, to man or government. No patriotism in a millionaire—he regards government as an enemy to whom he has to pay a tribute and whose services he must seek to assist him in enslaving his fellow-man. An inherent law of retributive justice would overtake men who made, or attempted to make, a permanent business of practicing the crimes of larceny, robbery, rape, or murder, even if the Government had no laws prohibiting those crimes. The effect of such law of retributive jus-

tice might be temporarily set aside for a limited time and the criminal might accomplish his purpose, but if he made a business of it he would certainly come to grief. But governments in their wisdom have seen fit to prohibit these crimes and enforce the prohibition by a punishment, the great object being to prevent crime, the method and result being that none can profit by forcibly overriding a law of justice and right temporarily; consequently, the effect of such laws being to deprive temporary lawlessness of any gain, the tendency is to deter all persons from even a temporary indulgence in lawlessness. What is larceny, murder, robbery, and rape but the exercise by a stronger person over a weaker of that physical power which will gratify his passions, taking advantage of physical conditions to gratify selfishness? Is it any worse to make a man stand and deliver his purse at the muzzle of a gun on pain of instant and bodily harm to himself than to make him do a year's work for naught, on pain of starving his sick wife and child or turning them into the streets to freeze? His work must be for naught if it is for added price caused by a combination to produce profit; there is no added utility commensurate, therefore for naught. If the great principles of right that are acknowledged by all people, "thou shalt not kill," nor steal, nor murder, etc., do not restrain the indulgence of those crimes, when it is universally known that no man could make a permanent business of either one of them without being speedily overtaken by retributive justice, and laws are made to support and sustain these great principles of right, and to prevent by severe punishment any one from setting aside even temporarily the binding effect and full play of such principles, is it not fair to conclude that in matters of commerce a principle (competition) of much more doubtful application should need the force of law to insure respect to its peculiar workings? Is not this especially true and necessary, if, as Mr. Carnegie claims, competition is the great safeguard and protector of the government and the people? How necessary, then, that the law should say it is a criminal offense, punishable by imprisonment, to form combinations to suppress competition. Fines have no terror to the wealthy middleman who in turn can assess them on someone else; they are simply collected with interest and pay for the trouble by taking a little more profit one from another till they reach the man who produces by direct conflict with the earth, and, her laws being inflexible, there it stops and he pays the fine and has no way to recover it.

The doctrine that the age of watered stocks in the Union for railroad earnings—"He should have said railroad swindling. The farmer legislature of Texas is too much for the railroad sharps and won't stand any foolishness, hence Mr. Gould's grief."

It is reported that arrangements are being made to hold an international congress to be composed of the wage earners of the civilized world, in Paris, in August next. The grand object will be to organize the working men into an international association, which shall formulate and sanction a fixed policy to be adhered to by all regularly organized laborers.

continue so doing. The same is true of syndicates and corporations. The public became greatly incensed when first notified of the power possessed and the corruption practiced by these combinations, but nothing has ever been done to suppress them; neither have they seen fit to discontinue their practices, unless crowned with all the success they desired or deemed advisable. Now, trusts in turn are galling the backs of the "beasts of burden," but the chances are that they will soon become somewhat accustomed to the burden as they have to the others already there, and patiently plod along, loaded down with it, regardless of the fact that the overload is every day making them poorer and poorer, so rapidly that the crisis must soon come. The crisis is inevitable; the only question is, Will the masters see that the load is too heavy and have sufficient policy to remove some of the load and feed the "beasts" better, or will they wait for the "beasts" to become desperate and throw off the load, kick it to pieces, and devour it? Fortunately, it will not be necessary to wait for either consummation; the "beast of burden" is the farmer who, for his subsistence, engages in the conflict with mother earth, whose laws are inflexible, but he possesses a wisdom equal to any and need not wait for the operations of philanthropy on the part of the selfish, nor for brute force on the part of the ignorant. He can and should and will invoke the aid of government to protect the weak, sustain the right, and prevent the wrong.

The conclusions summed up, are unavoidable, that trusts do seriously affect the production and distribution of wealth, and that their effect is to make the rich richer and the middle classes poorer; consequently, while the trust may have only a temporary existence, its effect is permanent and deplorable, and, as a consequence, trusts are worthy of Government attention, and if competition be the proper way to prevent trusts and combines and neutralize their effects, then the duty is imperative upon the Government to pass effective laws prohibiting any combination, business, or agreement that tends to interfere with competition.

In London, under the sweating system, a woman receives 16 cents per dozen for making shirts, which sell for 15 dollars. Surely, Justice must be blind, or she would die of grief from weeping over the misery she would be compelled to witness.

JAY GOULD says: "Texas is the worst State in the Union for railroad earnings." He should have said railroad swindling. The farmer legislature of Texas is too much for the railroad sharps and won't stand any foolishness, hence Mr. Gould's grief.

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The Farmers and the Railroads.

BY HON. A. J. STREETER.

"What fools we mortals be."

I find that we, the farmers, produce more wealth than any other like number of people on the earth.

That we work more hours in a day than any other class of people on the earth.

That, while the mechanics are clamoring for eight hours to be a full day's work, the farmers are ready and willing to work from twelve to fourteen hours in the fields from early spring to Christmas, and not complain.

They pay more taxes in proportion to their wealth than any other class, and much more on property representing the wealth of creditors in mortgages and personal assets. They produce nearly all the wealth exported to foreign countries, such as cotton, tobacco, corn, wheat, oats, seeds, beef, pork, mutton, cheese, butter, and other commodities.

And yet the farmers who produce all this wealth are growing poorer year by year. Every cotton crop grown in the Southern States, as I am credibly informed, is produced at a loss of two cents per pound.

And by the carefully prepared crop reports made by the Illinois State Board of Agriculture we find that every crop of corn grown upon the rich prairies of Illinois since 1881

was produced at a loss, and that these losses from 1881 up to 1886, amounted to \$68,909.47. This amount shows the loss of Illinois farmers on the one crop of corn in six years.

These annual losses have gone on until most of our farms are mortgaged, and on which the rate of interest is three times more than farmers could make on their investments in farming, even when times were good. As a consequence of these conditions we find that thousands are no longer able to pay the interest on their indebtedness.

Why is this thus? Statisticians inform us that the annual increase of wealth, over and above consumption, is one billion three hundred millions; and, notwithstanding this vast annual increase, the farmers who produced most of it are growing poorer and poorer as the years roll on.

These are abnormal conditions that need investigation. What are the causes that have brought these conditions upon us?

The causes are, too high rates for transportation, too high rates for interest on money, too little money in circulation, combines, and trusts. And these are mainly the results of class laws, enacted to create a moneyed aristocracy.

This article would be too long should I discuss more than one of these causes, and will now discuss railroad transportation only. I hold that rates on railroad transportation are too high, and that the remedy is in Government ownership and control.

But the railroad companies say the rates are too low now, and are working every scheme to make them higher. They say they need higher rates to pay their interest on indebtedness and dividends on stock.

In support of these statements they point to

the fact that some roads are defaulting on payment of interest and going into the hands of receivers.

All of this is true, and why?

The cause is not because the rates are too low, but because of their own imprudent, reckless, and dishonest management of their finances.

In support of this statement I cite the following facts: Jay Gould, it is said, testified in St. Louis that he bought the Missouri Pacific Road for \$20,000,000, and that he then increased the stock and bonds (that is, watered them) up to \$60,000,000. Then, to the question how much he considered the road now worth, replied, sixty millions of dollars. And to the question why he thought the road worth sixty millions now, when he bought the same but a short time before for twenty millions, answered: *Because the road now pays the interest on sixty millions.*

So we find that the value of the Missouri Pacific is not rated by its cost, but by the greatest amount of indebtedness the management can make its patrons pay the interest on. The Missouri Pacific paid the interest on sixty millions of dollars; therefore the road is worth that amount without regard to its cost.

Now, the management says: "We can not lower rates and pay interest on our indebtedness."

That may be true, but two-thirds of this indebtedness is a hollow pretense—a fraud.

And this is why, I say, the conditions of this and other roads are caused by imprudent, reckless, and dishonest management.

And the same is true of most railroads in the country.

I happened to be in Mt. Sterling, Brown County, Ill., about the time Jay Gould bought a road running through that and adjoining counties.

Those who claimed to be familiar with this transaction informed me that soon after Gould bought the road he doubled its indebtedness by watering its bonds 100 per cent., and, with the proceeds of sales of the new bonds, paid for the road. That transaction left him the road and its original stocks and bonds a clear profit in the deal. Then he raised the rates on transportation, so as to make its patrons pay interest on the whole amount.

These are abnormal conditions that need investigation. What are the causes that have brought these conditions upon us?

The causes are, too high rates for transportation, too high rates for interest on money, too little money in circulation, combines, and trusts. And these are mainly the results of class laws, enacted to create a moneyed aristocracy.

This article would be too long should I discuss more than one of these causes, and will now discuss railroad transportation only. I hold that rates on railroad transportation are too high, and that the remedy is in Government ownership and control.

But the railroad companies say the rates are too low now, and are working every scheme to make them higher. They say they need higher rates to pay their interest on indebtedness and dividends on stock.

In support of these statements they point to

debt should be extended it will only prolong the burden now resting on the people of this State. Nebraska pays seven-tenths of the earnings of this road, and by prolonging the payment it will entail this enormous debt on your children and children's children. The only fair method of solving this great Union Pacific problem is for the Government to order the road to be sold for cash. Then the State could control it and allow such rates for transportation as will yield a fair percentage on its cash value. The corporation is insolvent, and the report made to the stockholders admits that the money due the Government can never be paid by the company. This fact has been well known to the people of Nebraska for many years. As it is well known that the corporation is insolvent, I believe it should be dissolved, its road and property sold, and the proceeds applied to the payment of its honest debts. If the National Government has placed itself in such a position that it is liable to lose its claim the people of Nebraska should not be made to suffer for this unbusinesslike transaction. The people of Nebraska will not be benefited in any degree by releasing the Government to the Union Pacific Railway Company. Let the Government foreclose the lien. Let the purchaser pay in cash what the road will bring, and compel the company purchasing to become a domestic corporation of the State. I have called your attention to the above facts for the purpose of having you inaugurate some method to determine this much-vexed question, and, through our executive and legislative departments, our Congressmen can be made to act in behalf of the State of Nebraska."

"Nebraska," says the attorney-general, "pays seven-tenths of the earnings of this road," capitalized to \$100,000 per mile, "which is at least four times the value of the road."

The attorney-general is modest in his estimates of the values of this road: I am willing to be one of a company that will build another road up the Platte River valley, a natural grade most of the way, for ten thousand dollars per mile. All the gift I would ask in that case would be the right of way. And that is equal to but one-tenth part of the stocks and bonds now in the road, as reported by the company. The Government gave the Union Pacific company the right of way, one-half of the land for twenty miles on each side of the road, and the use of Government bonds, bearing 6 per cent. interest, to the amount of sixteen thousand dollars per mile through the State of Nebraska.

With these munificent gifts, worth more than three such roads through that State, we find this company has capitalized the road up to one hundred thousand dollars per mile, and it is now asking the people of Nebraska to pay interest or dividends on this amount to save the rotten old hulk from bankruptcy.

The Nebraska farmers are producing corn like little men with which to pay seven-tenths of the earnings of this road.

The attorney-general asks the governor "to inaugurate some method * * * through the legislative and executive departments, that our [their] Congressmen can be made to act in behalf of the State of Nebraska."

What a commentary here is upon the people of Nebraska, who, it would appear, have elected a lot of Congressmen to represent the Union Pacific Railroad Company with all its schemes instead of the farmers and other peo-

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ple in the State. Think of it, the attorney-general of Nebraska trying to devise some way to save the farmers from the iniquity of their own chosen representatives in Congress.

This fact would seem to prove that a majority of the people in that State are a lot of "dough faces," very pliable ones, too, when manipulated by the agents of the Union Pacific company.

Yes, "what fools we farmers be."

But then Nebraska farmers will compare favorably with farmers in other States.

"And Pharaoh slept and dreamed the second time, and he beheld seven ears of corn come upon one stalk, rank and good; and behold seven thin ears, blasted by the east winds, sprang up after them. And the seven thin ears devoured the rank and full ears. And Pharaoh awoke, and behold, it was a dream." Now hear the interpretation thereof: Nebraska is the stalk that bore the seven ears of rank and good corn; and the seven thin ears are seven millionaires who control the railroad in that State, and who make Nebraska pay seven-tenths of their earnings.

