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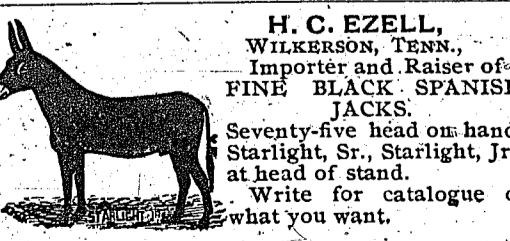
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# The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

{ SINGLE COPY  
FIVE CENTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 4, 1890.

No. 16.

## THE KEY TO THE PRESENT POLICY.

Those who are deprived of the right and power of participation in the government of their country are not free men; those who have the right but fail to exercise it fully cannot long remain free. The agricultural masses of this republic are themselves largely responsible for the evils of which they complain. They have failed to exercise any influence upon the Government and the law-making powers proportionate to their numbers and importance in society. They have been lacking in self-respect and self-assertion. They have too often followed in the lead of presumptuous mediocrity and permitted unscrupulous cunning to shape the policies of the Government. They have plodded along, passively submitting to every imposition and bearing the heaviest incidence of every national burden, sometimes in silence and sometimes with unheeded complaining. True, they have at times passed protesting resolutions, but their resolutions have been ignored. They have organized for protection, but hitherto these organizations have been spasmodic, isolated, fragmentary and usually treated with supreme indifference. Consequently their influence upon legislation and their power to promote their rightful interests have been merely nominal. True, at election times aspiring politicians fed the farmers and producers on fulsome flattery. But those politicians in power and a policy to be adopted, the producers were not consulted nor would their advice be respected. A resolution passed by fifty members of a board of trade or bankers' association had more influence in passing or preventing the passage of laws than fifty thousand farmers in isolated factions, howling themselves hoarse for or against the same measure. Last week ex-President Cleveland, at a banquet given by the Boston Merchants' Association, and addressing the merchants, bankers, brokers and speculators there assembled, said:

There seem to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth; the first is by war as the Romans did—this is robbery; the second, by commerce—this is generally cheating; the third, by agriculture—the only honest way wherein a man receives a real increase of the seed thrown in the ground, a kind of a continual miracle wrought by the hand of God in his favor as a reward for his innocent life and industry.

But not only does Mr. Cleveland declare that the special interests he was addressing should be the chief care of the Government, but that they also give to the country "the privilege of recognized membership in the community of nations." Shades of patriot farmers and laborers of 1776-'83, who risked your liberties and lives, who struggled and starved the long, weary years from Lexington to Yorktown, who suffered untold hardships and made innumerable sacrifices that America might be free to enter as a member of the community of nations, how soon your heroic lives and noble deeds are forgotten!

The Tory traders and traitors of New York who stood up for George the Third receive just as much credit as you do now! And yet, were it not for you, it is more than probable that this country would not have entered the community of nations in 1783, and it is possible that Mr. Cleveland, instead of being the honored ex-President of the greatest republic in the world, might be simply a

subject of Britain's petticoated monarch. Mr. Cleveland is candid in all his public utterances, and for this deserves the respect even of those who are conscientiously compelled to dissent from his opinions. There are many others who hold the same opinions, but who have not the same frankness in giving them expression. A few years ago Mr. Garrett, then president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, was given a banquet in New York. One of the speakers, named Egleston, referring to the guest of the evening, said: "Does he not come to us bearing the spoils of the tributary West?" All present applauded the happy, appropriate and truthful expression. And who were the despiled? The farmers and producers, who, under present economic systems, appear to exist for that purpose only. Of course Mr. Egleston did not mean that the honored guest brought spoils as the haughty Roman military leaders did, after the fashion and in the form referred to by Franklin. No; Mr. Egleston meant that he brought to them spoils in the form of dividends, profits, rent and interest. Nor did he, like the rude Roman warriors, bring back not only the spoils but the despiled—the latter to make slaves. No; the despiled are here left behind in the tributary provinces to make more wealth. This shows that we are growing wiser, and that the law is mightier than the sword in making millionaires. But will Mr. Egleston for a moment lift his eyes from gazing upon the spoils, and Mr. Cleveland his vision from contemplating the greatness of the tribute takers, and look at the other end of the line, where the spoils come from, and at those from whom the spoils come? They will find that just in proportion to the magnificence at one end will be the misery left at the other end. They will find that the bigger the dividends and profits accruing at one end, the bigger the debts and the greater the privations accumulating at the other. They will find the producers toiling early and late, and yet the harder they toil and the more they produce the less those products bring them in return. There is no mystery about this apparent paradox, however. Products can not pay big rents, interest, dividends and profits at one end of the line and leave fair and adequate returns to the producers at the other end. This is an impossibility. The organized producers recognize this, and they propose that the system which despoils them, for the benefit of favored classes, must be changed; that scarecrow farmer must have clothes to wear, instead of rags, and a house to live in instead

of a cheerless hovel for himself and family. Possibly the dividends and profits, and interest, at the other end may be then smaller. No matter; men were not specially created to make profits for others, but to make livings for themselves. The agricultural organizations do not ask for the class legislation, nor do they aspire to become the "chief care" of the government. They know that other classes of workers are also wronged by present unjust systems. They believe that every worker and producer should be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labor, and that any system which aids certain classes in absorbing the wealth of the producers without giving an equitable return should be abolished. There are such systems now in operation. They must go.

THE monopolistic press is just at the present time devoting considerable attention to the labor question. Whole columns of advice and suggestions are being given out by newspapers that have never before thought it worth while to recognize the existence of such an element. But, like all amateurs, their awkwardness betrays their ignorance and plainly shows how completely they have failed to grasp the real situation. The laboring men of America are not asking charity, but demanding justice. All this gratuitous, patronizing advice is neither asked for nor kindly received. These journals have been so fully engaged during the past thirty years fastening upon this country the European system of finance that all other national economies are considered from the same standpoint. They advise the workingmen as to certain methods of living, certain regulations as to family expenses, and other matters of similar character which in their opinion would make his condition in life more bearable, never once taking into consideration the fact that this is or ought to be a nation where labor is supreme and justly entitled to the full measure of its production. They prescribe simple palliatives, never true remedies. What the American people want is a fair show, an equal chance, and ninety-nine out of every hundred have the manhood and grit that will enable them to abide by the consequences.

THE cry is, let us have money based on evidences of wealth, and not on evidences of debt.

ALL State Alliances that were under the jurisdiction of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America are hereby notified that they should make report and remittance for fees and dues from July 1 to October 1, 1889. All States reported up to July 1, but none have settled up to October 1 except Kansas. Some States are also in arrears for dues prior to July 1. All this should be settled immediately, so the outstanding debts against the National Alliance may be liquidated. Reports and remittances should be made at once to C. W. Macune, chairman of the National Executive Board, at Washington, D. C.

Corrected and Explained.  
BY R. G. BLOOD, OF MOUNT VERNON, ILL.

Allow me to correct some mistakes which you make in your issue of December 14, under the head "Meeting and Consolidation," and in which you say: "The Farmers and Laborers Union was fully consolidated with the Mutual Benefit Association." No such consolidation took place, and the facts in the case, so far as the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association is concerned, are as follows: The F. M. B. A. operates under a charter issued by the Secretary of State of Illinois, and has subordinate, county and national bodies, no State. Its national body is designated as the general assembly, and is the supreme head of the organization, and its meetings are annual on the first Tuesday in December of each year. At its annual meeting in Murphysboro, Ill., December, 1888 I presented letters from C. W. Macune, President of the F. A. and C. U. of A.; Isaac McCracken, President of the A. W., Evan Jones and R. M. Humphrey, cordially inviting the F. M. B. A. to send representatives to the Meridian meeting, and in accordance with said invitation the G. A. elected T. D. Hinkley as a delegate to that meeting. At our last annual meeting, held at Mt. Vernon, Ind., December, 1889, Bro. Hinkley made his report as delegate to the Meridian meeting, in which he said, "Your committee is happy to report that the consolidation, so far as the Alliance and Wheel are concerned, is effected, and respectfully recommends that this general assembly adopt the constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and submit the same to the subordinate lodges of the Farmers' Mutual Association for their action," which report was referred to a special committee of five, which committee, after due deliberation, submitted a unanimous report in favor of the recommendation to consolidate. This report was followed by a motion to adopt, and that by a substitute to defer further consideration till the next annual meeting, so all debate was on the substitute, and but few speeches were made. The general secretary, Bro. J. P. Stille, of Mt. Vernon, Ill., made a lengthy and stirring speech in opposition to the consolidation, and in which he used the following argument: "That the F. M. B. A. has a charter granted under the laws of Illinois, but that the Farmers and Laborers Union had no charter, hence no legal existence. That all property now owned by lodges of the F. M. B. A. would be lost if the consolidation took place; that we would have to surrender our name and all we hold dear, and that it would entail upon us an enormous expense in procuring new charters, books, etc. Bro. J. M. Washburn, our F. M. B. A. lawyer, made two long speeches to kill time, but did not touch upon the question at issue, and finally the question was rushed through upon a motion for previous question without allowing the friends of consolidation any reasonable opportunity to present their side of the question. The result of the ballot was "to postpone further consideration for one year," but many delegates who were instructed to vote for consolidation voted for postponement, and many if not a majority of the delegates were in entire ignorance of any move being made toward consolidation until the question was presented at the meeting. In this connection let me remark that the F. M. B. A. has but one paper, and the editor of that paper, since publishing a brief report from Bro. Hinkley early in January, has studiously avoided mentioning the question of consoli-

dation. Later in the session at Mt. Vernon, Ind., our General Secretary introduced a resolution to be sent to the meeting of F. & L. U. at St. Louis, asking co-operation. The resolution was adopted and a committee of five appointed to take it to St. Louis; this the committee did, and while at that meeting, and in accordance with a resolution there adopted, each of the delegates and a few other members of the F. M. B. A. who were visiting the city, became honorary members of the F. & L. U., and thus matters stand at present. The National Farmers Alliance which held its meeting in St. Louis at the same time as the meeting of the F. & L. U., adopted the same constitution and name (Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union) as was adopted by the F. & L. U., and entered into an agreement that when two-thirds of their States had ratified said constitution their national president should declare the National Farmers Alliance dissolved, and their delegates from Kansas and Dakota, by delegated authority, did then and there ratify the constitution, and were seated as delegates in the National Farmers and Laborers Union.

A Country Debating Society.  
BY HARRY HINTON.

*The proceedings of the Solomon Society continued.*

The question again the state and condition of the Union, the president in the chair.

James Highkite—It affords me no little pleasure to resume this discussion in favor of the soundness of the present state of the Union. The soundness of the Union is evidenced in the millions of happy homes scattered over our extensive domain, and in the fact that the laborer is better paid here than in any other part of the known world. Home! That name touches every chord of the human heart with its angelic fingers and strikes every fibre of the soul. Years ago near twenty thousand people gathered in the old Castle Garden, New York, to hear Jennie Lind sing as no other songstress ever had sung the sublime notes of Beetluven, Handel and others. Amid the grandest victory that song had ever won the Swedish Nightingale thought of her girlish home. She paused and seemed to fold her wings for a higher flight. She began with deep emotion to pour forth "Home, Sweet Home." The audience could not stand it. An uproar of applause stopped the music. Tears gushed from those thousands like rain. After a moment the song came again, seemingly as from Heaven, almost angelic. Home; that was the word that bound as with a spell twenty thousand souls, and Howard Payne triumphed over the great masters of song. Mr. President, home is all the world to me. It was the paradise of my childhood and is now the consolation and rest of my years. Let me always have

"My own dear quiet home,  
The Eden of my heart."

Take away the homes of our people and you take away the stepping-stones which lead up to Heaven. Desecrate the old graveyards where our sires sleep and you cut the chords that bind the patriot to his native land. I rejoice in the thought, Mr. President, that this land is the home of the free and the brave, where so many can of a truth sing "Home, Sweet Home," and plant flowers upon the graves of the loved and lost in the old country graveyard. This is proof conclusive that our glorious Union is in a sound and solid state. I have not time now to speak of the pay of the laborers.

The President—We'll now hear from Mr. Square.

Bill Square—It affords me some amuse-

ment, Mr. President, to see the gentleman quoting largely from a book called the Royal Path and singing his sweet elegies over our country graveyards. The happy American home was his theme, and right well he handled it. There was a time when such a theme would have touched every heart and would have been worthy of his eagle genius. But that day is past, and we are fearful it will come again no more. Already a moiety or more of American homes has been swallowed up by the huge "Octopus Monopolis." Forty thousand men own the city of New York; therefore, there are only forty thousand homes in this city containing over a million people. How is this for American homes? Take all the other large cities of the poor through the rule of the law! Nonsense! And when the law don't do this for them they will conspire with their tools to make a stronger government! This is all gas in a balloon, bubbles that float in the air. Out Brutus with your poniard and strike Caesar down! "Everywhere is Rome to me where I can be free." Home! The world is my home and as long as I remain in it it owes me a living. I had a home once but, others sharper than I have won it. Upon the cast of the die they won, I lost. I pine not over spilt milk. This does not make me think the less of the law. But mark me. No flowers shall grow in their gardens; no vines shall climb the latticed window. No,

Mr. President, the Union is as sound and as solid as a silver dollar. Bad luck here and good luck there, riches in one place and poverty in another place has nothing to do with the state of the Union. The Union is just as we make it; if we make it good it will be good, and if we make it bad it will be bad.

The President—We'll now hear from Mr. Sam Shannick.

Sam Shannick—Two of the poorest, the firmest and honest presidents the country ever had were assassinated—Lincoln and Garfield. They were of the people, and friends to the people. The impetus of the stroke was given away back in the tutelage of the times. It was not a sudden evil inspiration of the culprits alone, but many thousands are indirectly incriminated in those dastardly deeds. Out Brutus with your poniard and strike Caesar down! It is surrendered as a fact that no party can elect a president without boodle. It is a question of money, of purchase and sale. Who are the parties to this ignominious rascality? The wealthy few, the favorites of the law and of the Government with its pampered menials in office of the first part, and a host of unscrupulous political bosses and scoundrels, what were the cause of decay and death of empires, and he will tell you poverty, homeless poverty hard by palatial wealth. Poverty came and brought her troops with her, ignorance, vice and crime, which "outveneromed all the worms of the Nile." They had no stepping stones to heaven. They had no "paradise of childhood," no "Eden of the heart." They sapped the pillars of empire and it mouldered into ruin. They touched the hollyhock of wealth and it withered into cinders. Tell me not of the vast increase in material prosperity if that prosperity is monopolized by the few. This wealthy few has never in any age been the staunch supporters of honest free government. Thus extremes meet. Poverty becomes the victim and the slave of wealth. Wealth rules with an insolent iron sceptre. Poverty is the prætorian guard, willing to sell the empire at the best price. Wealth is the competitive bidder ready to buy empire and people altogether, and it has no use for that empire and that people who do not bow the knee to the Moloch of their ambition. The one leads to ignorance, vice, and anarchy, the other to pride, avarice and despotism. Thus you see either of these extremes leaves honest gov-

ernment with no friends but the faithful few with homes—the independent man of the middle rank. Seeing in conclusion that these extremes exist, and that they have commenced already their diabolical work, I must pronounce the state and condition of this union as corrupt and squashy.

The President—The next speaker is Mr. Tubbyew.

Tom Tubbyew—Mr. President, I never knew that anybody's home had anything to do with the Union. They've got the thing down to a fine point, so fine that I don't think they can see it themselves. Setting the Government up to the highest bidder! Pshaw! The rich making victims and slaves of the poor through the rule of the law! Nonsense! And when the law don't do this for them they will conspire with their tools to make a stronger government! This is all gas in a balloon, bubbles that float in the air. Out Brutus with your poniard and strike Caesar down! "Everywhere is Rome to me where I can be free." Home! The world is my home and as long as I remain in it it is sound and solid. Talk about the rich inveigling with the homeless and needy, the ignorant and vicious to make themselves richer and more profligate, and the poor poorer and more ignorant still! Talk about these extremes meeting over the decay and decline of empires, the one to buy all the immunities of government and the other to sell the birthright and inheritance of their fathers? This is too wicked, too ridiculous to be once entertained. "Home, Sweet Home!" What a farce is this! The right of pre-emption domain is owned by the Government over all the homesteads of the land. So you see no man has absolute right over his home. A home is no less a home because it belongs to another. Much labor has been given to show that a person must own his home before it is a home to him. This is all a vain delusion. Let alien landlords, corporations, and aristocrats own all the lands, and they must need have homes upon them before they will be worth ought to them.

The President—We'll hear from John Goodson.

John Goodson—Mr. President, I'm very fearful that all who profess the name of the Lord are not His sheep. I've seen them hectoring after place and power. I've known some of them to handle the enemy's boddle, and enter into the purchase and sale of their country. Many of our highest officers and rulers have either bought their places or others have bought for them, and they claim to be holy Christians. The Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do. How is it that we have so many Christians and the state of the Union is still corrupt! The ecclesiastics and politicians are much given to the playing of hide and seek. The politicians sometimes make secret contracts with certain ecclesiastics for the support of their flocks. Religion corrupts politics, and politics often corrupts religion, and they both rot together. The certainty of the party strength! These tricksters know that four-fifths of our people may be honest Christians, and in favor of honest government, but with two parties nearly evenly divided they can take the remaining one-fifth and do what they please. This is the source of all our oppression. May the Lord deliver us.

The President—Our next speaker is Mr. K. K. Sampson.

K. K. Sampson—It pained my heart during the course of this debate to have listened to the evils of the times all culled out and arrayed in fantastic coloring while the good was passed over unnoticed. The Baptists of this country number three millions, the Methodists more; then there are the Presbyterians, Episcopalians and other sects coming with their millions. Our Holy Mother the

Catholic church, the mother and mistress of all the churches, numbers her millions. Now with this portly array of righteous people living and teaching, both by pretext and example, is it not preposterous to assert that this Union is corrupt? Over one-half of the voters of this commonwealth I should suppose are righteous members of some holy church. Not only this, there is a large agricultural population who can not be bought, and who are interested in sound, honest government. There, too, are the mechanics, artisans, and wage laborers as honest as a class as the days are long. They would not lend a helping hand to corrupt the Government. So you see by profession of religion, or by their daily vocation, no less than four-fifths of our people are directly interested in honest government. How absurd then to assert that the state of this Union is corrupt when the very elements of which it is composed are sound and solid.

Talk about the rich inveigling with the homeless and needy, the ignorant and vicious to make themselves richer and more profligate, and the poor poorer and more ignorant still! Talk about these extremes meeting over the decay and decline of empires, the one to buy all the immunities of government and the other to sell the birthright and inheritance of their fathers? This is too wicked, too ridiculous to be once entertained. "Home, Sweet Home!" What a farce is this! The right of pre-emption domain is owned by the Government over all the homesteads of the land. So you see no man has absolute right over his home. A home is no less a home because it belongs to another. Much labor has been given to show that a person must own his home before it is a home to him. This is all a vain delusion. Let alien landlords, corporations, and aristocrats own all the lands, and they must need have homes upon them before they will be worth ought to them.

The President—We'll hear from John Goodson.

John Goodson—Mr. President, I'm very fearful that all who profess the name of the Lord are not His sheep. I've seen them hectoring after place and power. I've known some of them to handle the enemy's boddle, and enter into the purchase and sale of their country. Many of our highest officers and rulers have either bought their places or others have bought for them, and they claim to be holy Christians. The Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do. How is it that we have so many Christians and the state of the Union is still corrupt! The ecclesiastics and politicians are much given to the playing of hide and seek. The politicians sometimes make secret contracts with certain ecclesiastics for the support of their flocks. Religion corrupts politics, and politics often corrupts religion, and they both rot together. The certainty of the party strength! These tricksters know that four-fifths of our people may be honest Christians, and in favor of honest government, but with two parties nearly evenly divided they can take the remaining one-fifth and do what they please. This is the source of all our oppression. May the Lord deliver us.

A most gratifying demand for the ECONOMIST Almanac has justified its publication by this office. The amount of composition upon that part of the book to be devoted to the action of the St. Louis meeting, together with the extra demands upon press and printers incident to the increased editions of the paper, must be pleaded in excuse of any delay in its distribution. The books will be sent out as soon and fast as possible.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

In the Progressive Farmer (Raleigh, N. C.) Old Fogey says in regard to immigration, after discussing the subject at length:

Can you question the necessity of the immigration bureau after studying these figures? The only parts of the United States that will do to compare with the Southern States are the prairie States, for there is less waste lands in the South outside of the swamps in southeast Virginia and Florida than in any part of the habitable globe. The causes that led the people of the east to migrate was the opportunities to get homes cheap in the far West. Take into consideration the distance from markets, the fact that timber is costly and scarce will more than compensate for the difference in prices paid.

The Junction (Kan.) Tribune states the objects of the Farmers Alliance as follows:

To unite the farmers of the United States for their protection against class legislation, the encroachments of concentrated capital and the tyranny of monopoly; to provide against being imposed upon by swindlers and swindling advertisements in the public prints; to oppose in our respective political parties, the election of any candidate to office, state or national, who is not thoroughly in sympathy with the farmers' interests; to demand that the existing political parties shall nominate farmers, or those who are in sympathy with them, for all offices within the gift of the people; and to do anything, in a legitimate manner, that may serve to benefit the producer.

The Labor-Review (Gladbrook, Iowa) contains the following; read it twice and cut it out for your scrap book:

The government has been so indiscreet as to arm the money power with authority to confiscate the property of its citizens, change the relations of debtor and creditor, thus doubling the debt and doubling taxation, and in an indirect manner impairing the obligations of contracts, besides confiscating the earnings of the laborers, and the products and property of the debtor classes, and compelling every man, woman and child who is willing to work to first pay for the privilege of working for an honest living.

The Labor Journal (Fulton, Kan.) has the following, which is shamefully true:

That the public conscience is fearfully demoralized, is constantly brought to mind. It is almost a daily occurrence of some public plundering act by a trusted official, and it is a rare thing that justice is meted out to such. Individual crimes of the common citizen call out great indignation, and are followed by prompt punishment; but the official offender is reckoned a much less criminal.

The Co-Operator (LaCrescent, Minn.) rises to remark:

The North says that Dakota money loaners charging exorbitant rates have notes to sell at 25 and 50 cents on the dollar. Well, that is where the trouble is; they charge enough so they can make money if they get from a quarter to half pay for their notes, but the poor farmers who are robbed in that way go to the wall and stay there. Guess it is time for the farmers to combine.

The Progressive Age (Georgiana, Ala.) gives the following good record:

The Farmers' Alliance has saved the farmers of America \$5,000,000 in twine, \$2,500,000 on bagging, and it is claimed that through the operations of the Alliance exchange discounts have been secured which will make the amount saved by farmers \$10,000,000 annually.

The Alliance Motor (Broken Bow, Neb.) wants to know:

If a person who tells the truth is denominated "a crank" by persons belonging to the old parties, how many lies is it necessary to tell in order to be called a high-toned Christian gentleman?

The St. Louis Christian Advocate (St. Louis, Mo.) makes the following bold and honest statement. Other papers of like character might profit by its example:

This week, as this paper goes to press, a farmers' convention is in session here. As yet we cannot say what, or will be done; but this much is clear; if farmers understand, appreciate and determine to maintain their rights, then political parties will have to yield to their behests. Let them be united on the right, and firm and persistent in its maintenance, and the right will prevail. The farmers' bread is more potent; when it comes

to the worst, than the money and bonds of the capitalists.

The Southern Alliance Farmer (Atlanta, Ga.) says:

The pulpit is fighting the trusts. Two ministers of Richmond, Virginia, made vigorous attacks upon trusts in their thanksgiving sermons. It will take a lot of preaching and praying too, and no end of hard work, before these trusts are crushed, but they must go.

The Dexter Free Press (Dexter, Kan.) among other good things, says:

The Farmers Alliance is one of the chief movements of the day, calculated to raise the farmer out of the slough of despond. Its purposes are for the advancement of civilization in such a way that all will be benefited alike. It is performing one of the grandest of missions, which is to elevate the people. It teaches them to discard their personal and political prejudices and all as with one mind work in unison.

The Labette County Statesman (Oswego, Kan.) must be credited with the following:

The one great question of supreme importance above every other question before the American people to-day is that relating to the volume of the circulating medium.

Many of the ills of which the people complain, and for which remedies are demanded would adjust themselves, if this one great question was satisfactorily settled, and this one great necessity of the people—a sufficiency of money—was supplied.

The Meridian (Miss.) Weekly News has the following. How do you know, brother, whether silver has advanced or gold gone down? What reason is there for one more than the other?

Silver has advanced to 96 cents an ounce. This makes the silver in a dollar worth 74½ cents.