The east winds, that sprang up afterward, are Eastern money-loaners, who now have mortgages on nearly all the farms in that State. Ex-Senator Van Wyck is a man of the people, and worked for the farmers of that State.

But he was defeated for re-election by the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and their attorney elected in his place.

And the farmers said, Great is the Union Pacific Railroad Company, for we pay seven-tenths of all its earnings, and we want no farmer like Van Wyck to represent Nebraska in the United States Senate. So Van Wyck went to his farm to eat grass like Nebuchadnezzar.

And the politicians said, Great is the Union Pacific Railroad Company, for no man can hold office in Nebraska but by the consent of this company. And the farmers said, Amen. Did I call them "dough-faces"? Verily, I am surprised at my own moderation. Before proceeding to other facts, I stop to say, there are many honorable men connected with railroad companies.

I am not speaking of these, but their whole financial system is rotten, and there is great danger of their bringing upon the country a financial crash, the like of which has not been seen.

The whole system is based upon debt, and they are paying interest on an amount of indebtedness of from two to four times the value or cost of the roads.

They are mostly inflated bubbles of debt, and instead of paying any portion of their indebtedness, are year by year increasing it until no man can tell how much longer the inverted pyramid can stand.

In some States their amount of indebtedness is limited by law; but somehow they seem to evade it, and are still pumping into this balloon more gaseous bonds and stocks. There must be an end to this thing somewhere. No balloon ever went so high but it came down again, and was then so fearfully flat.

They have multiplied roads beyond the needs of the people; crossed each other's tracks like

a spider's web, and have been cutting each other's throats for traffic that a less number of roads could easily carry; and each new road representing more debt, until the productive energy of the country, with its other burdens, is no longer able to pay the interest on so much.

The time has come for a wiser and better statesmanship. The roads should be compelled by law to stop their everlasting inflation of debt, and to provide a sinking fund that will place this mountain of interest-eating debt in process of ultimate extinction.

The railroad companies should be made to subserve the interest of the people for whom they were created, and not be a means of bringing disaster upon us.

"The Maverick National Bank Manual for July, 1887," a statistical work of two hundred pages, used by the banks, and, copying from "Poor's Manual," says:

"The capital stock of all the railroads in the United States aggregates to each mile of completed road \$29,867, and the amount of bonded to each mile of completed road, \$29,453."

Both of these amounts, so nearly equal, represent the same investment in duplicate—once in the stocks and again in the bonds.

The two amounts added together make \$59,320 of indebtedness per mile.

The figures are appalling.

The same authority further says the people pay annually, in gross earnings, \$6,265 per mile, of which \$2,185 are net earnings.

I will not now follow these facts farther; but from those already presented we see the enormous burden the farmers are carrying through high rates on transportation.

The remedy is in Government ownership and control, and this must obtain before the people will get full measure of relief. The Government in such case might make rates little above cost, and reduce them from time to time as it has done in case of rates on postage.

Many farmers have got their eyes open to these facts; yet many more, as in Nebraska, are still willing to be represented by railroad attorneys.

It is not encouraging to work for the interest of such men, and if they alone had to suffer there would be little sympathy, but their families and the community must suffer with them, and for this reason the agitation will go on.

Such men don't seem to think that the prosperity of a nation is measured by the prosperity of its industrial people, and not by the number of its millionaires. In fact, some farmers remind me of the story of a man who died and went to the torrid regions. There he saw them with pitchforks throwing the new-comers into furnaces glowing with heat. Walking along the passage-way he saw rows of men with their feet tied together and hung upon hooks. He asked, "Who are these?" The answer was, "These are farmers who are too green to burn."

Let no man apply this illustration to himself if it does not fit.

The organizer for Maryland will visit any community where a Farmers Alliance may be formed. Address Dr. J. A. Mudd, this office.

Alliance Business Effort in Dakota.

BY THOS. L. LOUCKS, PRES.

Agreeably to your request, I will try to give you, briefly as possible, some idea of the business efforts of the Dakota Farmers Alliance, and perhaps it will be well, first, to point out why we first thought of engaging in business; and, secondly, of the difficulties we found in the way, as undoubtedly farmers trying elsewhere to follow our example will have the same difficulties to contend with, and perhaps our experience may enable them to avoid at least some of them. Early in our work we found that it was quite natural, after meeting for a few times together and discussing how best to help ourselves in methods of raising produce, that we should begin to discuss how to better our condition in disposing of the same, and in combining for purchasing such articles as were being handled on very large margins. We set out with the intention of engaging only in the purchase of such goods as we believed might be handled with a very great saving to ourselves.

Two years ago we appointed a purchasing agent, under the impression that with quite a large membership—at that time in the neighborhood of ten thousand—that manufacturers would be glad to sell to so large an organization. We found, however, that such was not the case. There were very few manufacturers that would give us any quotation on prices. It is true we did something in the way of handling twine, and, by the way, the first year we made an average reduction of about eight cents a pound, which of itself was very encouraging; we also handled considerable coal; but manufacturers and wholesale dealers fought very shy of us; most of them, of course, treating our purchasing agent in a gentlemanly way, but said, as a business proposition, "We have done

business before with farmers' organizations, and we have found in many cases more trouble than the trade was worth. When the goods arrived, sometimes they would not have the money to pay freight, demurrage would be added, and by the time we could arrange to pay freight, then the farmers had bought from somebody else on time." They made the proposition that if we would organize as a joint stock company and put sufficient capital behind us, so as to give them reasonable assurance that we could be compelled to keep our contracts, that they would gladly trade with us. Well, after groping along for one year through the medium of a purchasing agent, and finding that it was impossible to make much progress in that way, we organized a joint stock company, with an authorized capital of \$200,000. Right here is where the first great difficulty was to be overcome. The proverbial fear of farmers allowing any man or set of men to have the handling of much money was the stumbling block. The manufacturers said, "We will not sell to you unless you do this." Many of our farmers, failing to realize the position, held back until they would see whether the organization would be successful or not. We made the shares as low as seemed at all possible and do anything—namely, \$10 a share, with 20 per cent. paid in cash and the balance in an assessable note. Even with this liberal provision we found considerable difficulty in getting enough stock subscribed to warrant us in beginning business, and while we were working hard—several canvassers in the field soliciting stock—the manufacturers were quietly but very effectively closing up their ranks and forming their combinations and trusts. The result was, when we were ready for business, that many of them refused to sell to us. You will readily see that after holding out the inducements to the farmers that the manufacturers had held out to us many farmers were very much disappointed to learn that we could

not furnish the various kinds of machinery promised, and consequently they were discouraged. But the large body stood by us. We handled a very large amount of twine and farm machinery last year, aggregating in total \$—, and have the satisfaction of knowing that every concern that we dealt with has been only too glad to renew its contracts with us on more favorable terms than previously.

While struggling with the organization of our incorporated company we undertook to do our own insuring. In Dakota we have more or less hail every year. The stock companies were charging from 50 to 75 cents per acre for insuring, and too often when loss occurred there was great dissatisfaction with the adjustment of the same (which is always a difficult matter) and frequently failures to pay. We resolved to organize the Alliance Hail Association, and with this, as with our incorporated company, we limit the membership to members in good standing of the Alliance. Two years ago, our first year, we met with violent opposition. It was quite evident to the stock companies that under our method of employing our local solicitors to do the work, and on the economic principle on which we started out, if we succeeded the first year their insurance in that line would be very largely decreased. The result of our first year was most encouraging. We gave entire satisfaction in adjustment and paid all our losses promptly on an assessment of 21 cents per acre, making a saving of from 40 to 50 cents per acre. Last year our membership increased to nearly ten thousand. Complete satisfaction was given in our adjustment, all losses paid before maturity, on an assessment of 23 cents per acre. One very gratifying feature in all our business transactions has been that our farmers have shown their native honesty in prompt payments. We have not yet been compelled to spend one dollar on collections, and our losses have been very light indeed. We found that our county mutual fire-insurance companies were not available to many of our farmers, as loan agencies would not accept insurance in county mutual companies. To accommodate this class of our people, under the same officers we organized a stock insurance company, to comply with the laws of the Territory, with a paid-up capital of \$100,000, on as near a mutual plan as we could. We charge the regular rates of other stock companies; we insure nothing but isolated property in our department; thus, we believe, lessening the risk very materially, and return one-half of the profits to our policy-holders. The company is doing an immense business, and I have no doubt will prove by all odds the most popular insurance company in the Northwest. This year we have consolidated our purchasing agents into one for each county, letting the members in the county select the station, in many cases building warehouses to store the goods, and in this way we can keep samples of such machinery as we handle on exhibition. The various local Alliances ordering through the county purchasing agent enables him to order in car-load lots, which makes an immense saving in freight. We are building a large warehouse at Aberdeen, our present headquarters, where a large amount of machinery is now being shipped, and from there will be sent out in less than car-load lots. We are calling \$3 per share on our stock, and expect another year to call in the balance, which we think will enable us to start in manufacturing such lines of goods as manufacturers refuse to sell to us direct. We have no desire to go into the manufacturing business, but if the manufacturers of farm machinery will not sell to farmers, then the only thing for us to do is to manufacture for ourselves, and this has become more than ever necessary, owing to the agricultural-implement dealers of the Northwest having organized their combination, which we believe was done for the purpose of break-

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ing up our Alliance company this year. To further meet the emergency, at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Farmers' Alliance and representatives of the several business associations of State Alliances held at Des Moines, Iowa, March 12th, a special committee was appointed, whose chairman, J. J. Furlong, Austin, Minn., will be glad to give all information and assistance possible by way of inducements and securing suitable locations with guarantees of substantial patronage.

The brutalizing doctrine that money always has, and consequently always will, rule the world has been hammered into the people's minds until the popular idea among all classes is that a man with plenty of money has plenty of respectability and power, while a man with no money has little, if any, respectability and no power. Money with us always sells at a premium, while moral principles have no market value.

Any one who will take time to reflect will readily see that our ideas wholly repudiate the ideas of the patriots who established our Republic. They taught that all power was lodged with the people. We believe that all power is in money. They taught that governments were instituted to protect the rights of men. We teach that governments were instituted to protect vested money privileges in utter contempt for the rights of the people.

Their greatest statesmen directed their energies in protecting the weak and helpless and in restraining the strong and vicious.

Our statesmen direct their greatest efforts in concocting schemes to put money in their own pockets and in plundering the weak and helpless, and we honor them only when they plumb successfully.

Our fathers recognized such men as Jefferson as patriots and statesmen.

We recognize such men as Stanford as patriots and statesmen.

Why this great revolution in sentiment in so short a time?

As soon as we begin to examine the "why" we are at once confronted with the plain fact that our partisan politicians did it, and if our Republic is destroyed we must thank them for it. Ever since the name robber was exchanged for that of king, prince, or aristocrat, they and their partisans have bent their energies to hoodwink the people into the idea, first, that they were the especial delegates of God on earth; second, that the true interests of the people over whom they presumed to rule were antagonistic to the true interests of some other part of the globe. Once succeed in this, then those dupes began to hate those people, whom they believed to be their natural enemies, and to look upon this deceiver and usurper as an instrument in the hands of God to preserve his people. This enables the tyrant to rivet his chains upon the necks of his dupes and plunder them at will. Out of such systems grew partisan politics.

We have lately added a life-insurance company, also limited, to members of the Alliance, but taking in all the Northwestern States who choose to join us, and are meeting with very great encouragement. We have been and are doing a great deal in the way of handling our own grain, but that branch of our work is just in its infancy, but has already been of incalculable benefit to our farmers. If the other Northwestern States were as well prepared even as we are, every farm-implement trust, including twine, could be effectually broken up this year. We are exceedingly anxious, in the interests of the farmers of America, as well as our own States, that every State in the Union should, as speedily as possible, organize business associations of farmers, and when that is done I am well satisfied that there can not be a combination or trust successfully carried out injurious to our interests; but, as this will necessitate more than combination on our part—in fact, necessitate action in the various political centers—it would not properly become a part of this article. Our whole Alliance movement would seem to take the various steps in their natural order: first, social; second, educational; third, financial; fourth, political. I have, by your request, taken up the third first, but would have preferred to have taken them up in their natural order, or as they have grown on us in our work—each very important, and all working together as a natural consequence.