Labor Tribune (Carthage, Mo.) says:

When the bankers held their conclave and Belshazzar's feast in Kansas City a few weeks ago, the papers were filled with accounts of its proceedings, whereas, the late convention of the Alliance, Wheel, and Knights of Labor, at which those bodies were consolidated, was not of sufficient importance to merit anything beyond a passing notice of a stickful or two of type, from which it was impossible to make up an intelligible account.

The State Alliance Tocsin (Locksburg, Ark.) says:

Just as we predicted, the delegates to the National Farmers and Laborers Union were men who could be relied upon, and they acted wisely and did a grand work, which is but the beginning of a bloodless revolution. Now let their work be supported by the hearty co-operation of the entire membership, and great good will result.

The Iowa Tribune (Des Moines, Iowa) says of the St. Louis meeting:

The Climax (Mo.) Advocate states something which is true—but when will it come about?

When laboring men learn to go to the polls and elect men to make laws who are not tools of corporations, then they may expect some good whole-some legislation.

The Faulkner County Wheel (Conway, Ark.) puts it in this way:

All oppressive laws could be swept from our statute books in a very short time if all men would be true to their own convictions and cast their votes for principles rather than for party at the behest of politicians.

The Southern Cultivator and Dixie Farmer (Atlanta, Ga.) says truly:

In some States there are laws against conspiracy that permits trusts formed for the purpose of putting up prices, and punishes those who agree not to buy said trusts' goods, as conspirators. Good enough for them until they quit voting for such unequal laws.

Oktibbeha Citizen (Starkville, Miss.)—This may come sooner than some anticipate:

The farmers of this country are destined to play a more important part in its politics and in the enactment of its laws than ever in the past. The reason is not because farmers are anxious to become politicians, or that they desire public life more than the quiet enjoyments of the farm; it is because they will be obliged to take these positions for their own protection and their country's safety.

The Patrick Henry (Springfield, Mo.)—The best kind of advice. Give us some more:

Kind, good reader, you have an interest and must take part in these great public matters—for yourselves or the bosses. You cannot evade them and stay in this country. And again, we ask you, not as party men, but as voting citizens of the representatives of South Dakota, as well

as country on earth, interested in the general good, to look at these things; read, study, think, and prepare for action.

The Western Recorder (Louisville, Ky.) comes out plain on the public debt question:

Although we have paid over three and a half billion dollars on the debt, we have reduced it but little over one billion. It is thus that national debts impoverish the people. If we were to add what had been paid on State, county and municipal debts, the figures would be appalling. Let us get out of debt so soon as practicable and then keep out.

Alliance Motor (Broken Bow, Neb.) says:

This is no small combine, and will be a nucleus both moral and intellectual which will command the respect of the country to a degree which must be effectual in future legislation for the people.

The Alabama Sentinel (Birmingham, Ala.) gives the following encouraging item:

The labor party in Alabama is rapidly growing in strength and numbers. As the people become better informed they flock to our standard "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none," is the watchword of the day.

The Kansas Commoner (Newton, Kas.) gives the kind of doctrine to teach a few people:

The truth is that debt is the great agency by means of which labor and production are induced to pay the tribute which practically enslaves them. Once admit the claims of one class of people to exact interest, and the ruin of the people who bind themselves to pay is assured.

The Democrat (McKinney, Tex.) describes the situation exactly:

A sense of security is what the laborer needs, and must have, before he reaches the goal for which he is seeking. As things go now, everything is uncertain. He is here to-day, and there to-morrow. He may have employment for a time and then wages go down and he is thrown out until chance, and the fortunes of war furnish another opportunity to go to work.

The Colorado (Pueblo) Workman, tells exactly what all the fight is about. It all depends on the amount and control, never the kind:

It isn't of so much importance to the people what kind of money shall be coined, whether gold, silver, or paper or all of them, as the question as to who shall have control of the money.

The Gerard (Kan.) Herald issues the kind of goods for every day wear:

The government should see that every laboring man has a good home. If a man is honest the fact of his being ignorant is no reason for robbing him. We believe it is the duty of the government to give its children a comfortable home.

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as that of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, it is safe to conclude that Dakota has really joined the Union. Brother Wardall was elected a member of the executive committee, his salary being \$500 only. The following is an extract from the minutes of the St. Louis session:

Delegation from Farmers Alliance of the State of Dakota were admitted, and the following communication was received and unanimously adopted:

St. Louis, Mo., December 7, 1889.

*To the Farmers and Laborers Union of America:*

In pursuance of the joint action of the National Farmers Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union, providing for an organic union between the two bodies, the conditions being that when the new constitution should be jointly proposed, approved, and ratified by said Farmers and Laborers Union, and by two-thirds of the State Alliances composing the National Farmers Alliance, then by proclamation of the presidents of the two bodies the union should be declared completed, we the delegates from the State Alliance of South Dakota, by authority reposed in us, do hereby accept and ratify said constitution, as amended and agreed upon by the National Farmers Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union, to take effect upon acceptance and ratification of said constitution by two-thirds of the State Alliances composing the National Farmers Alliance.

Attest—

C. V. GARDNER,  
Chairman of Delegation.

A. WARDALL,  
Secretary of Delegation.

*Resolved*, That C. V. Gardner, F. F. B. Coffin, A. N. Van Dorn, E. B. Cummings, Alonzo Wardall and Mrs. Elizabeth Wardall be received and seated as delegates from South Dakota, and that a charter for the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of South Dakota be issued to said persons and their associates. That Walter Muir be received and seated as a fraternal delegate from the State of North Dakota. Adopted unanimously.

The following excellent communication of Brother Walter Muir is taken from the North Dakota Capital (Jamestown), and speaks for itself. Such sentiments from our far-off northern brethren ought to warm the heart of every true Alliance man. May the time soon come when similar sentiments will prevail throughout our entire country. Until then let us all, as members of the Alliance and Knights of Labor, work together in union and harmony for the accomplishment of this grand result.

The National Farmers Alliance meeting at St. Louis; the meeting of 400 representatives from twenty-seven State Alliances in a national delegate convention to consider and map out a national policy to govern their action in the future, was a new departure in national politics to which all true Alliance men looked forward with pleasure, and let us hope, with profit, and that will mark an advance and improvement in American politics, during the century, in its influence in shaping state and national legislation in the near future in the interest of the producing classes of America, securing to labor and capital an even chance, and an equal share in the profits of business. In my judgment no

convention of modern times ever met to consider questions of more vital importance than the one, which met at St. Louis on December 3, 1889. It was a convention representing the highest and best interests of 50,000,000 of American workmen, the men who have made this nation the wealthiest on earth, and in doing so have almost pauperized and reduced themselves to vassals of an arrogant plutocracy who are ruling the country with an iron hand wholly in their own interests.

Mr. Powderly, the noble champion of the Knights of Labor, at the head of a committee representing that order, did good service in assisting to formulate and adopt a platform

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of principles on which the farmers and laboring men of the nation agreed to stand and work together for mutual protection. All

agreed that nothing less than a union of the farmers and all other producing classes on a line of national policy broad and clearly defined could bring about the needed reforms required to place the producers on an equality with other great classes of the nation. The platform agreed upon was substantially the same as that adopted at the annual session of the Dakota Farmers Alliance which met at Aberdeen on the 26th of November, 1889—on money, transportation and land.

Upon these three planks the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union and the Knights of Labor agreed to work together; and it was agreed that a joint committee from each national organization should meet in Washington and labor with Congress to bring about such legislation as agreed upon for the mutual benefit of all.

AMONG the questions to be settled in the near future none is more important than an equitable system of banking. The present system of national banks is doomed. The great mass of our people have pronounced against it, and as a result it must go. Mysterification of the principles of currency and legislative jugglery have prolonged its existence until the present time, despite the protests of reason and the demands of justice and equal rights.

No one will deny that the natural functions of a bank are convenient, if not necessary, to the rapid and safe transaction of business; that for the purpose of facilitating exchange and affording secure depositories for money against fire and thieves they have become indispensable. By a concert of action and mutual understanding they can perform certain functions of business for the general public at less expense than the general public can do the same for themselves. In this capacity they are aids to public prosperity and entitled to consideration. The history of banking proves this to have been its primitive objects. It is not against such a system of banking that objections are made. It is against assumed functions that the people have rebelled. By means of combining the functions of a bank with those of financial censors they have gathered within their own grasp all those powers which control the distribution of the products of labor. By adding to the already misty glamor which has always surrounded the use and application of money they have fastened upon the people the erroneous idea that banking means financial wisdom. No greater mistake could have been made in that particular. To be a banker requires less knowledge, less brains and less energy than is required to be a good farmer. In fact, there is hardly a business conducted at the present time that requires so little real ability as that of banking, the governing factors of which are capital and a reasonable knowledge of the necessities and responsibilities of customers. The remaining qualities come naturally. They follow the development of greed which obtains in this kind of business as naturally as water seeks its level. No nation ever prospered that

gave its financial management over to the banks. We, as a people, are suffering today from a mistake of this character. As a rule, the business of banking soon develops the idea that labor in production is the one natural object for plunder; that the ability and standing of those in charge is graded by the amount and degree of spoliation. For this reason it would be as hazardous for the lamb to seek protection from the wolf as labor to ask for a financial policy from the banks that would better its condition.

The banker is always profuse in his advice regarding production, but when it comes to the distribution he would certainly be false to his class if he did not mark out a course that would in the end secure the lion's share for himself.

We must, therefore, look to some other source for counsel in regard to the new system to be substituted, and an appeal to the common sense of our people appears both expedient and proper. The present system of banking has cost the people of this nation over five billions of dollars during the past twenty-five years, paid direct to it as tribute. By manipulating the public debt it has cost three billions more, and by controlling the volume of money it has depreciated property to the extent of thirty billions and caused 149,061 failures, amounting to more than three billions of dollars. In substance, this is the record of our present banking system.

Any change, therefore, would seem to be for the best, as it is doubtful if it could possibly be made any worse. Taking this view of our condition, reasonable experiments might be entertained. Happily there are precedents for all proposed changes. Taxation must be reduced and a flexibility given to circulation that will always keep it the instrument and never the object of exchange. To do this the reader is asked to consider the sub-treasury proposition. In this proposition is found a key to the true situation and well worthy the careful consideration of all who desire more equitable financial conditions.

A FOREIGN quarrel may be provoked, as a means of diverting the people from their intention of demanding reforms. While a war would be a blessing if the politicians should be drafted, that prospect is too remote to exercise material influence in forming the opinion of the average citizen. The producers have no quarrel with chief, shiek or king, savage, half or full civilized, and jingoism is at a discount with them.

THROUGH the persistent efforts of Brother Wm. B. S. Chapman, the earnest and enthusiastic lecturer of La Plata Alliance, the Farmers Alliance has been planted in St. Mary's county, Maryland. There are eight or ten good Alliances in that county, and the county Alliance will be organized Jan. 7.

THE mail has brought to the headquarters of the order, in this city, proceedings, constitution, etc., of the organization of the Colorado State Alliance. Thus the sister States are falling into line and swelling the Alliance column.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## Up or Down; Which?

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

"If we stamp upon a tin plate the stamp that it is worth \$5, and will be received at the Treasury of the United States for \$5, tin plates will be current," shouted the silver-tongued orators at the St. Louis silver convention. The response which this assertion evoked proved that many members of the convention realized the fact that the stamp and not the intrinsic value of the article stamped is what gives to money the only worth it possesses. It is to be hoped, however, on the account of the comparative scarcity of tin, that Government will not act on the suggestion thus thrown out. Tin is a very useful article of every day consumption, the production of which is limited to the output of a few mines, and if government should restrict the money-coining privilege to tin as its material, the "intrinsic (?) value" of tin would speedily mount skyward, and the tin dinner pails now so common among our workingmen would soon become as scarce as silver goblets are. The real or intrinsic value of tin would not be increased a farthing. It would be worth no more for the useful purpose it now subserves than it now is, but the extrinsic or artificial value, which the fact that the people in their sovereign capacity had selected it as the material upon which to stamp the evidence of their faith in each other, would confer upon tin would be so great that tin would soon become as scarce and of as little real value as gold and silver now are. The extrinsic value which such an act of our Government would impart to tin would find its source in the same conditions which give to gold and silver their artificial value, to wit, in the fact that it might be made artificially as scarce as gold and silver naturally are, coupled with the fact that government had selected tin as the metal upon which to stamp the evidence of its sovereignty. The principle enunciated by the Nevada orator is correct. The stamp of the Government, whether on gold or silver, tin-plate or paper, is all that is required to make such material current. Without that stamp the one is no more money than the other. It is true, an ounce of silver or gold will sell for more money than an ounce of paper or tin-plate. It is true, likewise, that an ounce of gold or silver will sell for more money than many bushels of wheat, or pounds of meat, or yards of cloth. But is this true because gold or silver is really and intrinsically worth more to humanity than food and clothing are? Which could the world better dispense with, gold and silver, or food and clothing? The world would wag along just as well, and perhaps immeasurably better, if every bit of gold and silver were sunk a thousand fathoms beneath the ocean's surface, but it wouldn't wag very long if all its food and clothing were there, even though its roads might be made of silver and gold. The readers of this know that this statement is absolutely true, and yet they, many of them, in common with an immense majority of the civilized, intelligent (?) citizens of the world, will persist in their senseless, superstitious worship of gold. The principal reason why this is so is a lack of education in financial matters upon the part of food and clothing producers, that is to say of all wealth producers.