As a matter of fact, that must be patent to everyone who is not blinded by greed or prejudice that all sections of this great country are absolutely necessary to the happiness and prosperity of each other. The Great Creator knew what he was about, having the happiness of his creatures only in view. He surely arranged everything to place that happiness and prosperity within their reach. This is manifestly the case, and is fully proven by the fact that he gave different climates to different localities; and, as a consequence, one climate will pro-

Statesman or Demagogue?

BY HARRY TRACY.

The citizen who has watched or is familiar with the drift of events in the United States since 1850 can not fail to see that our Government has been gradually and steadily changing from a Republic to a moneyed oligarchy. As a matter of fact the Government is practically already in the hands of our moneyed autocrats.

The brutalizing doctrine that money always has, and consequently always will, rule the world has been hammered into the people's minds until the popular idea among all classes is that a man with plenty of money has plenty of respectability and power, while a man with no money has little, if any, respectability and no power.

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Our fathers rejected this doctrine *in toto*, and proved their faith by their works. We, in turn, have repudiated the fathers and again voluntarily placed our necks under the golden yoke of the aristocrat, accepting all his antiquated assumption minus the divine attribute (we do not fully deny that even), and thus we become willing tools in the hands of moneyed cormorants and rivet the chains of perpetual slavery upon posterity.

As a matter of fact, that must be patent to everyone who is not blinded by greed or prejudice that all sections of this great country are absolutely necessary to the happiness and prosperity of each other. The Great Creator knew what he was about, having the happiness of his creatures only in view. He surely arranged everything to place that happiness and prosperity within their reach. This is manifestly the case, and is fully proven by the fact that he gave different climates to different localities; and, as a consequence, one climate will pro-

duce the necessities of civilization in abundance which can not be produced in another locality at all, and vice versa, while prosperity, happiness, and civilization itself depends upon an interchange of the produce of the different localities. Therefore, each section of this country is dependent upon the other for the means of happiness, prosperity, and of civilization.

It is a notorious fact that when a people accept falsehood for fact that they then part company with common sense, and in lieu of it take up a full cargo of prejudice, and that slavery and beggary are the inevitable result of it. It is also another notorious fact that the great body of the people are always controlled by their common sense if they are let alone, and that as a consequence the people who live under such influences are prosperous and happy. Then, our happiness depends wholly upon the people being controlled by their common sense.

The idea that the great and good God ever intended that a line should be run across this continent and that a man should hate a man who lived upon the other side of that line is simply preposterous and never, in the first place, originated in the mind of any one but a partisan politician bent upon perpetuating his power at the expense of the liberties of the people.

This way was paved by teaching the people to believe that the true interests of the South militated against the true interests of the North. This idea was dinned into the ears of the people by the pretended statesmen from both sections. The people, ignorant of either social, financial, or political economy, confidently began to drink in the iniquitous, unnatural doctrine, and thus the work of destruction of our Republic began, until the prejudices of the sections were aroused to such an extent that the war of 1861 to 1865 was precipitated upon the country, that well-nigh destroyed every institution resembling republican government.

As the war progressed the general plan began to show its ramifications, and as an outcome of the war England had accomplished by diplomacy and bribery what she failed to accomplish eighty years before by the sword—i.e., furnish us a government purely English in every fundamental principle. The great and good Lincoln was fully convinced of this when he said: "The money powers have enthroned themselves as a result of the war, and they will perpetuate their power by playing upon the prejudices of the people till their liberties are destroyed." Every act of the moneyed aristocracy in this country from that day to this has made those memorable words a prophecy.

Our lamented Garfield said: "The money barons are more tyrannical and unscrupulous than their prototypes, the military dictators." Garfield was a patriot and statesman second to none, and was in a position to know the facts and possessed the courage to tell the truth.

It is a startling fact that every man high in authority or strong in the affections of the people who has dared to raise his voice or exert his influence against the encroachments of the moneyed aristocracy upon the liberties of the people and the subversion of our Government has been destroyed by assassination or driven into private life, hounded by the epithet "demagogue."

In 1776 the statesmen who were patriots in America taught that a "demagogue" was a man who attempted to deceive the people for his own selfish profit. England then advocated the universal dominion of the moneyed aristocracy, and attempted to enforce it upon our fathers; hence the war of the Revolution.

In 1889 the statesmen (who pose as patriots) in America teach that a "demagogue" is a man who advocates the rights of the people, and that a statesman is a man who feathers his

nest upon all occasions and by all lawful means, be they honest or dishonest, and that this Government must be run to protect the vested rights of the rich. Thus England's aristocratic ideas are carried out in America.

Jefferson said: "I am one of those who are not afraid of the people, for it is to them, and not to the rich, that we must look for continued freedom." Therefore, all sensible, honest men must conclude that the common people in these United States are the only ones interested in preserving republican government.

In my next I will attempt to point out how this can be accomplished.

The Land Tax.

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

The fundamental principle upon which is based the entire superstructure of political economy is tersely, and no doubt correctly, stated in Henry George's famous book "Progress and Poverty," page 13, to be "that men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion."

Whether this principle be accepted as the true basis of political economy or not, the truth which it states is attested by the universal desire of man to enjoy the good things of life with as little exertion as possible. To this principle may be justly ascribed the honor of all human progress; and to this principle, coupled with the fact that men are created immeasurably different as to mental caliber and their sense or want of sense of right, may be justly charged the existence of the problem which Mr. George has so honestly tried to solve.

The supreme error in "Progress and Poverty" may readily be seen by placing in juxtaposition its premises and its conclusions. Bearing in mind that the object of its author is to originate a system that will place all men, in their efforts to secure the gratification of their desires with the least exertion, on an equality, and how lame, how impotent, nay, how farcical, is the conclusion that this grand object can be accomplished by taxing land up to its full rental value. Instead of his system making land free it makes the possession of that all-powerful factor in the production of wealth the object of a competition the fierceness of which would grow with our growth, and the bitterness of which would certainly not tempt future generations to believe less firmly than past generations have in the correctness of the barbarous theory of Malthus. Mr. Blaine, in his letter accepting the nomination of the Republican party for the Presidency, declared that the wealth of the Nation had increased from fourteen thousand millions in 1860 to forty-four thousand millions in 1884, and protectionists, taking their cue from the figures furnished by their astute champion, declared that the unbounded, unheard-of prosperity of the country was all owing to our system of tariff taxation; that the fact that our laboring men had homes of their own (?) and meat three times a day, while European pauper laborers were homeless and meatless, was the result of our tariff taxes; that the high wages and beef-steak, and buckwheat cakes enjoyed (?) by our laboring men could not be but for high tariff taxes. But with all their skill at delineating the bountiful effect of tariff tax and, perhaps, too, because they had to deal with a condition and not a theory and were thereby prevented from drawing on the future, they did not begin to compare in their wildest imaginings with the soul-entrancing picture of holy peace and perfect contentment that is to come to our laboring men as the result of the adoption of the tax on land values.

Radical protectionists and Mr. George are very similar in some of their beliefs. Both believe that our Government has in its taxing power the means of National prosperity; both believe that the amount of tax collected by the

Government, however enormous it may be, is a matter of minor importance so that their peculiar system of revenue be the means employed in obtaining it. Both have evidently forgotten that all tax, of whatever kind, must ultimately be paid by labor, either in the decreased price of its products or in the enhanced cost of its purchases. It matters not whether the tax be collected by restricting the citizen's right to buy where he pleases or by taxing him for the privilege of using "natural opportunities," the result is the same—every dollar of tax is a burden upon wealth-producing labor. This Mr. George practically, though disingenuously, admits, on page 294, when he says: "All taxes must evidently come from the produce of land and labor." Land and labor indeed! as though land paid part and labor the balance.

How much taxes would a given piece of land pay of itself in a given length of time? Plainly none, though it might be the most fertile and the most favorably located spot on the globe. But when man comes along and applies labor to the land, then a portion, or even all, the resultant produce, whether wheat or potatoes, brick or iron, can be taken for taxes or for any other purpose permitted by law, though it might be the swelling of the enormous fortune of a Jay Gould, Charles B. Farwell, P. D. Armour, or a Standard Oil Payne, all of whom seem to have possessed themselves of a subtle alchemy which enables them to gratify their desires with the minimum exertion; and that, too, without particularly troubling themselves about the ownership of land. The poorest class of property owners in this country are the owners of farming lands. The poorest class of people are our eight million farmers. It is true that these owners of "natural opportunities" are, to the extent of more than a thousand millions annually, our greatest wealth producers, but, alas! the wealth produced by their exacting, onerous toil is filched from them by those in possession of unnatural, artificial, law-created opportunities. The average receipts of all persons in the United States engaged in railroading in the census year was \$1,578 in telegraphy, \$1,119; in telephoning, \$1,108; and in manufacturing, \$1,965.

These industries are all, more or less, law-created, tariff-coddled "opportunities," and are, therefore, exactly the opposite of "natural opportunities." Our farmers are the possessors of "natural opportunities," and nothing but "natural opportunities." The value of their average production the census year, including what was "sold, consumed, or on hand," was a beggarly \$288. Evidently Mr. George has begun at the wrong end of the line and, instead of quarreling with those in possession of "natural opportunities," he should turn his brilliant mind and facile pen to writing to destruction the human vampires who are in possession of "unnatural opportunities."

It makes little difference to the man whether necessity compels him to labor for an inadequate return by starving and freezing his wife and little ones or a master by lashing his back. He is all the same a slave, although the true man would prefer to have his own back lashed to having his helpless ones tortured. A master may have a heart; necessity is callous. With the one slavery the master must be responsible, with the other he skulks like a cur under cover of power and a cowardly shirking of responsibility.

THE new administration has as yet not made sufficient progress to give us grounds upon which to base an opinion.

If justice were universal, there would be no need of charity.

SPEECH OF BEN TERRELL, Lecturer Farmers National Alliance.

Delivered Before the Fulton County Farmers Alliance.

Ladies, gentlemen, brethren of the Farmers Alliance; I am always pleased to speak to farmers, and I only wish that what I am going to say to-day may be of some service to you.

If, while in your State, I am able by my addresses, by my advice, by any means within my power to place you in a better position, get you to become more hopeful, to be better Alliance men, better organized and more in unison, then I shall have accomplished the purpose for which I have visited you.

NO AX TO GRIND.

I am not a citizen of your State, and can gain nothing personally by my labors in Georgia. I have no ax to grind. I have no stock in any newspaper in the State, and in nothing can I reap a personal reward for my work with you. In my speeches I have never spoken, and will never speak, a word that is not for your benefit as a citizen of Georgia, not only as farmers but as citizens. If I thought the principles of the Alliance injurious or hurtful, I should hesitate to embrace them. If the principles taught by our order were hurtful, morally or mentally, I would quit the order at once.

If I thought it would engender class prejudices, and cause one class of citizens to array itself against another, I would never make another Alliance speech. I say to you that whoever believes that the Alliance was organized to make war against any citizen, or class of citizens, of Georgia has totally misunderstood the aims of the order. We can not do that. We may, and must, in a manly way, protect our own business, and my purpose in coming to you is to point out, as clearly as may be in my power, what that business and what those interests are.

THE OBJECTS OF THE ALLIANCE.

The Alliance wishes to devise some plan by which you will better your condition. You will thus better the condition of every man in Georgia.

Upon the producer rests the burden of the support of all other classes. Do not understand me to say that other classes are not necessary; but they exist and are supported by the producers of wealth. Not alone the man who plants and tills the ground, but all the men who labor, who dig the iron ore from our hills, who crush it, who manufacture iron from it, and from iron steel, and they who increase the value of that steel by beating it into knife blades—these are the wealth producers. These wealth producers bear the burden of all the rest of the human family. If men become millionaires it is because they have taken from the producer more than their due amount. No man can amass a million dollars unless he obtains a larger percentage of the product of the labor of the country than is his due. Wealth distributed is a great blessing. Wealth concentrated is a great curse. There could be no worse condition of society than to have it divided into the very rich and the very poor. There will always be trouble when such conditions exist.

THE PALSY OF RICHES.

Wherever wealth is concentrated, grasped in the hands of a few, men are dwarfed, mentally, morally, and socially, and in lands where such conditions exist, as in Mexico, Germany, Ireland, Russia, and other countries—in fact wherever there are the very poor and the very rich, you will see the same unfortunate results. We, fellow-citizens, have not yet reached this condition, and in the United States we have the grandest and most independent yeomanry on

earth, but if the present tendency continues, we, too, will reach the same unhappy position. We are tending toward the concentration of capital. Thirty years ago the farmers owned more than one-half the wealth in this country. To-day they own less than one-quarter. Your State has made a great advance in wealth, yet the men who produce that wealth are decreasing in power, influence, and comfort day by day. They are falling into ignorance. Their curse is a want of education and refinement and the desire for a higher life.

If it be war to try to change these conditions, to help you become wealthy and refined, then I am at war. I contend that these conditions are hurtful to my country, therefore my patriotism and manhood force me to make war against them. In this course I shall use my influence and give my whole life, if necessary, to the task of uniting the farmers of this country. [Applause.]

UNION THE ONLY HOPE.

With me nothing is too sacred, too high, or too low to attack, if I believe it hurtful to our organization. I believe that in organization alone there is hope for us. We can not hope for success outside of union. I would not be just to you nor honest to myself if I did not attack everything hurtful and favor everything I think beneficial to the success of the Alliance.

I want you to bear in mind that you must avoid personalities. I contend that a newspaper has the right to take any position it chooses, but when it takes a position adverse to the cause we are fighting for I will say that it is not worthy of your support. The press is the greatest power in the land. The greatest power, because it makes the laws you are governed by. It is also the most responsible power because it creates the public sentiment which demands certain laws.

It has been stated in a Columbus paper that I made unwarranted attacks upon the Constitution. You remember that several articles were published in the Constitution last year which misrepresented the Farmers Alliance.

In one of them the National organizer was characterized as a long-haired man from Texas, endeavoring to stir up discord between the merchants and their customers. Several letters were written to the Constitution refuting the slander contained in the communication. None of them was ever published by that paper.

Again, but a short time since there were published two beautiful poetical effusions in which the condition of the farmer was attributed to his going to Alliance meetings, keeping his mule tied up, and idling his time generally. Again, upon the resignation of President Jackson, we had a double head-line article stating that the Alliance of Georgia was in a critical condition. Again, this paper warns the Alliance against the vice-president, he being a politician, and giving thirteen ironical reasons why he should be governor of Georgia. All of said articles have had a tendency to destroy the confidence of the farmers in the Alliance, and I can only conclude that the managing editor of the Atlanta Constitution is in fact an enemy to the cause of organization in your State. I am driven to this conclusion from the fact that I look upon him as one of the most intelligent men you have in your State, and no intelligent man would publish such communications without editorial comment or denial, who was a friend to your organization, and I would be derelict in my duty to you if I failed to defend the organization which I represent from attacks from any source. The profession of the Constitution that it favors the Alliance in Georgia, and at the same time publishing matter calculated to destroy it, compels me, as an honest man, to say that I look upon it as one who in pretended friendship puts one arm about you while using the other to stab you. [Applause.]

I have no war to make on the Constitution unless I find matters in its columns injurious to the Farmers Alliance.

As the lecturer of the National Alliance, would I not be a contemptible coward if I did not repel these attacks upon you? Mr. Grady will say that these are communications. Why did not other papers publish such communications? No paper favorable to the farmers of Georgia would publish such matter. Mr. Grady should have said he did not believe these slanders against the farmers of Georgia; that organization is right and the farmers should fight in solid phalanx. I should be false to my position if I did not tell you that Mr. Grady has been the determined enemy of the Alliance from its very beginning. [Applause.] When it first began he tried to nip it in the bud by slander. When he found that he lost many of his weekly subscribers in Texas and Georgia he sent for President Jackson. He entertained him and got a long communication from him and published it in the Constitution. [Applause.]

I shall make a speech in Atlanta before I leave Georgia, and Mr. Grady is especially invited. I shall refer to his paper as never publishing a single article urging the farmers of Georgia to organize and do right. I say again that I have no war to make on the Constitution, except as an enemy to the farmers' movement.

I want you to bear in mind that you must avoid personalities. I contend that a newspaper has the right to take any position it chooses, but when it takes a position adverse to the cause we are fighting for I will say that it is not worthy of your support. The press is the greatest power in the land. The greatest power, because it makes the laws you are governed by. It is also the most responsible power because it creates the public sentiment which demands certain laws.

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I have no war to make on the Constitution unless I find matters in its columns injurious to the Farmers Alliance.

The press of Georgia tells you you do not economize enough. You may economize a little in dress, but you can't cut your "grub." If you do, you'll have a revolution at home. [Applause.] The man who says that the Georgia

[Continued on page 30.]

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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desired.The publishers of this paper have given a bond in the sum
of \$10,000 to the President of the Farmers and Laborers
Union of America that they will faithfully carry out all
subscriptions and other contracts.The Farmers Associations that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST
represents as their national official organ now contain
a membership of over one million, and by means of organiza-
tion and consolidation they expect to number two millions
by January 1, 1890.Address all remittances or communications to—
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class mail matter.

In the history of government we find no collision between labor and capital until the wage system was evolved. Here is field for thought.

The enthusiastic reception of the first number of THE ECONOMIST proves that the Alliance brotherhood are determined that their journal shall not lack encouragement or support.

THE Constitution says that Congress alone "shall have power to coin money and regulate the value thereof." By what right did it transfer this power to regulate the value of money to National banks and the Wall-street sharers.

The amount necessary to be appropriated under the soldiers' deficiency and back-pay bill, which it is demanded that the Fifty-first Congress pass, is, including the interest, \$960,000,000. What do the producers and taxpayers say on the subject?

HON. A. B. JOHNSON, vice-president of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, also ex-president of the Missouri State Farmers Alliance, in his zeal for the good of the order, has consented to take the field in Ohio and Indiana. He will present the objects and workings of the order to the farmers in those States, and will deputize organizers at various points to carry on and complete the work.

AMONG the many kind notices of our initial number none was more highly appreciated than that of the *Memphis Appeal*, one of the oldest, ablest, and most courageous representatives of high-toned journalism. Although a party paper, it is fearless and impartial in its criticisms wherever there is wrong to be righted, and it is vastly more independent than many journals which claim to be nothing but independent. The *Appeal* closes its very complimentary remarks by saying: "Such a genuine representative paper must prove of the very greatest benefit to the order and to farmers generally; each of whom will be able to take it, as the price is only one dollar a year. The farmers need just such an authoritative spokesman as THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST intends to be, and it should find instant and cordial support."

ACCORDING to a late official report made by the Secretary of State, this country produces seven-tenths of all cotton produced in the world, and has sent more breadstuffs and provisions into importing countries than all other countries combined during each of the past twelve years. It also produces over one-third of all the gold and silver produced in the world, and, in the aggregate, contains more iron, coal, and other minerals and mining products than any other three countries in the world. Its railroads cover more than twice as many miles as those of any other country, and the enterprise and education of its people are admitted to be equal, if not superior, to any other people on earth. Its productive power is so great that the entire people of the world could live on its possible resources much better than a majority of them now live on the products of all countries, and yet the agricultural and producing masses who create all this wealth and have broadest scope shall quicken the conscience, temper the judgment, and control the acts of those who sway the destinies of this country. The sanctity of the law, human as well as divine, and its claim to be recognized and obeyed to the fullest extent, are inculcated by every Christian church. Here may be noted a difference between the religious man and the mere moralist which is important in its bearing upon the fealty of the citizen to the government. The one obeys the law because a possible failure to do so might result in detriment to the moral, social, or material rights of the community; the other obeys the law because God commands it. The latter, if his courage and resolution equal his convictions, will never violate the law. The mere moralist will violate the law if he can persuade himself that he will be benefited and society not made the loser. Then the difference is one that constantly widens itself. After a few infractions of law, the results to self alone are considered and the question as to how society may be affected is ignored. Viewed in their ultimate as well as their proximate results, these two forces will be recognized as mighty factors in determining the policies, if not the forms, of government. Liberty in its highest sense and completest scope consistent with justice is one of the attributes of religion; hence the tendency, more or less decided, toward pure democracy. Mere morality, lacking the divine impulse to good, looks to a more tangible force to restrain evil, and thus the tendency is in the direction of additional governmental prerogatives which, once established, retain influence and power in the hands of the favored few at the expense of the many. Such considerations as these, thus briefly alluded to, indicate not less forcibly than the expensiveness of every phase of crime, the measure of a pure religious sentiment as a promoter of public economy—a sufficient reason, were there no higher plane to occupy, for a faithful, unwavering, unquestioning obedience to the requirements of the divine law. Religion, then, without dogmatism—not that we despise dogmas, but we leave them to the individual—should be the vital principle that gives life, tone, and color to the work of the journal that is conscientiously enlisted in the cause of the amelioration of any class of mankind.

History and Government.

In making the historical investigations which are proposed with the object in view, as before stated, of discovering, if possible, the most prolific cause or causes for national decadence and the disruption of social systems, which have been invariably the results of all attempts throughout the ages to establish stable and equitable systems, the student meets with a most discouraging obstacle at the very threshold of his undertaking. This great barrier to progress in research, for this especial object, lies in the fact that history, as it is written, is so constructed as to leave the most important features obscure and very often requiring important matter to be concluded by inferences drawn from actual statements rather than, as should be the case, giving full and minute details.

Owing to various causes, which can be readily understood after a little thought, history, as it comes to us, is rather an account of military conquests as directed under various monarchs and chieftains, picturing the power achieved by these individuals, and the splendor displayed by them and their favored aids and supporters, evidencing the centralization of power and wealth in the hands of a favored few, and the magnificence in which this few reveled, rather than as it should, in order that it might convey the best and easiest lessons to the world, record the details of the social, political, and financial status of the masses of the people, their manner of life, customs, habits, actual relation to and sentiments toward the governments under which they lived; the effects of the various governmental policies upon the masses both as they affected their sentiments toward the governments and their social and moral condition.

History, as it is written, comes, evidently, from hands rewarded by successful power and vaulting ambition, too much a record of the arbitrary achievements of kings and military chiefs, colored by the laudation of their achievements and ignoring the results of their acts as they affected the liberties and development of the people, who are ever considered merely as the means in the hands of shrewd, ambitious men to make for themselves a record and a name. The result of this condition is that we have very little history of the peoples of antiquity, especially the unfortunate, and the evils resulting to society from the acts of the central figures of the various eras we must learn almost entirely by inference.

Again, the records are so cumbered by laudations of the individual heroes and the favored few who surrounded them, that the conditions of the people who composed the nations are overlooked and the evils entailed upon them are forgotten. In fact, the mass of history is not a history of the world and the experiences of its people, but an account of the successful military geniuses and their personal achievements. It is therefore necessary to study history closely and earnestly, to read between the lines and infer or discover the reactionary effect upon the masses of every aggrandizement of centralized power; to search for the corresponding misery to thousands which always stands against the unusual splendor which blazes about the one.

In the earliest stages of man's development his imagination was the most rapidly developed faculty; he became a poet before he became a

philosopher. His clouded mind readily imagined the existence of a multiplicity of superior invisible beings, whose power he conceived was exhibited in the various operations of nature or the casual developments of life.

The anger of these beings in his ignorance he feared and their favor he was anxious to propitiate. All that was beyond his comprehension in nature and life he ascribed to their power. Language was first tuned in songs of praise to them and genius gave its grandest dreams in rearing marble piles and carving beauty from the senseless stone to honor them. It was easy then for the shrewd to assume superior knowledge, to pretend to converse with these all-powerful invisible deities, to pretend to convey to the common herd their will, their favor, or their condemnation.

It was easy to play upon such dense, impenetrable ignorance and develop the natural superstition growing from it, until the masses could be moulded like clay in the hands of the potter; to induce such ignorance to give up all, even life itself, at the command of the favored of the gods.