The world has made wonderful progress in a thousand different directions since the Christian era began, but in its medium of exchange it occupies the same contemptible, debasing position it did when Christ kicked

produce wealth demand its existence as an exchange medium. Money is, therefore, nothing but an emblem of faith on the part of our workers that those in whose possession it is found have, at some time, rendered to society its equivalent in real value.

That this faith is betrayed every day, yea, every moment of every hour of every day, there can be no question. And it is because of this betrayal of our workers; this flagrant, unrestricted treason to the real wealth-producers of our country, that an industrial revolution must come. It is bad enough, God knows, that our money should be paid them in bits of paper certifying that a certain amount of their real god has been put in a hole in the ground somewhere and will be forthcoming on demand. Imagine if you can a pig-tailed heathen bowing before a paper inscription certifying that his own well beloved Joss had been planted right end up in one of the Pagodas of Pekin and you will have imagined a scene in which the childlike faith of the worshipper cuts no more ridiculous figure than does ours when we believe that simply because a bit of paper certifies that a certain amount of white or yellow metal has been deposited at a certain place, therefore the paper is worth more than it would be without such certificate on it. If a man really wants to worship gold or silver or brass he ought to have the privilege of doing so, but I protest against anybody or aggregation of bodies persuading any other body, laboring under a misconception of facts, to worship something he really does not want to worship. Yet this mighty Government of ours is engaged in that very contemptible and self-stultifying business. It is a misconception upon the part of our people, and to the eternal shame of our Government be it said, it is engaged in fostering the illusion, that the value of money is in the material upon which the fiat of the Government is stamped and not in the fiat itself, and that the value of the material is not in its inherent power to add to the happiness of man by making it easier for him to procure food and clothing and shelter, but consists in its scarcity.

When we see men tumbling over each other in an eager race after gold; when we see them isolating themselves from their fellow-men and for weeks and months and years depriving themselves of the pleasures of social intercourse; when we see them undergoing every imaginable hardship consequent upon their search after gold, we behold the victims of as gigantic, as far-reaching, as long-existing and as hoary-headed an old fraud as has existed since time began. They really believe that gold is what they want, and yet they no sooner get it into their possession than they are ready and more than willing to change it off for certain bits of paper inscribed in a certain manner with certain marks which, being correctly interpreted, mean that the Government—"we, the people"—will see to it that they are fed and clothed and housed in such manner as they may elect so long as the value of the labor of housing and feeding and clothing them does not exceed the exchangeable value of what? The gold they dug? No. The value of the labor performed in digging the gold? No. What then? Simply the value of the wealth-producing labor performed by somebody somewhere, and the evidence of which they, by the fiat of our Government, were enabled to obtain possession of by expending their labor in the digging of a metal that is, so far as real or intrinsic worth is concerned, all but valueless. Money would not exist for a moment were it not that the necessities of those who

from which they will date the regeneration of man, will be the time when an enlightened world dethroned the contemptible yellow and white metal gods it once so superstitiously worshiped and first gave full recognition to the fact that money was without value except as it stood as the representative of actual wealth-producing labor performed. The enlightened beings of that (permit me to hope) not distant future, will look back upon the present time with mingled feelings of horror, pity and wonderment. Horror at the atrocities so boldly perpetrated in the name of the metal gods, pity for the suffering victim, and wonder that the giant masses should so long and so pusillanimously suffer from the persecutions of the pigmy few. In that bright time to come want and woe will be banished from the earth. Men will be honest from more worthy motives than the contemptible one that "it is the best policy." Men will do right, not because they are inspired by a selfish hope of future reward or impelled by the fear of future punishment, but because it is right. Love supreme, ennobling every heart, shall rule the world and her tender ministrations will indeed make "life worth the living." "A dream," say you? Well, perhaps; but never was dream more thoroughly inspired by existing conditions and hard experience how scarce money is with the farmers, we commenced paying out what money we had collected, about two weeks ago, and expect to have every dollar in the hands of the losers by December 1st.

We are returning about \$12,000 of unused premiums collected from 1888 assessments to our policy holders. The larger business transacted the lower the expense ratio can be brought, as there are certain fixed charges, such as rent, fuel, furniture and officers' salaries and clerk hire, that make a large showing on a limited business, but cut very little figure in an extensive one.

What we have saved in the past three years on hail insurance: The average assessment has been 20 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents per acre, and we have insured about 1,200,000 acres. The usual rate in old line companies was from 60 to 75 cents per acre. Calling it 60 cents, the net saving is \$471,000, an average of \$157,000 a year. What has been done here on a small scale can easily be increased by proper effort, and we propose to make it.

Though only in operation eighteen months, the fire department, conducted as the farm department, of the Fidelity Insurance Company, has met with gratifying results, and is now one of the most popular and best patronized companies in the State. We have a capital of \$100,000, which it is intended to enlarge to \$200,000 before January 1st, 1890, to enable us to carry our business to other States, as we are urged to do. Our plan, which is to charge the lowest standard rate, with one-half the premium in cash, and the balance in one and two years, without interest, allowing ten per cent only on our stock, and dividing profits with policy holders, gives our members safe insurance at actual and necessary cost. The losses have been severe this year on account of the great prairie fires in April; but we have easily and promptly settled and paid in full, and at a nominal cost (less than 10 per cent of income for expenses, other than losses and commissions to agents).

Our life department, authorized at the last annual session, has materialized handsomely in the shape of the Alliance Aid Association, a purely mutual company on the assessment plan. It has met with great favor wherever introduced, and has been officially endorsed and adopted by the National Alliance, and the State Alliance at their annual meeting or by executive action in Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska and Washington, and we hope to secure its adoption by the National Farmers and Laborers Union at St. Louis. There have been no deaths yet, although our first policies were issued May 14—over six months ago; consequently no assessments. We only assess at a death, limit expense to ten per cent of income and provide a fifteen per cent guarantee fund for security of persistent members; insure men and women alike.

We have introduced and extended our work to a limited extent in Minnesota and Iowa, also Washington, and arranged to place it in a large number of Northwestern States as soon as the requirements of the law can be complied with, and hope, ere another year, to assist in placing it, or some similar plan, in every State where our order exists, and thus do our share to help lift one of the heavy burdens from the shoulders of our people, and secure at least a part of the hundreds of millions of dollars annually expended for insurance in excess of losses paid.

## "Plutocracy, or American White Slavery."

A politico-social novel by T. M. Norwood, ex-U.S. Senator from Georgia. Price for cloth, \$1.00; for paper 50 cents. Postage free. Direct, inclosing amount, to T. M. Norwood, Savannah, Ga., or Metropolitan Co., 33 Vesey St., New York.

Of this book, Rev. B. H. Carroll, the distinguished Baptist divine and temperance advocate, of Waco, Texas, in a private letter to Congressman J. D. Sayers, of Texas, writes the following criticism and praise:

The book has touched and thrilled me at more points than any other in modern literature, except Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, and his "By the King's Command" which two books, and two from Dickens, evidently shaped the style of your ex-Senator. I have not only read, in the short time since its reception, but studied *Plutocracy* from several standpoints.

1. As to its literary merit, which involves several interesting questions, e.g., how much it discloses of the author's literary tastes, habits of thought, scope of reading, and by what books he has been most influenced. Some books you know, like the touch of Ithuriel's spear, bring out the disguised devil. Others, like the trumpet sound, unmask the woman-garbed Achilles; while others recall to life the sheeted dead as Christ's "Come Forth," at the tomb of Lazarus.

I am afraid to even commence telling what I think of your author's wit, knowing that you are Congressman issuing orders to your private Secretary to make a bonfire of all bulky documents.

2. As to its political merit, my own predilections in the same direction possibly disqualify me for impartial judgment. At least, I may say in a most *unministerial* way, that in my *biased* opinion, "it knocks the black out." And, if you will allow, I will venture to add that in its guise of fiction it will touch the "haslets" of more people, and awaken more thought, and induce deeper conviction than a thousand congressional speeches. To the common mind, the one usually presents facts like Ezekiel's Valley of Dry Bones, which were "very many and very dry." The other, like that same valley when breathed upon by the Spirit, the bones no longer prone and ghastly skeletons, but standing up a great army of living men.

3. On its social side, with its social problems, the author rises to even grander proportions. Here he out-seduces Juvenal or Horace, crucifying in satire a putrid empire, and makes one think that same valley when breathed upon by the Spirit, the bones no longer prone and ghastly skeletons, but standing up a great army of living men.

4. Nor is he less potent in exposing the thin veneering which suggests, rather than hides the hollowness and impotency of much modern so-called Christianity.

From any standpoint it is a great book! A great book!

This letter was not intended for the public, but we have obtained consent of the writer to publish it. As will be remembered, "Plutocracy" is a premium to five subscriptions to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST for one year.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

**The National Economist**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS

ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

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.

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

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

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

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.

## BREAKERS.

For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it?—*Luke, xiv:28*.

Ancient and modern experience has uniformly taught, and common sense always confirmed the doctrine, that it is both wise and prudent to make a careful enumeration of the forces and an accurate estimation of the resources at command before engaging in any kind of a conflict. The victor in battle has often gained his success through a superior knowledge of the ground.

The greatest conflict the world has ever known is about to be waged—a conflict between the producing and the exploiting classes. It has often been fought before in the history of the world. In fact, it has always been fought when the exploiting class allowed their luxurious, extravagant or avaricious desires to control their judgment and exacted more tribute from productive labor than it was able to pay. Under such circumstances the producers have always become restless, then muttering and turbulent, finally desperate, in which state they would wage the conflict now pending by force. This is a peculiar conflict, and must end in the supremacy of either the producing or the exploiting class. It always has heretofore resulted in the supremacy of the producers, but having been gained by force it has always been at such a fearful expense that the victory has been a practical defeat, because it was a complete ruin to both. Now the hope is that the producers, profiting by the experience of the past, will commence the conflict earlier; that they will commence during the period of discontent and not wait until goaded to desperation, and by commencing earlier, while reason still holds sway, utilize the higher intelligence of the times, and by the use of these two great attributes—reason and intelligence—solve the problem and gain the ascendancy in the cause of right, without resorting to that negative of hope—force.

This is the hope of the times, and with this hope in view a splendid start has been made. Representatives of two million farmers of this country have deliberated and discussed the situation fully and announced a

policy that will effectually relieve the productive interests of the country when carried out. They announce a line of policy that will certainly "emancipate productive labor from the power of money to oppress" and demand its adoption by the Government. This policy, then, becomes at this time the hope of modern civilization. If it be carried out the impending revolution will be a peaceful one, in which reason and equity sit enthroned, and in which material development and general prosperity may build upon all the wealth and achievements of the present day, instead of a common ruin. Never in the history of the world has such a foundation been available. Now, if it be utilized, well may the hope be entertained that the superstructure will far exceed the most sanguine visions of the most enthusiastic dreamer.

Since, then, the farmers of this country have taken the lead in progressive thought and planted themselves squarely on the platform that will, if successful, be attended with such far-reaching and beneficial results, it is proper to consider how they are prepared and equipped for the conflict that must certainly follow. They are organized. So is the opposition; every class is now organized.

They have justice and liberty for their watchword and pledge an honest effort to secure to every man the privilege of enjoying the fruits of this labor. The opposition has power for its watchword and will use money with great cunning and craft to secure conditions that will perpetuate the power of money to oppress. So much for the forces at command on each side. Now, as to the manner of employing these forces. This is the line in which great generalship may be displayed, and on which many books might be written. If the two forces could be brought face to face for a decisive and final conflict, the farmers would demolish the opposition in short order, and this is fully realized by both sides. The opposition must, therefore, dodge any direct issue and wage the conflict by methods better calculated to secure their ends. For this purpose they might, if driven to extremity, involve the Government in a foreign war, to act as a revulsive and draw the attention of the people away from local matters of government, or they might, when cornered, offer a compromise that on its face would bear evidences of justice and fairness while within it was "a whitened sepulcher." These and other like things are what they may do, but note what they will certainly do: *They will depend upon dissensions within the ranks of the farmers as the most potent means of defeating the movement.* To secure such dissensions of course they will contribute liberally. They will use money and the press to make the farmers fall out among themselves. No falsehood will be too great nor any subterfuge too mean to be resorted to for this purpose. *In fact, it will be the principal battlefield of the conflict, and the most potent force of the enemy will be that which comes by a flank movement and is composed of*

*pretended friends of the farmer, who are really spies and traitors.*

Yes, there will be traitors within the ranks; the cause of American liberty had its Benedict Arnold, and Jesus Christ, with only twelve disciples, had a Judas. It is to be hoped that the proportion of one to twelve does not obtain in the nineteenth century. All these forces will be brought to bear to make the farmer misunderstand the organization and mistrust his brother farmer and the servants he has elected to serve him in his organization.

This influence has already been at work trying to frighten the farmers by publishing the statement that "the eligibility clause in the southern constitution was amended by leaving out the word 'country' before 'mechanics,' thus opening the organization to all occupations, instead of confining it to farmers, as heretofore." This amendment effectually destroys that society as a distinctively farmers' association.

False as the above is, it is quoted to show the character of warfare adopted by a cowardly foe. Evidently the wish was father of the sentiment expressed in the last sentence of the quotation. The facts are that the word "country" never modified "mechanic" in the constitution until October 1, 1889, and therefore the order grew to its present magnificent proportions as a distinctively farmers' association without that word country. A more effectual safeguard is already in vogue, and that is that it is now established as usage in the Order that the president will not charter Alliances in incorporated cities, and this now becomes necessary as a rule, because the recent confederation with the Knights of Labor at St. Louis makes it a moral obligation on the part of the farmers to keep out of the cities as territory belonging to the Knights, and by the same rule bids the Knights to not work the country, as it is the territory of the farmers.

The elimination of the word country only adds to the clearness of the line of demarcation between the Knights and the farmers by ceding the small country towns to the farmer. Again, the evil one seeks to "milk the same cow" by saying that the salaries of the officers of the National amount to \$50,000 per annum. This is as false as can be. There are only seven salaried officers, and their aggregate salaries only amount to \$10,500. Many more cases might be cited, but this is sufficient to show how the battle will be waged. One question to be decided is, What will the farmers do with their traitors, if any appear? It will be decided locally and should be decided early. The best way to keep the rank and file from being deceived by the lies and schemes of the opposition is to induce them to read the official organ and keep too well posted.

HENRY W. GRADY.

The brilliant and useful career of this wonderful man has been suddenly brought to a close by death. He was one of the truly great men of the age. His heart throbbed in perfect sympathy with humanity; his

mind was capable of grasping the deepest problems, and his matchless eloquence, emanating from such a heart and mind, made his usefulness to citizen and government so apparent that deep and sincere mourning will long prevail. He recognized the fact that good, honest, and true men at the North misunderstood good, honest, and true men at the South in regard to the negro problem, and he has done more than any other man to correct that misunderstanding. Had professional politicians been sincere he would have accomplished even more in that important work.

## THE SUB-TREASURY PLAN.

After a careful examination of the sub-treasury system as outlined, the general verdict will be that it is fair, just and equitable, but without an explanation of the details doubts will be expressed as to its practicability. In order to develop this system warehouses and elevators will be built in localities where the amount of products will warrant it. These warehouses and elevators will be owned and controlled by Government and operated under Government supervision.

The farmer or planter desiring to practically use this system will, at his most convenient time, bring his products to these warehouses. It will there be inspected and graded. The market price for such products for that locality will be ascertained, and the farmer or planter will receive 80 per cent of the market value of his products in legal tender money. He will also receive a certificate that he has warehoused a certain amount of products of a certain grade and has been paid 80 per cent of a certain price upon this amount. The certificate will show the cost of warehousing and insuring per month and the rate of interest (one per cent) to be paid on the 80 per cent advanced. The 80 per cent is ready money, and, being a legal tender, can be used anywhere for any purpose. The certificate or warehouse receipt can be sold or exchanged by simple endorsement. The products may be allowed to remain in the custody of the Government for one year from date of the certificate.

The farmer has the right, or the person holding the certificate, to dispose of this warehoused product any time during the year, just as his judgment dictates in that regard, whenever the markets suit. When a sale is made the person selling simply transfers the remaining part of the product over and above the 80 per cent already received by endorsing the certificate to the purchaser. When the holder of the certificate desires to obtain possession of the product he presents the certificate to the sub-treasurer, and receives a statement of the charges for warehousing and insuring, and the 80 per cent already advanced together with the interest on same at the rate of one per cent per annum, the total amount of which he pays and is then entitled to the product.

This is briefly the working plan of the sub-treasury. With proper blanks and facilities the whole machinery can be made more simple than the methods in use at the present time. Regularity of inspection guaranteed, fair weights obtained and all fraud and deception prevented.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## OFFICIAL.

Announcement from the Chairman of the Committee on Legislation of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 3, 1890.

In pursuance of the action taken at St. Louis by the Supreme Council, the undersigned called upon Hon. Robert P. Porter, Superintendent of the United States Census Bureau, on the 26th ultimo and presented him a copy of the resolutions passed by the Supreme Council requesting that the next census be made to contain evidence as to the number of renters and land-owners, also the amount of mortgage indebtedness. He assured the undersigned, in the presence of United States Senators Coke and Reagan, that the census enumeration, as he now contemplates taking it, will contain evidence as to the number of persons who own land, city and country separate, and the number who rent or lease; the number of mortgages upon real estate as shown by the records in each of the counties, the amount of such mortgages, the number of acres so mortgaged and the rate of interest named in each mortgage, all of which will be so separated and classified that the encumbrance upon country and city realty may be estimated separately.

While this does not cover all the points asked by the Supreme Council at St. Louis, it does seem to practically furnish the data necessary, and the undersigned thinks the Superintendent of Census deserves credit for the effort he is making to accommodate the public demand in this direction.

C. W. MACUNE,  
Chairman Executive Board and  
Committee on Legislation, N. F. A. and I. U.

The above has been submitted to Hon. Robert P. Porter for correction and was returned with the statement that, "as to the number of persons who own land, city and country separate, and the number who rent or lease," could not be obtained from the records. It is therefore understood that this class of information will come from the house to house canvass. This is the only correction offered to the above statement, consequently it has been ratified as legal.

NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION,  
Washington, D. C., January 3, 1890.

At an early day the Ritual, containing form for burial service, will be published and issued from this office. Also, the Constitution and Statutory Laws of the Order, with simple and practical rules of parliamentary usage.

These books will be printed in neat and durable style and will each bear the imprint of the seal of the National Order. Rituals and National Constitutions without such imprint will not be recognized as official.

This office can supply State secretaries only. Members of the order must apply to their State secretary.

By order of the President:  
J. H. TURNER,  
Secretary N. F. A. and I. U.

All communications for L. L. Polk, President National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, or for J. H. Turner, national secretary, should be addressed in care of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C.

In the minutes of the proceedings at St. Louis, as published in THE ECONOMIST, the sum voted to President Evan Jones was erroneously stated at \$400. It should have read \$500, which was the sum really voted.

## RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

NO. 34.

EFFECT OF FREE COMPETITION ON LOCAL DISCRIMINATIONS.

Let us conclude the subject of local discrimination for the present, by imagining what the effect would be upon the differences between charges, as regards different localities, by such a form of organization among the railroads as would enable competition to reach every part of the transportation business by rail as completely and freely as it does every part of the transportation by water. Whether that freedom can be effected, and, if so, how it may be established, must be reserved for discussion in the future articles of this series. Simply for the sake of the argument and in order to judge how such a reform would affect this peculiar characteristic of railway transportation, let us imagine that such a reform had been effected and that each station on a railway could enjoy the same free competition of all railway carriers that one port upon a lake or river, and every shipping point upon a canal has as regard the competition of all water carriers. This may enable us to perceive how that condition would regulate the discrepancies now existing between the rates of charges upon competitive and non-competitive traffic.

It is evident that the first result of such a system of free transportation would be that, wherever a margin of profit upon local traffic was charged in excess of the average profit that can be obtained from all the business, the inducement would at once draw in the competition of additional railway carriers. If the local points along the line of any road were charged—not necessarily the exorbitant margin of seventy-five and eighty per cent profit, as shown in the rates quoted from the case of the Pacific Railways—but a more moderate margin of thirty or forty per cent profit, while the competitive points were yielding but fifteen or twenty per cent. of a margin over expenses, the carriers who were competing for the business that was yielding the less margin of profit, would at once transfer their competition to those points which yielded the greater. It is true that there might be departments of local traffic on which rates were high and which freights were comparatively unimportant in volume, so that the larger value of traffic at other points might be more desirable for competition even at the lowest rates. But we have Mr. Alexander's estimate that the net revenue upon local traffic bearing the higher rate, is at least nine times that which is secured from the competitive traffic bearing the lower rate. If such a traffic were

open to competition it may be taken for granted that very nearly the same proportion of the competition which is now concentrated at the terminal points would be distributed throughout the local traffic of all the railways. The inevitable result would be to bring rates into close relation with the cost of service, including such a margin for net profit as would yield the average reward upon *bona fide* investments. The cost of service would not be the only element that would operate in fixing the charges. The demand, or the value of the service to the shipper, would also have its effect in offering good rates wherever the needs of commerce required a liberal supply of the service of transportation. But the present conditions which make the latter element the only one taken into consideration by railway officials on local traffic, where they are able to charge all that the freight will bear, would be reversed by that competition which would bring in additional services until the rates were brought down to the cost of service, including as an essential part of that cost the proper reward to the capital invested.

The necessity of the profit upon the capital embarked in transportation is something that should not be forgotten, and this reform would enable those profits to be equally distributed among all the departments of railway traffic and between all the localities, with regard to the actual value of service rendered. If one locality should yield more than the average profit upon the capital invested, the competition from other localities would come in to share the revenue; if a locality were yielding less than the fair margin of net revenue, the competitors would leave it to seek more profitable fields. If the margin of profit upon the whole railway transportation business were in excess of the average profits upon other classes of business, capital would go in from other fields of enterprise to secure the building of new railroads and the putting of new trains and engines in operation. Likewise if the competition of carriers could reduce the margin of profit to less than that of the competitive capital engaged upon the great total of commercial enterprise, the construction of new railroads would cease, the building of additional cars and engines would be suspended and the supply of railroad transportation services would thus gradually diminish until it was brought into equality with the demand. But this state of affairs would render it impossible to permanently assess upon one branch of the railroad business, or upon certain disfavored localities, the greater share of the profits of the capital invested in the railway; and it would go beyond that, in rendering impossible the exaggeration of the evil which levies upon the non-competitive traffic under the present state of affairs, not only the margin for the capital actually invested, but the profit upon the nominal capital which is three or four times the actual and *bona fide* investment. Under free competition, and in all classes of the railway

business, no locality could be assessed with the profits designed to pay dividends upon watered stock, and all localities would be made to equally bear the profits and dividends upon actual and honest investment. The first result of free competition if it were universally and thoroughly established would, therefore, be the reduction of the margin of the profits now exacted from local or non-competitive business. It is inevitable that, where the high charges upon a certain class of traffic are due to the absence of competition on that class, the result of supplying the absent influence would be to reduce the rates. It would not reduce them to the level where the railroads lose money in carrying the traffic; because at that point the competition, based solely on the desire to make money, would cease. But it would surely prevent them from assessing excessive profits, above the level which yields the average and normal return upon capital. In other words, it would completely remove the great and abnormal injustice of the present system in assessing excessive margins of profit upon local traffic and only very narrow margins upon the through business.

The effect of such a change upon the business of the railroads, which is now described as through traffic or competitive business, requires a division of such traffic under the two heads which have, perhaps, not heretofore been made sufficiently distinct, namely: Competitive business where the railroads compete with water transportation, and competitive business, where the railroads compete only with each other. Notwithstanding Mr. Alexander's representation that the discrepancy between competitive and non-competitive traffic is caused by the effect of water competition at the competitive points, it is a fact that the competition of railroads with each other has produced as great and vital discriminations against the non-competitive traffic as the competition that comes only from the water transportation. The discrepancy may not be of as violent a character. The anomalies such as charging three times as much for a haul of one thousand miles as for one of three thousand may not stand out so prominently; but the effect upon the distribution of business is the same and the result in transferring industry and production from one section to another may be just as important. As the cause of the difference is natural in one case, and is arbitrary and artificial in the other, the injustice in disturbing the natural and normal distribution of industry is greater in the latter.