But man is progressive; his mind gradually grew until it rose above the mists which shrouded the base of Olympus, and he saw the home of the gods to be but a barren rock. Then he struck the shackles of superstition from his limbs and that power was destroyed for all time. However, the shrewdness of the few who had so long mastered and enslaved him grew apace. Men were imbued with a spirit of conquest, a military frenzy was excited, peoples were induced to seize by force the products of the labor of their neighbors, to seize and enslave them by power of arms and hold them by physical force while one nation luxuriated upon the labor of others held in subjugation. Finally the conquerors found that through the effect of rigid military discipline they themselves had become but the slaves of their superiors and were merely tools by which they accomplished their imperial wills. The masses, being most powerful physically, broke the chains of discipline and were again free. Physical force could not be longer used to hold nations in subjection to the shrewd and speculative few. Again the spirit of selfishness and arrogant ambition set to work to devise new means to fit shackles upon the limbs of industry in order that it might seize and enjoy its creations. Men had been pastoral, agricultural, and military; it yet remained for them to become commercial. The masses had developed beyond the capacity of the shrewd to control them by either of the means heretofore used; but the growth of population, the increased ease of intercourse, the development of the various branches of industry had created a commercial element. Values became fixed in various forms of property, and these creations of industry were rapidly multiplying. Forms of government were materially modified. Absolute power declined, the power of superstition was almost wholly lost, but in the remodeling of institutions enough of superstition was reserved in the claim of the divine right of kings to be a power over the dullest ignorance, and enough of the blaze and

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

blazonry of military display to hold the class given to military devotion.

The commercial now became the power which was to be made effective, by which the creations of industry could be controlled and appropriated. The people looked with suspicion upon both church and state, fearing oppression from both and knowing of no other source from which could spring the tyrant who would seize them.

Commercial regulations were little understood, and their complications were such that the people cared little to confuse themselves with them. They saw no show of force on the part of governments to compel them against their wills and readily submitted to any legislation of a commercial nature as to the rights of property and the obligations of debtors to creditors. As time advanced, the people paid little attention to commercial legislation, and as it became more complicated they cared less to make the attempt to master it. All this time the speculative element was busy. The result of ages of education and habit had taught the masses to respect the law, and so long as there was no show of force on the part of the government they accepted conditions as they came to them, never dreaming that out of this quiet era of commercial legislation oppressions would grow more tyrannical than those forced upon them by arms, and more insidious than those fixed by superstition. They have seen the rewards of their labor pass steadily from them into the hands of a favored class which rolls in luxury and yet creates nothing and wonder why they want. They look to the government and see no open demonstration, yet all the time there is a sense of obligation continually to be met, which industry can not relieve. There is somewhere a power which compels labor and consumes its return while the laborer hungers. What is it? Where is this hidden tyrant who compels the industrious to labor in want while the idle revel in luxury, and this even in a nation which boasts of being made up of free men?

With the first two eras of history we have nothing to do. Man has solved the mystery and passed beyond the stage where he could be affected by such means; but the last is still in progress, and its evils bear heavily upon the people of this generation.

It had its origin ages ago, and has held nations in bonds for generations. The time has now come when the mask must be torn off and the tyrant exposed in all his hideous deformity.

The object of these papers is to prove that all the aggregated power held by the speculative non-producing classes has been gained through a system of legislation based upon a wrong and unjust conception of the relation of real property as an article of commerce and security; a mistaken system of finance, as relates to securities and obligations, and a misunderstanding on the part of the people as to the extent of their obligation to observe certain existing customs as right and just; because submitted to throughout ages of misfortune and oppression; that by establishing an unnatural relation between the citizen and the soil, and

by using the power of government to multiply and compel obligations growing out of this false relation, the speculative element has built up for itself an insidious and dangerous power, which extends practically to the very life of the citizen, and actually builds up a system of slavery practically as oppressive as ever existed in either of the two former eras to which we have referred. The conditions growing out of the institutions of those ages were only submitted to so long as the people were ignorant of the cause of their misfortunes. Enlightenment liberated the masses. Existing oppression will be relieved also by the discovery of the prime cause. The time is near at hand. The light of science, the progress of education are fast unravelling the mysteries of financial tyranny, and a new step toward universal liberty will soon be taken.

History, when read between the lines, teaches plainly that the domination of wealth is based upon one false assumption alone, the relation of the citizen to the land. All oppression rests upon this foundation; oppressive power, which rests in the hands of the few, rests upon this, and the various evils which are fast multiplying have their growth from it. It is the grand main chain to which all the other shackles which hamper liberty and confine industry are riveted. The land and the citizen are the foundation stone of the nation. They are inseparable; without the one the other can not be; they are one entity; enslave one and you make the other a serf; there is no alternative.

All history teaches that so long as a whole people are creators of wealth, having untrammeled access to the soil, so long they are prosperous and free; but as soon as the spirit of speculation sets in and the soil is hampered by the mastership of any one who does not himself cultivate it, that moment the people go into bondage. The people of a nation must be fixed to their lands, which must be always ready to respond to the hand of industry whenever inclination or necessity suggest that it exercise its cunning. The lands of his country should be the refuge of the citizen against the oppression of necessity, his fortress, where he can defy the tyranny of wealth or the threatenings of hunger. With the lands of his country to flee to, untrammeled by other claims, how could the patriot be enslaved? But with this fortress in the hands of the enemy he must occupy it at suffering; his refuge is gone; he has no fastness to which he can flee, and is utterly undone.

The misfortunes of all peoples have begun when they ceased to be pastoral or agricultural and their lands became a commercial commodity or a class of security. It is proposed to multiply examples to prove this assertion, for on this foundation-stone rests all the tyranny of ages. Of course there are many immediate causes, but all find their vitality here and none could have had an existence except as an outgrowth from this substratum of an evil commercial system.

It must not be inferred from this that the private ownership of land is to be opposed. Far from it. The stability of the nation and

the patriotism of the citizen depend upon the sanctity and security of the home, and these should by all means be preserved and set far above mere mercenary value. The home should be the palladium of liberty, the sacred refuge against oppression, the castle which greed, nor avarice, nor chicanery could ever enter, the one safe refuge of the freeman and patriot. It should be too sacred for speculation, too holy to be profaned by commercial transactions; the shield that should protect motherhood and infancy from the blasts of misfortune, and struggling industry from the ruthless hand of robbery. In the homes of the nation should be its surest defense, and there should the garden of patriotism blossom.

Throughout history, when the homes of a nation have become the objects of commerce, then have the people taken the first step toward ruin, then has liberty been strangled in its cradle and patriotism been murdered by greed. There is no lack of proofs in history. Its pages are blackened by the record of the destruction of the peoples' homes to pour gold into the coffers of luxury and place the brand of servitude upon the cheek of liberty. The master devil planned it well when he fixed upon the home as the bond to compel unwilling homage. A man without a home is a creature robbed of manhood, the prey of any evil power which may choose to compel him. From such are the tools of despotism moulded; but a people whose homes are free can never be enslaved. In the fastness of their sanctuaries they will ever defy oppression.

Let us now look to history for proof that for ages the first step toward the enslavement of a people was the destruction of the homes, the alienating of the lands from the individual citizens, and the accumulation of it, or, rather the control of it, in the hands of a few. This has sometimes been accomplished by conquest, but more often by shrewd legislation for the financial benefit of a favored class, and has usually been so adroitly managed that the evil had overwhelmed the people before they were aware of the danger or had conceived what was the real cause of their misfortunes; but in all cases the lever which has crushed the nations of history had its fulcrum under the soil.

The Spirit of American Liberty.

BY REV. A. S. BUNTING, OF TEXAS.

NO. I.

An American as an individual, and our Nation as a whole, have a peculiar origin and history. It was the oppression of our forefathers in their fatherland that led them to seek a country that might be justly called the "land of the free and the home of the brave." They were oppressed politically and religiously. They had long prayed to the God of heaven for deliverance, and yet the hand of their "task masters" became more severe. They had sent petition after petition to their heartless rulers for redress, to no avail. Their only hope seemed to be in the wilds of the newly-discovered American Continent. To them it was a last resort; and to us, as we read their history, a desperate effort. They were not seeking great wealth, but peace and prosperity, and a commonwealth whose God is the Lord. As they read and heard of the new continent, they imagined they heard a voice speaking to them as to Moses at the Red Sea, "Go forward!" After mature consideration, they decided to go

to Holland, for a while at least, with a hope that they might not be forced to cross the great waters; but Providence had ordered otherwise.

The date of the removal, or rather flight, of the band of Puritans to Amsterdam was 1607. Their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Robinson, accompanied them. After staying a number of years in Holland they embarked for America, where they hoped to avoid certain evils which they experienced in Holland, and also to build up a state based upon the principles of the Bible. On the 6th of September, 1620, they sailed on the Mayflower for the American continent. After a long and boisterous voyage they finally disembarked on "Plymouth Rock" Monday, December 21, 1620, and on the 25th of the month they began to build. One of their first acts after setting their feet on American soil was to thank God for their safe voyage, and dedicate this country to the poor and oppressed. They had suffered oppression so long that they were not fully prepared to enjoy such great liberty. It was not long before they became oppressors themselves. They wanted religious liberty for themselves, but were not willing to allow the same to others. They were not here long, however, before others came that had a higher conception of pure liberty. Here the internal struggle among the American colonies began. The contest was sharp, but the crowning feature of American independence was gained. It took time and wise statesmanship to gain the victory. "Religious liberty" was finally gained as a constitutional right. Ecclesiastical connections had nothing to do with their rights as American citizens.

They recognized the God of the Bible as the God of their compact, and at the same time made a complete separation of state and church. Church organizations were to attend to their own internal government and not interfere with the rights of other ecclesiastical bodies, which was their religious liberty. As individuals they exercised the right of franchise independent of any and all church connection. With their own precious blood they enriched the soil that grew the fragrant rose of American liberty. During all this time they took the Bible as the inspired word of God, and its author as the ruler of the destinies of nations. That book was made the foundation of our body politic and the basis of civil law. Our officers-elect were bound by a solemn oath on that book to be faithful in official duties. Witnesses and jurors were all sworn on that book. They had chaplains for their legislative bodies, for their prisons, and their armies.

All this goes to prove that our nation is and ought to be a Christian nation. That which seeks to overturn Christianity and the moral principles that she inculcates is seeking to overthrow the strongholds of our nation. One that opposes the principles of Christianity is not worthy to breathe the pure air of American independence. Men have come here who have fled the oppressions of their native country, and are ignorantly seeking to destroy the very foundation on which our great nation rests. The passengers on the Mayflower, before going on shore, with the heads of forty families, solemnly combined themselves into a "civil body politic," to "enact such just and equal laws" as should be thought "convenient for the general good." This is the first embodiment of the American idea that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." The true design of our constitutional laws is to favor the interest of the poorer class, which forms the great mass of our nation. Poverty was to be no bar to personal rights, no more than religious tests. A poor man's rights, under the eyes of our American Constitution, are as sacred as those of the most honored or wealthy. This is as it ought to be; yet how fearful and striking are the departures that we often see.

Political Economy.

In taking a retrospective view of the political history of mankind it will be observed that during the earlier stages of civilization governments depended upon their prowess to maintain their tenure, and that their chief occupations were to develop conditions that would add to the physical strength, and this condition prevailed well up into the days of feudalism. The tribute of the vassal to government was personal service in war or for protection from depredation, but as commerce began to make its influence felt it created new objects of desire and opened up new avenues for acquiring power and influence by means of wealth which soon demonstrated as great a success in enforcing its mandates as physical force had ever done. Such changes in the conditions of society necessitated modifications in the system of government, and presented so many complications that it forced the study of the commercial relations between man and his fellow, between the different classes of society, and between the subjects and the government, and this line of study and research was the beginning of what has since developed into the science called political economy. Ancient philosophers paid little or no attention to the laws governing the production and distribution of wealth. In olden times it could all be summed up into the one word force. Political economy is therefore a science of modern development. Although several writers had attempted to discuss the advantages of agriculture and commerce prior to the year 1700, it was not till fifty years after that date that a distinct treatise was written embracing a complete system of laws on the growth and distribution of national wealth. Dr. Quesnay evolved a system of principles at about this time which were embraced by a large number of followers, and was the basis of a class of reasoners known at that time as the economists. Their discussions had an important effect upon the world by developing research in regard to those principles which have since become the basis of laws under the rapid development of commercial pursuits. M. Say, in his "A Treatise on Political Economy," says "The economists, by promulgating some important truths, directing a more general attention to objects of public utility, and by exciting discussion, which, although at that time of no advantage, subsequently led to more active investigations, have unquestionably done much good. In representing agricultural industry as productive of wealth, they were not deceived; and perhaps the necessity they were in of unfolding the nature of production caused the further examination of this important phenomenon, which conducted their successors to its entire development. * * * The economists not only exercised a particular sway over French writers, but also had a very remarkable influence over many Italian authors, who even went beyond them. Beccaria, in a course of public lectures in Milan, first analyzed the true functions of productive capital." But while many works had been written and discussion had agitated the literary world of that time to a high degree, there were several very important fallacies in the fundamental doctrines admitted by all the disputants and writers that were not pointed out and correctly combated until the publication in 1776 of "An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," by Adam Smith, LL. D., F. R. S.; and as Adam Smith is usually considered as the father of political economy, and his work the basis on which the modern science rests, it may be well to note a few facts in regard to that author and the fallacies he so successfully combated.