Now if the changes contemplated were effected so as to make competition universal in the railway business, the result upon the points that are now favored as competitive points, simply on account of the competition of different railway carriers, would be to bring them to an equality with all other localities where the transportation is furnished by the railway. Perhaps it would be accurate to say that the rates upon local traffic would be reduced to the present level of

those now established at railway competitive points. It would not be at all surprising if the experiment of such a change as is here contemplated should demonstrate that the present concentration of competition at through points has depressed rates to an undue degree upon that class of the traffic. But the practical result of the change would be to bring down the charges upon the present local, or non-competitive, traffic to the condition of that portion of the traffic of the railroad which now enjoys the competition of various railroad carriers.

The present system divides the traffic, with regard to the element of competition, into three classes: First, that class or department upon which the railroads compete with water transportation; second, that department upon which the railroads compete with each other; third, that class upon which there is no competition at all, and each railway has a monopoly. Our proposition contemplates the elimination of the third class, and the transfer of all the business now included under it to the second. This would divide the traffic into that upon which the railroads compete with each other, and that

upon which the railroads compete with water routes. The third class, under the reform which we are now considering, would practically enjoy the advantages and rates which are now confined to the second class under the present system, and which would probably be found to cover the mass of the railway traffic of the country.

With regard to the effect of such a change upon the competition of railroads with water transportation, it is safe to say that it would leave that competition in existence upon all classes of freight upon which the railroads can compete with the water carriers upon anything like a fair equality. Upon such classes of freight as water transportation can carry at only a fraction of the expense of railroad transportation for the same distance, it would leave the field free to the water transporters. Upon the other classes, which now yield a great portion of the revenue obtained by the railway in competition with the water carriers, the element of time consumed in transportation is so important that shippers can well afford to pay higher rates than those charged for the transportation by water for the rapid transportation of the railroads. Under the just application of the principle of the value of the service rendered the railroads would secure this business at much higher rates than the water routes could get. In other words, if a railway were to obtain through business in fair competition with a water route it would be at full liberty to compete with it. If the water route could obtain business at rates which the railroad could not afford to meet the water route would obtain the business. What the railroad would be unable to do would be to assess the cost of carrying on a losing competition with the water route, upon the local traffic of which it holds the monopoly, with the pur-

pose of eventually driving the water carriers out of business. The railroad could no longer assess the charges necessary to yield a net revenue upon its capital, or to levy the cost of repairing tracks and replacing worn-out cars upon the local traffic while it was competing with water carriers free of those items of expense. This would be for the legitimate advantage of the public. It is not for the public benefit, however it may be for the railroads, that they shall be supported by their non-competitive traffic in their effort to make transportation by water a losing business, or, as they have done on some of the canals and rivers of the country, drive it out of existence altogether. The practical result of competition, reaching to all parts of the railroad business, would be to leave the water transporters in the undisturbed possession of that class of traffic which they can carry so much cheaper than the railroads as to be beyond the reach of the natural competition of the latter; while upon such articles of freight as the railway can naturally compete upon with water carriers the rates would be such as the railway could fairly afford to make. With regard to the public, the effect would be that at the points which have the natural advantage of water transportation the charges for transportation would be such as are fixed by the natural and legitimate competition of scores and perhaps hundreds of carriers by water; while upon the articles transported by rail the charges would be those fixed by the natural and legitimate competition of the railway carriers.

It is clear enough that under such a state of affairs the location of manufacturing industries and the agricultural production of the nation would be distributed in accordance with the natural advantages of every locality, both with regard to the cheapness of production and the greatest economy of effort required in bringing the products to market. The farmers of the East could not, probably, raise cattle as cheaply as they are raised upon the ranches of the far West, but they would not be crowded entirely out of existence by the fact that the latter, in addition to their natural advantages, are enabled to materially overcome the greater distance which their product has to be transported in order to reach a market. It would be impossible under such a condition of affairs for a railway to take away the natural advantage for manufacturing enterprises which might be possessed by an especial locality by the principle of charging upon that locality all that the freight will bear. With competition among all railway carriers giving such localities the full benefit of their natural location the cost of transporting materials and products would be cheaper; the public would obtain the benefit of the economy in the lower prices of the products; and industry and production would be distributed everywhere in accordance with the best and most natural economic conditions.

With regard to the railroads, the first objection offered to such a change as is here contemplated would naturally be that it would ruin them by depriving them of their large margin for revenue now assessed upon their local traffic. This appears to be a natural result, inasmuch as there is, no doubt, a greater portion of their net revenue now drawn from their traffic upon which they have no competition. Nevertheless, such a result is not necessary. That it would take away such a portion of their revenue as is required to yield dividends and interest upon fictitious capitalization is quite possible; but with regard to the actual and bona fide capital invested in the road, it is worth while to notice the operation of the rule that the reduction of an excessive margin levied for profit or net revenue is invariably compensated by the immense expansion of business which such reductions permit. This is the

universal testimony of railroad experience.

The last issue of Poor's Railway Manual produced tables showing the reduction of rates and the growth of freight business upon certain leading railways which illustrate clearly the gains to the railways from the reduction of rates which has been produced even by the limited and hampered working of competition. During the past twenty-three years, upon the trunk lines, the reduction in that way has been equivalent to dividing the average charge per ton per mile by five. In other words, the average charge is one-fifth of what it was in 1865; but the extension of business permitted by this reduction is so great that the aggregate traffic is ten times what it was in 1865. Therefore, even at the reduced rate, the total of earnings have been a little more than doubled. The same result is shown, even to a more marked degree, upon the railroads known as the "Grangers," doing business to the west and northwest of Chicago. There the average rate upon freight is one-quarter of what it was in 1865; the total volume of business has been increased by the reduction to fourteen times what it was; and the aggregate of earnings has been very nearly multiplied by five. The testimony of these figures as to what has been done by the reduction of rates permits the conclusion that the railroad would be more than compensated for the reduction of their margins now charged upon local traffic by the indefinite expansion of that traffic; and this conclusion is supported by an example which has already been referred to. When Pittsburg, upon the great mass of its business, was subject to the control of a single railroad corporation, exactly this allegation was made on behalf of the railroad—that if it was forced to reduce its local rates, it could not obtain its net earnings upon its capital and debt. But the reduction was forced by the construction of a competing line which brought Pittsburg to the position of a competing railroad point, exactly as it is proposed by this reformation to bring all railroad stations to that position. The result has been that the competition, although the railroad has been forced to divide the business with its competitors, has so enlarged the aggregate volume of traffic that the net earnings of the original railroad from Pittsburg's business are greater than they ever were before; and it has enjoyed a period of prosperity under competition more decided than it ever obtained when it had a monopoly of the business.

Besides the advantage to each railroad to be secured by the development, through competitive rates of the territory along its line which should be its main and reliable source of freights, I imagine that experience would demonstrate if all the business of the railroads were made competitive, that the necessities of the railroads would force a more careful and business-like policy in the adjustment of rates. While the railroads do not, perhaps, intend to carry their competition upon that part of their business on

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## THE AMERICAN HOUSE OF LORDS.

which they are obliged to compete to the losing point, the circumstances often tempt them to transgress the limit of loss upon competing business; and the fact that they are protected against the due penalty of that mistake by their large earnings upon the local traffic diminishes the care against such errors. If the circumstances were such that every time a railroad official carries the part of competition to the point of actually throwing away money which would ensure the loss of net earnings, and for which there could be no recompense in the profits derived from other traffic, the interests of the stockholders would very soon call him to account. While competition was forcing every railway charge into close relation with the cost of service, it would be necessary for railway transporters to fully inform themselves of the exact elements of that cost.

Mr. Alexander tells us that it is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to properly determine those elements; but the fact is that the circumstances of the railway interest only permit managers to avoid that difficulty because it is possible to do so. It is no more difficult to determine the elements of cost in railway transportation than it is to determine them in the manufacture of different kinds of iron or steel, or to assess them upon the cost of producing wheat or live stock upon the same farm. The railways have remained ignorant as to the true cost of service, simply because their circumstances have permitted them to do so. It is a fact that all the investigations which have been carried on have failed to bring out a single clear and exact statement of the element of cost in the transportation of any especial class of freight. With competition pressing upon the transportation of all classes and from all localities, we may be certain that the business methods of the railway would very soon develop exact knowledge of the real items of cost, and regulate railway rates in accordance therewith.

The greatest advantage both with reference to the railways, and with reference to the interests of the general public, in such a reform as is here imagined, would be that the determination of the question as to the relative justice of rates would not be submitted to the decision of any tribunal either of railway managers or of representatives of the Government. Free competition, acting in favor of all localities in railway transportation, would determine what rate were right as clearly and as much without appeal as the same influence determines the relative price of shoes in New York and in New Orleans. It would not be necessary for a railway to be constantly hauled before a commission or a court in order to justify its rates; neither would it be necessary for any locality in order to secure just rates to appeal to such a tribunal. If the railway charges to any locality were not just, any competitor would be at liberty to make lower ones, and the shippers, instead of being obliged to trust their interests to the decision of a fallible tribunal, could call in new competition to adjust and redress whatever grievances they might find in existing charges. The whole subject would be removed from the jurisdiction of arbitrary and perhaps partial tribunals, to be subjected to the influence of a universal, natural and unerring force, which would fix the proper charges upon the transportation of different localities as accurately as the same force now fixes the proper charges upon the staples of commerce which are free from any interference with competition, and which are adjusted so unmistakably by natural influences that no complaint is ever heard concerning them.

Mr. Blair—May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. Paddock—Yes, sir.

Mr. Blair—Would it not, then, follow that in your State and in other States situated in the same way, which are prosperous, that the larger the mortgage indebtedness appears to be the greater prosperity of the State? That is to say, it is an investment of capital, profitably invested.

Mr. Paddock—I have substantially stated that it does show a prosperous condition of affairs in my State. In stock-raising, for instance, many farmers who had no stock and whose farms were paid for, desired to go into that particular branch of the farming industry, and so they borrowed money to acquire anew or to increase their herds and flocks.

Mr. Blair—And instead of drawing the inference from the great amount of mortgage indebtedness that she is poor, the natural and true inference would rather be that the State is rich?

Mr. Paddock—It is an evidence of progress and prosperity as far as my State is concerned. Indeed, sir, I affirm that there is not, all things considered, a more prosperous country or people on earth.

Senator Wilson of Iowa said the mortgage indebtedness in his State did not amount to over \$65,000,000, and the farmers were perfectly able to care for them.

These are specimens of financial wisdom for which the people are paying at the rate of \$6,000 per day and foreshadows the measure of relief that may be expected from that body. The alarming feature of this debate consists in the gross ignorance of these Senators concerning the true condition of affairs or their utter disregard for the demands and necessities of the people. The sentiments expressed are an insult to the intelligence of the country and a disgrace to the American Senate. The doctrine that a man's debts are evidences of his prosperity is too absurd for a moment's consideration. Senator Blair says: "Every man of them has grown wealthy by borrowing money and running in debt." A greater fallacy could not have been advanced. Money rents in the West from 10 to 30 per cent., and the average profit from farm production is not a farthing over 4 per cent. The prosperity and financial existence of the Western farmer, then, becomes a matter of calculation. It will last as long as 4 per cent. can contend with 25 and no longer. Reference to the "hard-earned money of the East" is not calculated to arouse pleasant reflections.

There is not a single dollar in the vaults of New England but was put there by the sweat and toil of the West. It all represents the tribute that labor must render to money when money is so manipulated as to have the power to oppress. Mr. Blair represents the home of insurance, monopoly, railroad combines and manufacturing syndicates. There may be some excuse for his lack of knowledge or want of fellow feeling. But what can be said in defense of Senators Paddock or Wilson? They should know better. They have heard the cries of distress that are going up from the people in every quarter of the States they now misrepresent. They know the hard lines into which their constituents have fallen, and yet have the presumption to deny these facts and undertake to argue against these conditions. Neither one of them dare stand before a Western audience and make such statements.

The great West has undertaken to get rich by borrowing money and has made a most disastrous failure. At the recent St. Louis meeting hundreds of farmers, representing these States, declared the statements regarding their financial situation were true, and that the worst had not been told. Stern necessity had driven out foolish pride, and they were anxious to have the real truth known, and asked for an economic system

that would better their condition. These Senators state that these mortgages have been made and are making their people prosperous. The newspapers and correspondence from their section do not agree with them. The Saturday Spectator, of Minneapolis, Minn., had twenty-one columns of mortgage sales in one issue.

The following letter from Samuel Sennett, a farmer of Muscatine, Iowa, published in the Alabama Sentinel, will at once disclose a want of harmony between two citizens of that State:

The late election has done a great deal to awaken the farmers and workingmen of this State to the necessity of combined action.

This State has been under Republican control for over thirty-four years, and the party in power had grown perfectly reckless as to the rights of the people. Corporations had obtained complete control of the government and taxation had been placed on the farms and industries of the State till the Iowa farmers could boast of being the heaviest taxed class in the civilized world. With one of the most gifted regions in the world, rich soil, abundant supply of water, minerals and coal, yet the abundant crops of the past season did not pay for the cost of production, and it appeared strange that farmers who had large yields of the cereals were grumbling at the big crops, for the low price to be obtained in the markets would not pay the cost of handling, and the transportation companies absorbed all the profits. The plagues of Egypt were trifling in comparison to the curse of the monopolies, syndicates, trusts and corporate executioners that, worse than the locusts, have drained the life and energy out of the most enterprising set of men that ever settled up a country. We have been deluded by fond hopes and treacherous promises till the manhood has been froze out of thousands. With a homestead law and a law protecting the poor man's household goods from seizure for an honest debt, incurred to keep his family from want and destitution, yet the devilish mortgage system intervenes and three-fourths of the homes in the State are held in pawn to protect the claims of foreign money-lenders.

\* \* \* But how is this to be remedied? By active and thorough organization. The late Congress of Farmers at Montgomery and the still later convention at St. Louis is the indication of an awakening that will be productive of good results if persisted in. The working class is at last awakened, and the approaching crisis is looked forward to with a great deal of hope and anxiety by all earnest men.

A correspondent of a Nebraska paper, the Inman Review, says:

The fertile West does not always reward the husbandman with a fair supply of cash, even if he can boast of large crops of grain. My crops of small grain have been fair for the season, but prices are so low as to barely cover expense of producing. I am selling oats here at fourteen cents per bushel, barley at fifteen cents, corn (a light crop here this year) at fifteen to sixteen cents per bushel of seventy-five pounds, and wheat at fifty-five to sixty cents per bushel. Fat cattle I can sell at two cents per pound, live weight, while for poorer grades there is no regular price just now. In common with my neighbors I have been unfortunate in raising pigs, hence we have but few hogs to sell this fall. We farmers have little or no cash except as we borrow on thirty or sixty day

notes at banks or of bankers, at 1½ per cent. per month as the rate of interest, with an uncertain prospect of paying at maturity.

Does this agree with Senator Paddock's statement? Which knows best, the farmer or legislator?

The following also is clipped from a Nebraska paper—the Alliance Motor, Broken Bow.

We understand that the Nebraska Mortgage and Trust Co., of this city, published in the Alabama Sentinel, will at once disclose a want of harmony between two citizens of that State:

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This does not seem to indicate a superabundant amount of prosperity in that locality. Such statements can be clipped from almost every Western paper and show a far different state of affairs than the speeches of these Senators are intended to convey.

## THE PREMIUM ON BONDS.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury does not show as it certainly should the amount paid as premium on bonds purchased. Nothing goes out of this department that will in the least reflect upon its management or give the people any information regarding its doubtful transactions. The Secretary is fully aware of the wide-spread distrust among the people over the purchase of these bonds, but nevertheless he withholds all information possible that will throw any light upon this dark subject. By going elsewhere and making some calculations it is found that nearly \$38,000,000 has been paid out of the Treasury up to date as premiums. These payments if continued at the present rates will amount in all to more than \$200,000,000 before the bonds are paid.

Do you understand, brother farmer, just how it has been brought about? Can you imagine why a bond-bearing but 4 per cent. interest due in fifteen years is worth a premium of 28 per cent., while a good farm mortgage due in five years drawing 8 per cent. interest is at a discount? There is but one answer to this, and that is, legislative chicanery.

The Government many years ago contracted a large debt for which it issued bonds. When these bonds began to mature, other bonds were issued instead. Without proper consideration, and without doubt in collusion with the banks, the terms of this last issue were so manipulated as to place the best interests of the people in jeopardy. It has been said on the floor of the House that even forgery had been resorted to in order to accomplish this end. These bonds run ten, twenty and thirty years without option of payment, something never before done in the history of this or any other government with a loan of this final character. About this time the Government set its taxing machine to work. At first it worked quite well, and the Government paid out on various kinds of indebtedness the amount of money ground out by the machine. After a

while, however, the taxing machine took money from the people faster than the bonds matured, and hence the present difficulty. Out of this kind of financial wisdom has come what is known as the treasury surplus. This surplus is not only the bane of every administration, but a curse to the people. It is a standing bribe for corrupt legislation and an excuse for lavish expenditures. This vast sum of money, taxed from the people, must through some means be restored to them or bankruptcy and ruin will follow. Because of this almost any bill that promises to take money out of the Treasury can be passed through Congress. By this method but little of the money taken from the farmer comes back to him. It stops with the bondholder, the banker or speculator. In fact this system taxes the money from the producer and puts it into the pockets of the non-producer. All national expenses have increased. Jobs of every description are passed by Congress, and the whole machinery of government consists in taxing the people and squandering the proceeds. New offices are created. Salaries are increased, and appropriations calling for money are made with a recklessness truly astonishing. Even these wasteful methods do not accomplish the desired end, and the Government is forced to buy its own indebtedness at a high premium or see the people perish. Knowing this, the holders of the bonds demand enormous tribute, and the Government is compelled to accept the terms. But this is not the only bad feature; the Government has been for some time depositing large sums of money in various banks without interest, thereby making the purchase of bonds even at present high rates so much the more difficult. The American Government to-day is the victim of the power of money to oppress, which comes from corrupt legislation. Every thinking person realizes that something must be done.

what to do or how to do it have become grave national questions. If the power of the taxing machine is curtailed, a great political force is eliminated, the banks and bond owners are antagonized and the occupation of an army of office holders taken away. If this taxation is continued, and the money squandered as it now is, it is barely possible that the people may come to their senses some day and wipe out the whole corrupt source of these evils. In this dilemma we present for the consideration of all patriotic, liberty-loving citizens of this country the sub-treasury plan adopted by the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union at its St. Louis meeting. The surplus in the Treasury could be utilized in part in the construction of Government warehouses, and the balance loaned to the people, as proposed by that system. This would do away with the vexed question of a surplus, destroy the premium on bonds and save to the people at least \$150,000,000. The times are ripe for such a movement, and the near future will develop it or the farming interests of this nation will be entirely ruined. Party politics must cease to hamper the judgment of the people, and a determination to act for the general good must soon obtain, or dire calamities are in store for the American people.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 32.

The Department of Labor—a bureau of labor connected with the Department of the Interior, was established by act of Congress approved June 24, 1884. By act of Congress approved June 23, 1888, a Department of Labor was created and the Bureau of Labor, with its officers and duties, transferred to the Department of Labor.

The number of employees in this Department is 64, and the aggregate of their salaries is \$84,540.

There is a great deal that should be said of this Department, but space will not allow it here. At another time the subject will probably be taken up by this paper.

There are, in addition to the Departments and bureaus already mentioned, the following miscellaneous institutions, of which limited space will not allow a detailed account:

The Civil Service Commission, with a force of 14 employees, whose salaries aggregate \$24,900; the Bureau of Ethnology, with 18 employees and salaries aggregating \$20,600; the National museum, 142 employees, salaries about \$150,000; Bureau of International Exchange, 10 employees, salaries about \$10,000; Fish Commission, about 100 employees, salaries about \$125,000; Washington Monument, 13 employees, salaries about \$9,000; National Board of Health, 9 members at \$10 dollars per day each when actually employed; Columbia Hospital, about 20 employees, salaries about \$10,000; Home for Destitute Colored Women and Children, about 12 employees, salaries \$2,000; Children's Hospital, about 20 employees, salaries about \$8,000; Women's Christian Association, 2 employees at salaries aggregating \$408; Industrial Home School, about 12 employees, salaries about \$4,500.

The total cost of the local government of the District of Columbia to the United States is also a matter of no small consequence. The officers are paid at a rate far in excess of those in similar positions in any other city in the Union and their number is very great. The aggregate of salaries for this purpose is about \$5,000,000 per year. The cost of paving and other improvements adds a vast amount to this.

The following is a summary of the number of employees and aggregates of salaries in the various departments in the city of Washington:

	Employees.	Salaries.
Executive Department .....	24	\$91,864
Cabinet .....	8	64,000
State Department .....	66	107,930
Treasury, employed in city .....	4,436	6,018,585
War Department, besides Army officers .....	1,747	1,914,560
Navy Department, besides 200 Navy officers .....	191	225,152
Interior .....	3,993	4,828,620
Post Office .....	6,731	6,977,050
Department of Justice .....	79	152,570
Agriculture .....	112	151,140
Labor .....	64	84,540
Civil Service Commission .....	14	24,900
	17,465	\$20,637,911
Senate .....	301	413,423
House of Representatives .....	347	384,801
Capitol and grounds, library, etc .....	353	286,724
Government Printing Office .....	2,100	2,024,130
	20,546	\$23,747,159

The number of Senators and Representatives combined is 401, omitting those from

collated by him, and he is authorized to make special reports on particular subjects whenever required to do so by either house of Congress, or when he shall think the subject in his charge requires it. He is required to submit estimates of expenses for the Department of Labor for each fiscal year.

Territories and new States, and the aggregate of their salaries is \$1,663,000. These figures will give a very fair idea of the numbers employed in Washington and their salaries; yet it is far from being exact, as there are large numbers employed from time to time at per diem wages and for short time, thus bringing the number of employes up to at least 25,000.

The space at command renders it necessary to close this hasty review here; yet there is a vast amount of most interesting material remaining untouched, and a detailed description of many institutions which have been merely mentioned would no doubt be of interest to many. However, it is hoped that sufficient has been said to give those whose homes are at a distance from the seat of Government some idea of the manner in which the great departments of Government are conducted and the magnitude of these central offices, the influence of which is felt throughout the nation.

SECRETARY WINDOM says "the surplus money of the Government is among the people." This statement is not true, and no one knows it better than he does. In fact, the gravest suspicions can be attached to conditions that make such assertions possible. The power is given to this one man to wreck every industry in this country. This immense sum of money has been in the hands of the banks for a number of years, and by loans has gone into the channels of business. If it is disturbed or withdrawn bankruptcy and ruin will follow. For this reason it is left in the hands of the banks as a gratuity, and the people are in their extremity compelled to hire it at ruinous rates of interest. That there is a vast difference between being in the hands of the banks and in use among the people a little figuring will demonstrate. This surplus that has been loaned to the banks without interest has averaged about \$50,000,000 for something over three years. At eight per cent interest it amounts to \$4,000,000 annually, or \$12,000,000 for three years. The difference, then, between being in possession of banks and in use among the people is \$12,000,000.

The most pertinent questions would be, Who does this \$12,000,000 of tribute belong to, the banks or the Government? If to the banks, why has the Government any more right to loan to them than to the people; and if it belongs to the Government, why should Government show such partiality to one class and ignore all others? Twelve million dollars represents 24,000,000 bushels of wheat, 120,000,000 pounds of cotton, 1,200,000,000 pounds of beef and 12,000,000 days of hard labor. By what right does Government, through the will of this one man, exact \$12,000,000 of tribute from one class of its citizens and give it to another? Yet this same man is asking for more extended powers from Congress, and will no doubt receive them. It is for the purpose of making such conditions impossible that the sub-treasury plan is brought forward. It is to relieve

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## OFFICIAL DIRECTORY

OF THE  
NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND  
INDUSTRIAL UNION.

L. L. Polk, President, North Carolina.  
B. H. Clover, Vice President, Kansas.  
J. H. Turner, Secretary, Georgia.  
W. H. Hickman, Treasurer, Missouri.  
Ben. Terrell, Lecturer, Texas.  
Executive Board—C. W. Macune, Chairman; A. Wardall, and J. F. Tillman.  
Judiciary Department—R. C. Patty, Chairman; Isaac McCracken, and Evan Jones.