Adam Smith was born in Kirkaldy, Scotland, on the 5th of June, 1723. During his infancy he was a weak and sickly child. He received the rudiments of an education at the grammar school of Kirkaldy, and at that time attracted some attention by his passion for books and by the extraordinary powers of his memory. In 1737 he was sent to the University of Glasgow; he evinced a partiality for mathematics and natural philosophy. He was a successful student of the languages, both ancient and modern. He went to Oxford in 1740, and after a residence of seven years he returned home to Kirkaldy, very much against the wishes of his friends, he having decided not to devote his life to the church, as had been expected of him. In 1748 he took up his residence at the capital of Scotland and entered public life by delivering lectures on rhetoric and the belles lettres. In 1751 he was chosen professor of logic in Glasgow University. During the following year he was nominated professor of moral philosophy. In 1759 he published "Theory of Moral Sentiments; or, an Essay Towards an Analysis of the Principles, by Which Men Naturally Judge Concerning the Conduct and Character, First of Their Neighbors, and Afterward of Themselves." The work was well received, and secured for its author a splendid reputation, which enabled him to improve his situation in life. He resigned his professorship in 1764, and, after a long retirement, published in 1776 the great work of his life, which has since made the name of that grand Scotchman a household word throughout the length and breadth of civilization.

Adam Smith died in 1790. The following extract, from the life of Adam Smith, shows the relations that existed between him and the economists, and hints at one of their leading doctrines that he combated:

"The doctrine of the great men who formed the school of the economists was that the produce of the land is the sole or principal source of the revenue and wealth of every country; and this doctrine, with the manner of deriving from it the greatest possible advantage, it is almost universally acknowledged, engaged entirely their attention. Dr. Smith, who lived in great intimacy with many of the founders of the sect, does ample justice, on every occasion, to the purity of their views. * * * M. Quesnay, the first of that sect, and the author of the "Economic Table," a work of the greatest profoundness and originality, was, in particular, represented by Mr. Smith as a man of the greatest modesty and simplicity; and his system he pronounced with all its imperfections to be the nearest approximation to the truth of any that had then been published on the principles of political science."

The two leading fallacies advocated by the economists and attacked by Smith were, first, the doctrine that agriculture was the only source of producing wealth, and that all other occupations only modified the wealth produced by agriculture, but in no way increased the volume of wealth possessed by the nation as the result of agricultural production; second, the commercial system, involving the old doctrine of a balance of trade between nations, indicating prosperity or the reverse. The latter system was advocated by the economists in common with the leading authorities of all schools then in existence, and the former doctrine was advocated by them in opposition to the rest of the world. The two doctrines will be fully examined for the purpose of giving the reader a clear conception of the principles over which the intelligent friends of humanity contended during the development of the agricultural and commercial era in the development of material progress, and for the further reason of calling attention to the forcible manner in which they apply to a weak and depressed condition of agriculture, caused—not as then by an initial struggle to gain a foothold—but by unjust conditions and governmental class assistance. If

politicians to-day are attempting to array one-half of the great conservative element of the country against the other half by teaching fallacies that were exposed a hundred years ago, a thorough understanding of such fallacies will make the efforts of this class ridiculous, and will thereby neutralize the possibility of a small class controlling the elections of the country by holding a balance of power on account of the masses of the people being equally divided on important questions. Intelligent thinkers of this day do not anticipate a time when agriculture will be dispensed with or superseded by something else. It is regarded as one of the permanent occupations that will probably last as long as man continues to eat. Therefore the present depressed condition can not be taken as an indication of senile decay, and while during this period of depression the weakness and extremity may present some of the same problems presented during its weakness and extremity experienced in its incipient struggle of extreme youth for a place in the world, these present conditions must be regarded as the result of abnormal conditions that sap the very vitals and exhaust its most important elements of success.

The following extract from Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" gives an idea of one of the positions of the economists:

"All philosophical sects owe their first origin and foundation to the discovery of some great truth, and it is the madness inspiring their members to deduce everything from their new discovery that contributes most to their downfall. Thus it was with the economists. They saw that the original source of all wealth was the soil, and that the labor of its cultivation produced not only the means of sustaining the laborer, but also a neat surplus, which went to the increase of the existing stock; while, on the other hand, the labor applied to the productions of the earth, the labor of manufacturers and commerce, can only add to the material a value exactly equal to that expended during the execution of the work; by which means in the end this species of labor operates no real change on the total sum of national riches. They perceived that the landed proprietors are the first receivers of the whole wealth of the community, and that whatever is consumed by those who are not possessed of land must come directly or indirectly from the former, and, hence, that these receive wages from the proprietors, and that the circulation of national wealth is, in fact, only a succession of exchanges between these two classes of men, the proprietors furnishing their wealth, and the non-proprietors giving an equivalent their labor and industry. They perceived that a tax, being a portion of the national wealth applied to public use in every instance, however levied, bears finally upon the landed proprietors, inasmuch as they are the distributors of wealth, either by retrenching their luxuries, or by loading them with an additional expense, and that, therefore, every tax which is not levied directly on the rude produce of the earth falls in the end on the landed proprietors, with a surplus produce, from which the amount of the revenue receives no addition."

"These assertions are almost all uncontested and capable of a rigorous demonstration, and those who have attempted to show their falsity have in general opposed them only with idle sophistry." "The unproductive class, that of merchants, artificers, and manufacturers, is maintained and employed altogether at the expense of the two other classes, of that of proprietors and of that of cultivators. They furnish it both with the materials of its work and with the fund of its subsistence, with the corn and cattle which it consumes while it is employed about the work. The proprietors and cultivators finally pay both the wages of all the workmen of the unproductive class and the

profits of all their employers. Those workmen and their employers are properly the servants of the proprietors and cultivators. They are only servants who work without doors, as menial servants work within. Both the one and the other, however, are equally maintained at the expense of the same masters. The labor of both is equally unproductive. It adds nothing to the value of the sum total of the rude produce of the land. Instead of increasing the value of that sum total it is a charge and expense which must be paid out of it.

"The unproductive class, however, is not only useful, but greatly useful, to the other two classes. By means of the industry of merchants, artificers, and manufacturers, the proprietors and cultivators can purchase both the foreign goods and the manufactured produce of their own country which they have occasion for, with the produce of a much smaller quantity of their own labor than they would be obliged to employ if they were to attempt, in an awkward and unskillful manner, either to import the one or make the other, for their own use.

"It can never be the interest of the unproductive class to oppress the other two classes. It is the surplus produce of the land, or what remains after deducting the maintenance, first of the cultivators, and afterwards of the proprietors, that maintains and employs the unproductive class. The greater this surplus, the greater must likewise be the maintenance and employment of that class. The establishment of perfect justice, of perfect liberty, and of perfect equality is the very simple secret which most effectually secures the highest degree of prosperity to all three classes."

The economists also took a strong position against a protective tariff, which the same author sums up as follows:

"When a landed nation, on the contrary, oppresses, either by high duties or prohibitions, the trade of foreign nations, it necessarily hurts its own interests in two different ways: first, by raising the price of all foreign goods, and of all sorts of manufactures, it necessarily sinks the real value of the surplus produce of its own land, with which, or, what comes to the same thing, with the price of which, it purchases those foreign goods or manufactures; secondly, by giving a sort of monopoly of the home market to its own merchants, artificers, and manufacturers, it raises the rate of mercantile and manufacturing profit in proportion to that of agricultural profit; and, consequently, either draws from agriculture a part of the capital which had before been employed in it, or hinders from going to it a part of what would otherwise have gone to it. This policy, therefore, discourages agriculture in two different ways: first, by sinking the real value of its produce, and thereby lowering the rate of its profits; and, secondly, by raising the rate of profits in all other occupations. Agriculture is rendered less advantageous and trade and commerce more advantageous than they otherwise would be; and every man is tempted by his own interest to turn, as much as he can, both his capital and his industry from the former to the latter employments."

M. Say, in "A Treatise on Political Economy," published about 1815, says that the economists "maintain that labor produces no value without consuming an equivalent; that, consequently, it leaves no surplus, no net produce, and that nothing but the earth produces gratuitous value; therefore, nothing else can yield net produce. Each of these positions has been reduced to system. I only cite them to warn the student of the dangerous consequences of an error in the outset, and to bring the science back to the simple observation of facts. Now, facts demonstrate that values produced are referable to the agency and concurrence of industry, of capital, and

"These principles once established, Quesnay proceeded to divide society into three classes: the *first*, or *productive*, class, by whose agency all wealth is produced, consists of the farmers and laborers engaged in agriculture, who subsist on a portion of the produce of the land reserved to themselves as the wages of their

labor, and as a reasonable profit on their capital; the *second*, or *proprietary*, class consists of those who live on the rent of the land, or on the *net surplus produce* raised by the cultivators after their necessary expenses have been deducted; and the *third*, or *unproductive*, class consists of merchants, manufacturers, and menial servants, etc., whose labor, though exceedingly useful, adds nothing to the national wealth, and who subsist entirely on the wages paid them by the other two classes. It is obvious, supposing this classification made on just principles, that all taxes must fall on the landlords.

"Among the dangerous consequences of the system of the economists is the notable one of substituting a land tax in lieu of all other taxation, in the certainty that this tax would affect all produced value whatever. Upon a contrary principle, and in pursuance of the maxims laid down by Smith, the net produce of land and capital ought to be exempted from taxation altogether, if with him we take for granted that they produce nothing spontaneously, but this would be as unjust on the opposite side."

McCulloch, in his "Principles of Political Economy," says of M. Quesnay: "It is to him that the merit unquestionably belongs of having first attempted to investigate and analyze the sources of wealth, with the intention of ascertaining the fundamental principles of political economy, and who thus gave it a systematic form and raised it to the rank of a science. Quesnay's father was a small proprietor, and, having been educated in the country, he was naturally inclined to regard agriculture with more than ordinary partiality. At an early period of his life he had been struck with its depressed state in France, and had set himself to discover the causes which had prevented its making that progress which the industry of the inhabitants, the fertility of the soil, and the excellence of the climate seemed to insure. In the course of this inquiry he speedily discovered that the prevention of the exportation of corn to foreign countries, and the preference given by the regulations of Colbert to the manufacturing and commercial classes over the agriculturist, formed the most powerful obstacles to the progress and improvement of agriculture. But Quesnay was not satisfied with exposing the injustice of this preference, and its pernicious consequences. His zeal for the interests of agriculture led him not merely to place it on the same level with manufactures and commerce, but to raise it above them—by endeavoring to show that it was the only species of industry which contributed to increase the riches of a nation. Founding on the indisputable fact, that, everything that either ministers to our wants or gratifies our desires, must be originally derived from the earth, Quesnay assumed as a self-evident truth, and as the basis of his system, that the earth is the only source of wealth, and held that industry was altogether incapable of producing any new value, except when employed in agriculture, including under that term fisheries and mines. His observations of the striking effects of the vegetative powers of nature, and his inability to explain the real origin and causes of rents, confirmed him in this opinion. The circumstances, that of those who are engaged in industrious undertakings, none but the cultivators of the soil paid rent for the use of natural agents, appeared to him an incontrovertible proof that agriculture was the only species of industry which yielded a net surplus (*produit net*) over and above the expenses of production. Quesnay allowed that manufactures and merchants were highly useful; but, as they realized no net surplus in the shape of rent, he contended they did not add any greater value to the raw material of the commodities they manufactured or carried from place to place than was just equivalent to the value of the capital or stock consumed by them during the time they were necessarily engaged in these operations."

"These principles once established, Quesnay proceeded to divide society into three classes: the *first*, or *productive*, class, by whose agency all wealth is produced, consists of the farmers and laborers engaged in agriculture, who subsist on a portion of the produce of the land reserved to themselves as the wages of their

deep into the science through the fear they almost universally express of becoming erratic or fanatical on the subject. Even those who pose before the people as statesmen will frequently admit, when pressed to the confession, that they are averse to plunging very deep into political economy because it is not necessary that he should produce directly by them all the movements which he requires. The first and most obvious substitute is the muscular action of cattle. By degrees the powers of inanimate nature are made to aid in this, too, as by making the wind or water, things already in motion, communicate a part of their motion to the wheels, which before that invention were made to revolve by muscular force." No human force can produce any new matter; it can simply add utility; and no one will argue that while the farmer puts the grain in the ground and depends on the forces of nature to reward his labors by an addition of utility in the shape of a greater volume of the same grain, he is no more a producer than the miller who puts the grain in the hopper and depends upon the forces of nature to reward his labors by an addition of utility in the shape of the same weight or volume of a new product of greater exchangeable value because possessing the additional utility of being in proper form for consumption. Neither is he less a producer who spends a whole year in labor arranging the forces of nature and receives as a result five bales of cotton, which sells for two hundred and fifty dollars, than he who by bringing the forces of nature into active play by means of fire and water, producing steam to put in motion the machinery of a cotton factory that spins and weaves 20,000 bales of cotton in a year into a product with an exchangeable value of one and a half million dollars.

There is a class of politicians—and if there be a labor party, they are in that as well as all other parties—that seek to advance self by telling their hearers something that will please them; they are fond of calling the farmers "horny-handed sons of toil," and of telling them that they were raised on the farm and love the farmer; they are just now telling him he is the only producer, and that all other classes live off him, and that therefore he should rule the world, fill all the offices, and dictate terms to all the rest of mankind. Now, while it sounds very nice and leads many astray and is very gratifying if true, no farmer can afford to fool himself into swallowing such doctrine if it is not true, because it would in time bring him to grief. His true interests demand nothing but justice from mankind. He can and must grant that to all others, and can never submit to anything short of that for himself. He should not ask or receive any more credit than he deserves, nor submit to any less. With this spirit and understanding, the positions of the economists will be stripped of all sophistry and useless verbiage—propositions reduced to the simplest terms and conclusions shown.

The doctrine of the economists that manufacturers and others produced nothing was based on a confusion between matter and utility and in claiming that a manufacturer only brought things already in existence together, and that even the money paid by him to labor was already the product of former labor, and consequently the finished product would only be equal to the combined value of its constituents in labor and material, they lost sight of the added value of the increased utility that the new product may have on account of form, and evidenced by an increased exchangeable value. They supposed the labor to be expended for a bare subsistence; for had the product represented, according to their doctrine, anything more than was actually invested in it, that increase must be a new product; therefore labor could only be allowed a bare subsistence and capital no interest, nor land any rent for manufacturing. This in this day and time must be regarded by all as extreme fallacy, as price is universally regarded as regulated by supply and demand, with such limitations and restrictions as may be imposed by ability to purchase, and exchangeable value is the measure of utility, and, as we have seen, utility is the result of production. This method of stating makes the subject plain, and accounts for combinations which diminish prices of products, depressing production, and combinations which increase the price of commodities diminish consumption by creating an inability to purchase. But the agriculturist has no more right to say that all manufacturers and artisans shall work in their fields of production for a bare subsistence for labor and no interest on the capital invested than they have inclination to say they will do so themselves; and, in fact, if labor could produce no more utility than a bare subsistence there would be no growth or

expansion in the productive power of society. The view of production is lucidly explained by John Stuart Mill as follows: "Labor, then, in the physical world, is always and solely employed in putting objects in motion; the properties of matter, the laws of nature do the rest. The skill and ingenuity of human beings are chiefly

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progress in the world, as the same law that compelled others to so work would compel the agriculturist to measure his product at the end of the year, estimate his expenses for a bare subsistence, and apply that as the price of the whole product. This is utterly visionary and impracticable. There is no denying the fact that the agriculturist must divide the honor of being a producer with all those who labor faithfully and honestly to utilize the forces of nature in adding to the utility which has an exchangeable value with mankind. The single-tax doctrine of the economists is based on more practical reasoning, and affects some of the most vital problems of the present day. It and their doctrine of the balance of trade or the commercial system of political economy will be analyzed in future issues of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

From J. R. Miles, President of the Tennessee State Wheel, and J. P. Buchanan, President of Tennessee State Alliance.

We, the undersigned, recognizing the action of the two National bodies at Meridian, Miss., looking to an organic union of the Wheel and Alliance, do, by the authority vested in us, call a joint meeting of the Wheel and Alliance, to be held at Nashville, Tenn., in the State Capitol, on Tuesday, July 23, 1889, at 10 o'clock A. M., for the purpose of uniting the two orders into one, under the name and constitution adopted by the National Wheel and Alliance at Meridian, Miss., December 10th, 1888. The county Alliances will elect their delegates under the Alliance constitution, and the county Wheels in accordance with the State Wheel constitution. The Alliance will meet in the senate chamber and the Wheel in house of representatives, and after settling up their old business come together to formulate a State constitution in accordance with that adopted at Meridian, Miss., under the name of Farmers and Laborers Union of America, with one set of officers for both bodies. Each body will continue to work and organize under its own constitution until said joint meeting.

J. R. MILES,
President State Wheel.
J. P. BUCHANAN,
President State Alliance.

I take pleasure in calling your attention to the Marshall Planter advertised in another column. I have examined this planter and believe it to be the best in the market. This planter will be manufactured and sold to farmers direct, and is owned and controlled by Alliancemen, and I recommend it to the brotherhood.

It BEN. TERRELL.

ALLIANCE AID ASSOCIATION
Is the name of the Alliance organization in Dakota for the purpose of furnishing cheap and effective Life Insurance. It is incorporated under the laws of Dakota, with home office at Huron. The officers are: President, Alonzo Wardall; Vice-President, D. S. Dodds; Secretary, S. D. Cooley; Medical Director, M. Ware, M. D.; Depository, Huron National Bank.

Their plan was presented to the National Alliance, at Des Moines, Ia., and by that body adopted. Membership is limited to members of the Farmers Alliance of the Northwest, men or women, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, of temperate habits, good moral character, and able to pass a careful medical examination. Limit of benefits, \$2,000. No annual dues. Assessments made only when necessary to pay losses.

The object of the association is to aid and assist the widows and orphans of its members. It is managed and controlled by a board of nine directors. No fixed salaries are paid the officers. All officers and agents are required to give good and sufficient bond. For further particulars address A. Wardall, president, Huron, Dak.

[Continued from page 23.]
gia farmer doesn't work, and who is always insulting you, deserves your contempt. I know that you do work.

THE GEORGIA FARMERS WORK.

You do your best. I see it stated that the carpet factories must cut down the wages of the laborer because there is overproduction. The manufacturers demand of the Government that they must be protected or they will have to close down. You must give us a bonus, they say, or we will shut down. Suppose we unite, and get control of the grain and cotton crops; we could put up the price on all our crops, and carpet our houses, and these factories would have no overproduction. I have seen men in Georgia shivering in the cold rain, because they had no overcoats. Was it because they didn't want overcoats?

There is overproduction because there is overpoverty. The people can't afford to buy.

If you could afford to purchase what you want and need, the factories of the United States could not complain of overproduction. Take any one article of manufacture. There is not as much domestics used as the people need and not enough manufactured to supply the demand if you could afford to buy it. If we had the means we could double and treble the consumption. We don't raise enough cotton to supply the demand if we could only command the means to buy what we need.

THE FARMER IS NOT THE POOREST MAN.

The farmers are not the poorest people of the country. In the larger cities, among the poor and destitute, you can see the worst consequences of this combination of capital.

You will find there the poor sewing woman making shirts at six cents apiece. She works day and night with weary eyes, in the dim candle-light, no chance for improvement, no hope. We know nothing of such privation. The really poor are in the great cities. The other day I asked a poor woman what she got in the factory. She said she got \$9 a month! She had to board and clothe herself out of this small sum. Her board was \$8 a month. This left her but one dollar a month to clothe herself and get what other necessities she must have. Surely these conditions should be altered. But there are none that can do this but the laborers themselves. If you are not worthy, you will never achieve success.

THE ALLIANCE EXCHANGE.

We are attempting to form what we call an Exchange in Georgia. I believe it is the grandest idea that ever emanated from the brain of man. You are to-day buying in the highest markets in the world and selling in the lowest.

You are laboring day after day in the hot sun to raise cotton, and selling it for less than it cost you to produce it. The factory makes the cloth, sells it to the jobber, the jobber to the wholesale man, the wholesale man to the retail dealer, and from the retail dealer you buy your cotton back. The skinning commences at the top, and the biggest piece of hide is taken off of you. [Applause.] You pay the buyer his salary to purchase your cotton. He must have a "margin." Then the big factor comes along, buys the cotton, and gives a little more for it. The factory pays the biggest price. You get the lowest price for the cotton and pay the biggest price for the cotton cloth. What can you do with the Exchange? Some people say that I am a theorist and get carried away by my subject. I deny it. This is no theory. We can rule the world if we will. By paying \$1 a year into the Exchange the farmers of Georgia can lay up \$80,000 every year. There are 80,000 members in the Alliance in Georgia. Texas puts in \$100,000. We could thus build up a combined capital, which can stand between you and the capitalists. We can fight capital with capital; fight the devil

with fire—the only way I know of fighting him. The farmer who does not understand the Farmers Exchange is slow to comprehend. You establish an Exchange. You trade for cash through the Exchange. That is a great benefit. Then there is your cotton. The trustee-stock holder in the sub-Alliance having the cotton mortgaged to him can control the last bale. If he holds it off the market sixty days that will settle it. Keep cotton from Europe sixty days and the price will run up. You will get three cents more on the pound for your cotton. Take the lesson and learn it. Be men, be brothers, and you have got the matter dead. Nobody can defeat you. It is impossible for the rest of the world to defeat the men who produce all the wealth of the world.

CO-OPERATION OF FARMERS.

I am here to discuss the co-operation of farmers; to show how organization is necessary, and that you must have co-operation. You must have education to show you how to organize. You must organize or you will perish. Webster said we must educate or we must perish. Intelligence rules matter. Unless you farmers know your interests you can not intelligently work to succeed.

When you know what it is you want, and have confidence in yourselves, you will find that you can achieve it. Hope, that flower of the heart which sheds fragrance throughout our lives, is necessary for your success. You have accomplished much already. You are partially organized and have got your legislature where it bows down and asks what you will have. It was never so before. [Applause.]

If you organize your Exchange in Georgia you can get what you want, and you can rule the prices in your country. Here is how co-operation will work: Kentucky sells mules; you need them and buy them, paying \$125 for a mule that can be bought in Kentucky for \$60. You have no option. You must now buy in your home market. You should buy in Kentucky. Now Kentucky has an Exchange. Say you are organized, and want so many mules. You order them and the Kentucky Exchange sells them to you at 60 per cent. less than you pay for them now. Everything will be in proportion. I wanted to buy a buggy in Texas. Two of my neighbors also wanted buggies. If ordered from St. Louis they would have cost us \$185. A dealer in San Antonio charged us \$175 for this same make of buggies. When the Exchange started we got them for \$100 each. Wagons that once cost us \$75 we now buy for \$57. Plows that once cost us \$60 we now get for \$40. This is what the Exchange has done for us in Texas.

No farmer in Georgia can go to a factory and purchase for himself except in the retail department, and the merchant will get his regular discount. You let other people attend to your affairs. As long as you continue in that line you will get the experience and they will get all the money. We have had experience enough. We want a little of the cash. [Applause.] I want you to hear me. Don't listen to me because I am here, but for your own sakes, for the sake of your little ones. Be men. Go to your sub-Alliances determined to succeed. Be men, and I'll guarantee that no such success was ever seen here before.

WE ARE THE MUD-SILLS,

and when we turn over I'll be dog-gone if the balance of the superstructure won't turn over with us. [Applause and laughter.]

You should have faith and confidence in one another, and quit this way of not sticking together. There is everything to make you stand. When you say the farmers are not sticking, you are hurting the movement. There may be some weak brother who halts between two opinions, and your remark may cause him to fall. Paul says if eating meat

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before the 1st day of January; the number he can and will hold until the 1st day of March; the number of bales he can and will hold until the 1st day of May, and the number he can and will hold until the 1st day of July.

Resolved, That the secretary of the sub-Alliance shall transmit said report to the county secretary, who shall consolidate them and transmit said consolidated report to the State secretary, who shall consolidate them and transmit a copy of the consolidated report to the chairman of the Cotton Committee.

Resolved, That the Cotton Committee shall have power to treat with manufacturers, or others for the sale of the cotton held and deliverable at any of the days specified, or sooner, if in their judgment fair prices can be obtained.

Resolved, That the Cotton Committee shall issue a circular from time to time to the sub-Alliances and Wheels in the cotton belt; urging them to raise sufficient supplies for man and beast, in order that they may be better able to hold their cotton and aid in this work.

Resolved, That the Cotton Committee shall have power to change anything in this plan in order to simplify it, but must not change anything that will hinder the accomplishment of this great work.

Resolved, That any member who pledges cotton, to be held for a certain time, and violates said pledge, shall be guilty of conduct unbefitting an Allianceman.

Resolved, That each county and sub-Alliance or Wheel may have a cotton committee to assist in the execution of this work.

Resolved, That the chairman of the Cotton Committee is authorized to draw warrants on the National Treasurer for all the expenses of the execution of this work, and the said committee shall be allowed their actual expenses until the next meeting of this organization, at which said meeting said Cotton Committee will submit a report of their proceedings. The expense account to be itemized.

(Signed) J. F. PAYNE, North Carolina.
R. J. SLEDGE, Texas.
A. T. HATCHER, Louisiana.
D. W. DYAL, Georgia.

The questions covered by the foregoing resolutions are of supreme importance. The fullest measure of relief can be secured by united action. The cotton-grower has a right to expect and demand that the price of his product shall be regulated by the natural law of supply and demand, and not by the cupidity of organized capitalists and gamblers. But individual action is utterly powerless to secure such a result. We urge upon you to unite with us in this great work, and to contribute your influence and your best efforts to the successful overthrow of the unrighteous combinations which for long years have deprived you of the legitimate fruits of your labors.

Present the question to your neighbors and to the agricultural organization of which you may be a member, and advise us at your very earliest convenience of the result of your work. All necessary blanks will be sent to you in proper time.

By order of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-Operative Union of America:

J. F. PAYNE, Chairman.
R. J. SLEDGE,
ROBERT C. PATTY,
Committee.

NOTE.—It is requested that responses to the above circular shall be mailed as follows:

From the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to J. F. Payne, Alma, N. C.

From the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Texas, and Indian Territory, to R. J. Sledge, Kyle, Texas.

From the States of Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and Tennessee, to Robert C. Patty, Mason, Miss.

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WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

In pursuance of the design to review the great departments of the Government, as announced in the last issue of the ECONOMIST, it is probably best to give the reader first a general idea of the appearance of the Capital City, where these great engines of government are located, as there can be little doubt but every American will feel a pride in knowing that the capital of his country compares favorably with the greatest capitals of the Old World and far surpasses many others; not in the ostentatious display of wealth, but in beauty of design and the character of buildings which go to make up its homes as well as public edifices and commercial structures.

Washington, being the Capital of the Nation, would, for that reason alone, command a great degree of interest, not only from Americans, but throughout the civilized world, yet, setting aside this reason, it has claims upon the interest and attention of all, on account of the natural beauty of its location and the symmetry and elegance of its plan and design.

Although Americans may now boast of the splendor of their Capital City, it has not reached its present development and beauty without a long experience of doubt, trepidation, and bickering. A hundred years ago the question was first opened as to the location of the permanent seat of Government:

The Continental Congress had held its sessions in eight different places. The business of the Government was assuming large proportions, and it became necessary that a permanent location be decided on where it could be safely and properly conducted.

On the 23d of December, 1784, a resolution was adopted by Congress of the Confederation for the appointment of commissioners to lay out a district on the Delaware River, near the Lower Falls, for a Federal town, to contain the Government departments and offices. It was moved to substitute Georgetown, on the Potomac, as the site, but all the States except Virginia voted against the motion. However, the resolution was never carried into effect, and the whole matter rested until May, 1787, when an effort was made to take up a resolution for the erection of Government buildings at Georgetown, on the Potomac. This effort did not succeed, and nothing further was ever done in the Congress of the Confederation upon this subject.

In 1787, during the session in Philadelphia of the convention to revise the Federal system of government, it was proposed that the new Constitution of the United States should provide against the choosing, for the seat of the General Government, any city or place where a State government was located, fearing conflicts concerning jurisdiction. A motion was made by James Madison that the following clause be added to the enumerated powers of Congress: "To exercise exclusively legislative authority at the seat of General Government and over a district ten miles square, the consent of the State or States comprising the same to be first obtained." The motion was adopted.

The first Congress of the United States under the Constitution assembled in New York on March 4, 1789, and this Congress received memorials from almost all the principal towns of the Nation praying for the settlement of the question as to a permanent location for the seat of Government. Immediately a bitter contest began and was waged by the champions of various sections. The contest was especially bitter between the Northern and Southern States as to which section should secure the great boon.

After much wrangling and bitter contention a motion was carried to locate the Capital at some convenient place on the east bank of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. This created great bitterness between the Northern and Southern representatives and much ill-nature was exhibited. A resolution to appoint commissioners to select the site on the Susquehanna was passed. Three days were occupied by the Senate in discussing the matter, and on September 26, 1789, the Senate passed a bill locating the Capital at Germantown, on the Delaware River, in Pennsylvania. This bill was agreed to by the House after a stormy debate.

The three commissioners appointed by Congress entered upon their duties on April 15, 1791, and laid the first boundary-stone of the District with Masonic ceremony. They named the District the Territory of Columbia, and it retained this name for a number of years. They called the Capital the City of Washington.

The founding of the city seems to be exactly after the manner of the founding of the great cities of antiquity. A site was chosen in the wilderness and the city laid out before any building was begun. It was built for an object, and upon a thoroughly-digested plan suitable to that object, and owing to this cause the city has developed into the magnificence which it boasts to-day.

to the district chosen, which was accordingly done. Thus it will be seen that the choice of the present site for the seat of Government was made only after long and bitter contention, and was at the time of its choice almost in its primitive wildness.

The region chosen and now known as the District of Columbia was partially explored by Capt. John Smith in 1608, who was the first white man to sail up the Potomac. Fifteen years later an Englishman, Henry Fleet, in search of furs, followed nearly the same course pursued by Smith, and in his letters described the locality as "the most healthful and pleasant region in all this country."

About forty years after Fleet made his trip to this section emigrants from Scotland and Ireland settled in the District of Columbia, and their descendants occupied it at the time of its adoption as the seat of Government. In 1663 what is now Capitol Hill was owned by Francis Pope, who called it Rome. At the time the seat of Government was located here Alexandria, seven miles below on the Potomac, was a thriving and metropolitan city having a large and profitable trade.

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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:

	Regular price.	Club-price price. of both.
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THE subscription lists of THE ECONOMIST are growing at a rate to make newspaper men green with envy. Keep up the good work, send in your clubs and the time is not far distant when the voice of the farmers heard through THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST will be heeded and respected.

The National Economist

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

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1889.

NO. 3.

Combination.

The balances are constantly vibrating between competition and combination. The conflict between these two remedies is perhaps now greater than ever before. In spite of the fact that the time is passed when ultraism and extremism is calculated to prevail, and that conservative views only are calculated to convince the thinking public, the tendency of nearly all writers on the subject is either to ascribe too much or too little power for good to competition. For several years past labor and farm literature has generally taught pessimistic views as to competition, and this attitude accords with the tendency of the times to organization, and harmonizes nicely with the efforts sought to be achieved by combining into organizations. As competition and combination are the exact opposites of each other, it follows that he who condemns competition advocates combination, and vice versa. The thoughtful may well hesitate, therefore, before condemning either. He will be loth to oppose combinations, if by so doing he realizes that he is, even indirectly, favoring competition as a universal remedy.

Organization is combination and combination is socialism, and socialism does away with all individual effort, individual reward, or individual franchises and powers; thus completely destroying any individual competition. Without individual competition and rivalry, what is there to emulate? The answer must inevitably be, nothing. The Sunday-school teacher offers a reward for the best learned lesson, and a dozen pair of bright eyes grow brighter and snap with energy and zeal, and, inspired by the emulating effect of competition, they bring into activity the higher attributes of man and develop more rapidly their mental and moral natures by the contest for the prize; or the State fair may offer a big premium for the best stock. Men are but grown-up children, and competition inspires the best efforts with them also. In many places the Farmers Alliance gives a reward in cash to the member who gets the largest or best crop under named conditions. This has the same effect, and is commendable in that it stimulates man to effort. So, in every walk or occupation of life, examination will show that competition between individuals is the spur to individual effort. Individual effort recognizes competition as ever present, and realizes it as a permanent condition.

And by it such effort is enabled to succeed on its own merits pure and simple; it is not compelled to build at the expense of others, because, under the free operation of competition, inherent merit must be successful. But the so-called competition between combinations is a mis-

nomer; there can be no such thing as competition pure and simple between combinations.

Combination always aims at monopoly, and when only partially successful in combining all of a certain class or trade or business it may

find opposition by a rival combination seeking the same object, and this may engender between such combinations what is sometimes designated competition, but it is not; it is a destructive warfare that will induce either one to part with the results of its effort at less than cost—something legitimate competition never does—and this warfare has for its object conquest. It is not a permanent condition calculated to emulate effort and secure reward for merit, but a temporary conflict waged for the purpose of rewarding power regardless of merit, and therefore emulates effort to secure power only, regardless of methods. Such conflicts, while they sometimes seem to benefit the public while the conflict is raging, are always followed by augmented benefits to the combination, which must be at the expense of the public, and more than compensate for the momentary extravagance during the conflict. Such conflicts, however, are to be condemned as deplorable, because they rob merit of its reward and blunt the moral sense by emulating effort to exert itself for power as the one thing essential.

Farmers of America, arouse and shake off this stupor as to trusts and combinations; brush away from before your eyes and minds the mists and confusion caused by a thousand arguments proposed by fools, knaves, and demagogues, and realize in plain, simple, homespun language that competition is the main-spring to emulate individual action and effort; but that combination is the function of government and government alone. A man can not be true to two or three governments at one time. If he loves his government, has confidence in it, and proposes to maintain it, he can have but one. If he is true to himself and family he can not afford to yield his individuality to more than one government at a time. Let the government be the embodiment of all the combined-action society finds necessary, by saying that all kinds of business or effort susceptible of being monopolized shall be conducted by the whole society and not by a favored few.

In accordance with these doctrines it would become the duty of the various branches under this confederated form of republican government to each take charge of and control such essential lines of business or such natural opportunities as are susceptible of being appropriated by monopolies to oppress the masses. The General Government would be the only power to issue money, it would as now carry the mails, and should operate telegraph lines and the ex-

press business and any other branches that are essentially National. The States, being separate autonomies and complete jurisdictions within themselves, should conduct such State business as may be monopolized, such as insurance, the various forms of education, both literary and industrial, territorial telephone lines, canals, etc. And the cities should conduct their gas-works, street-car lines, city telephones, water-works, and any other lines susceptible of monopoly. Under such conditions combinations or corporations for owning and speculating in land could not exist, because, land being a limited and essential element to the existence and life of the citizen, the Government must ever control the unused part, and hold a reversionary interest in same in trust for the benefit of the additions to population until all is used. This function of government is not now forced into activity, but it is only a question of time when it will be. No government could stand the strain that would be brought to bear if it should allow the increase of its population pushed into the sea to drown for lack of standing room on dry land, while part of its people held thousands of acres unused.

This argument in opposition to combination may, by many, be construed as an opposition to organization of any kind, and therefore unfavorable to the progress of association, organization, and co-operation among the farmers and laboring men of the United States, but such is not the case. Combination and organization are easiest effected and more successfully conducted by a small number or class. The farmers and laborers are the two largest classes of the Nation. Now while combination for the purpose of monopoly is wrong in the initiative, after all or many of the easiest organized and combined classes have already organized for that purpose, it may, and in this country has, become necessary for these two large classes to organize for self-protection. If the Government was adequate to the necessities of the times, if its powerful hand could always be depended on for conditions compelling justice between man and man, the necessity for organization would cease to exist and they would all disband.

The conclusions, then, are that the organization of aggressive combinations for the purpose of monopoly, by which it is intended to enslave labor, has forced labor to organize passive combinations to temporarily perform the functions of true government by resisting such monopolies, but that the better plan would be for government to do its whole duty and assume control of such lines of business as are essential to all and are or can be