## STATE OFFICERS.

Lecturer Ben Terrell's Appointments in Alabama.  
Jacksonville, Monday, January 6.  
Anniston, Tuesday, January 7.  
Talladega, Wednesday, January 8.  
Columbiana, Thursday, January 9.  
Randolph, Friday, January 10.  
Selma, Saturday, January 11.  
Marion, Monday, January 13.  
Demopolis, Tuesday, January 14.  
Uniontown, Wednesday, January 15.  
Montgomery, Friday, January 17.  
Greenville, Saturday, January 18.  
Evergreen, Monday, January 20.  
Brewton, Tuesday, January 21.  
Clanton, Thursday, January 23.  
Wetumpka, Friday, January 24.  
Dadeville, Monday, January 27.  
Alexander City, Tuesday, January 28.  
Opelika, Wednesday, January 29.  
LaFayette, Thursday, January 30.  
Wedowee, Friday, January 31.  
Notasulga, Monday, February 3.  
Tuskegee, Tuesday, February 4.  
Union Springs, Wednesday, February 5.  
Troy, Thursday, February 6.  
Eufaula, Friday, February 7.  
Clayton, Saturday, February 8.  
Ozark, Monday, February 10.  
Headland, Tuesday, February 11.

WHEREAS THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our adopted official national organ, has so boldly and fearlessly advocated our cause and defended our principles: Therefore, be it

Resolved by this national body, That we heartily approve of the course it has pursued, and recommend that every member of the order should subscribe for and read the paper as one of the best means of education in the way of industrial free dom.

In calling attention to the foregoing resolutions, passed unanimously by the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union at St. Louis, the publishers of the national journal have nothing more to say at present upon the subject than that the highly complimentary endorsement is duly appreciated. The ECONOMIST has at all times endeavored to do its duty fully and faithfully, and it now remains for the members to do their duty to themselves, THE ECONOMIST and the cause it represents by giving it an extensive circulation. The individual endorsement of the members by sending in their subscriptions is now and always in order.

ALL secretaries and other persons sending subscriptions to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST are at liberty to retain the expense of sending the money order, or other means of shipping the money, at the publishers' expense, and send balance to cover subscriptions.

AN extraordinary effort should be made during the holidays to increase the subscription list of the national organ. Nothing will benefit the people more. Let all friends to the movement go to work at once.

ALL mail for the secretary of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union should be addressed to "J. H. Turner, secretary, N. F. A. and I. U., care NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C."

## THE BOOK! THE BOOK! THE BOOK!!!

The History of

The Agricultural Wheel and  
Farmers Alliance,

AND

## THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION

By W. S. Morgan.

TWO BOOKS IN ONE VOLUME.

## The Grandest Book of the Year.

## A LIBRARY IN ITSELF.

The great necessity of the times is education. It is our only hope. It is the beacon light of success. We must not only educate but we must educate properly. The people fight the bagging trust and the twin trust because they see plainly the iniquity of the system. There are other trusts in existence more insidious in their nature, and a thousand times more dangerous to the Republic, that are causing but little alarm. Why is this? It is want of education. The money trust is the giant of trusts. From its abundant resources all other trusts draw their sustenance. The machinations of this giant of giants are scarcely known. If you would know the diabolical schemes which this combination, more powerful than Congress, have practiced to rob the people, read Morgan's new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and The Impending Revolution." No book of this character ever written has treated of as many subjects in so masterly a manner. It covers the entire ground of the struggle between labor and corporate capital, and discusses fully the great issues that must determine our destiny as a people and as a nation. It has met the hearty approval and endorsement of the principal officers of the Wheel and Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union. The following testimonials are evidence of the high character of the work:

DUBLIN, TEX., September 3, 1889.

BRO. MORGAN: After critical examination of your new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution," I find it to be a work of vital importance to every reformer, and one that should be read by every American citizen. The subjects on which it treats are the questions which affect the industries of the nation and cause the depressed condition of labor. It is a wonderful compilation of facts, sustained by the most eminent authorities. It is one of the best educators within the reach of the people, and it has my hearty approval.

Yours fraternally, EVAN JONES,  
Pres. Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

OZONE, ARK., September 6, 1889.

BRO. MORGAN: I have received your "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution." I predicted a work of unusual interest, and after having read your book, I find my predictions fulfilled to the letter. It is a work that I can heartily recommend to the toiling millions. It has more clubs with which to fight monopoly, between its two covers, than any book I have ever seen. I hope it will have an extensive circulation.

Yours for the right, ISAAC McCRAKEN;  
Pres. National Wheel and Vice-Pres. F. L. U. A.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 27, 1889.

W. S. Morgan  
DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I write to congratulate you upon your valuable "History of the Agricultural Wheel and Farmers Alliance and the Impending Revolution."

I regard your history as a great benefit to the order, and calculated to be of much assistance in the important work of the future.

Every farmer and every man interested in the cause of the farmer should read your book and preserve it in his home library.

Yours fraternally, C. W. MACUNE.

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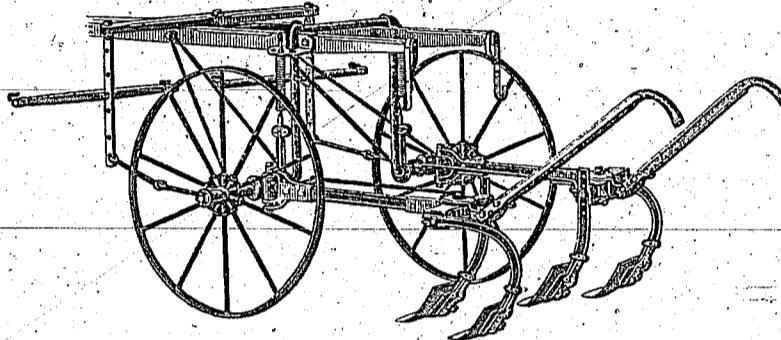
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PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

{ SINGLE COPY FIVE CENTS

No. 17.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 11, 1890.

## VOL. II.

## SECTIONALISM OF THE FUTURE.

For many years to come sectionalism in this country will continue. It will assume a different form from that in which it has so long afflicted the people, and have another purpose. It will come through common interests and mutual benefits, and not obtain, as now, through distrust, party lines or political chicanery. It will be the gathering together of those whose interests are identical, whose aims and purposes are similar, and whose methods demand unity of action.

## GRAIN ELEVATORS FOR RUSSIA.

REPORT BY VICE-CONSUL WERTHEIM, OF MOSCOW.

Much has been written and a great deal more has been said about the many hardships and losses suffered by the grain growers of this country, owing to the want of adequate means for storing and transporting their produce. At certain periods of the year such quantities of grain are brought to the railway depots that a sufficient number of wagons for its transport is not to be had, nor are the railways prepared to store it. Piled up in sacks in the open, exposed to rain and snow, much of it becomes damaged and worthless. Such a condition of things is, of course, disastrous to the small farmer, who can not afford to store his produce, but is compelled to convert it into ready money, and is entirely at the mercy of the middle-men. There are many instances of advances being taken on the crops from these very middle-men, who, of course, have it all their own way as soon as the crop is harvested.

It is far from my intention, nor is it indeed my place, to heap hot coals upon the heads of these much-abused middle-men, or *koulakys* (meaning "fists"), as they are designated here. I am inclined to think that however hard they may be at a bargain they are too wise to attempt killing the goose that lays the golden egg; and if they make big profits they run great risks, and must occasionally suffer losses.

Where to find the remedy was what greatly exercised the minds of the Russian national economists. At one time the formation of a large and powerful company, for the purpose of erecting American elevators and granaries at certain important railway depots where the grain could be stored and advances obtained on it at determined rates of interest, was proposed. I believe concessions were applied for, in order to form such a company; but the Government, fearing lest the remedy might become the greater evil by creating a monopoly, refused to encourage any such scheme. After a delay of about four years a happy solution of the question appears to have at last been arrived at.

The necessary sanction for the erection and working of elevators has been granted by a recent imperial edict empowering the Southwestern and the Riasan-Kosloff railways to construct fourteen of these elevators along their respective lines, one of them to be at Odessa. The intention of the Government is to leave the working of elevators to the railways, but not to the exclusion of private undertaking of the kind, or by town corporations, municipalities, or other public bodies. Indeed, subject to the sanction of the minister of ways and means, the Riasan-Kosloff Railway is authorized to make over the management and working of its elevators to any such public body, as above mentioned.

The *zemstvos* (rural municipalities) are empowered to erect elevators, and although the government does not wish to influence them or to lay any pressure on them, it is certain that any initiative they may take with regard to this question will be viewed with favor.

Three different modes of introducing the adoption of grain elevators into the country are open to the government. They are, either to construct them at government expense, and to work them; to grant concessions, and thus encourage and create private enterprise; or to leave the construction of them to the railways. It is the latter mode

that has prevailed, but the government has reserved for itself the absolute right of appropriating all these elevators at any moment it may deem fit.

A scale of charges for the use of elevators has been fixed, and remains under control of the State.

The government has evidently gone carefully into all the details of the question, and adopted every precautionary measure to prevent the creation of anything approaching to a monopoly.

To meet the cost of the construction of the elevators the Southwestern Railway has been authorized to make use of its pension fund, on condition that the money be repaid by annual installments spread over a term of twelve years, at an interest of 5 1/4 per cent. Should the revenues derived from the elevators prove insufficient, the deficiency shall be paid out of the company's general revenue. For the same purpose the Riasan-Kosloff Railway is authorized to issue a loan guaranteed by the government.

The elevator system so much needed in this country will now be introduced without the expenditure of any government funds, and still a perfect control of the entire system is secured to the government on conditions hardly suited to private undertakings of the same kind, and here is the reason for giving preference to railways.

The above report will be read with interest by all who are investigating the sub-treasury plan. While it embodies but few of the details of the proposed system, the principle of government ownership and control is clearly defined.

It needs but one step further to come squarely upon the sub-treasury plan, which would emancipate that great nation from its present financial difficulty. This is another proof that in times of imminent peril the most natural resources are the safest and best. It is evidence that even in Russia, despotic though its government may be, it has granted to its people warehousing privileges that the citizens of Dakota and other Western States have asked for in vain.

It has not only rescued its wealth-producers from the clutches of middlemen, but has said to railroad monopoly, thus far and no farther. Well might the American Government profit by this example. If Russia, situated as it is financially, intellectually and geographically, can put into operation such a system beneficially to its citizens, what a store of prosperity awaits the people of this country if our Government would do likewise.

How many farmers and grangers have ever really meditated or come in contact with a true idea of finance, or can truly define a dollar, the unit of value that measures all their products? Heath on Finance says: "A lump of gold weighing twenty-five grains troy is not a dollar; it will not pay a dollar of debt in any country on the globe. It is not money. But without taking from or adding to it a particle of matter we pass it under the mint dies, and behold! it comes out a living legal-tender debt-paying dollar. We lay it on the railroad track, allow a train of cars to run over it, and although it has lost none of its weight, fineness or intrinsic value, the dollar has fled; it is no longer money and will not, legally, pay a debt of ten cents." Where has the dollar gone?

Where and what was that principle or element called money, or a dollar? In its crude natural state it did not possess it; it went under the mint dies and it came out with a soul of money—a living legal tender. It possessed a new and a debt-paying function which it did not before possess. Under the car-wheel it lost that function or quality. Its legal spirit was driven out of it. It became a dead commodity; its money soul had departed. Now, what is money? Not the

## FARMERS' SUB-TREASURIES.

The following communication is taken from the Pacific Union, San Francisco, Cal. It discloses the fact that the idea of a sub-treasury system to take the place of the present expensive and one-sided method is an outgrowth of necessity and a general desire for fair play and equal privileges:

I write this in behalf of the farmers and grangers of California. I wish they were all good grangers, for the power of agreement among men is stronger than the power of money when honor or integrity is in the balance. Here is a clipping from the Tulare Enterprise of July 6, which I want for my text this time:

A Wool Warehouse for Porterville.—For some time past it has been a question of great moment to our sheep-growers how to dispose of their wool, which immediately after shearing had to be shipped off to market, so a chosen few interested themselves, conferred with their brother wool-growers and decided to meet and discuss the matter in all its details.

W. A. ABERNETHY.

I wish I could sermonize on this so as to have all the farmers join the Grange, and then have all the grangers unite and see if they cannot advocate and agitate a good, sound financial policy, which they can surely accomplish if they will only stand together and demand—or at least ask for—what they want. When the Porterville warehouse is built and filled with wool, why not go one step further and let the owners of the wool execute a bond to the Government for the money they need, drawing two per cent. interest, and receive from the Government through the Grange good lawful money (greenbacks) to do their business with, and stop paying interest to individuals, for the two per cent. paid the Government can be in lieu of taxes? This method would make all farmers willing taxpayers, and the Government machinery that assesses and collects taxes could do the same with interest.

Then let the wheat and fruit-growers go and do the same. All these can furnish a better bond basis for banking than was ever devised by man, and their garners will receive a new supply every year. As we are consuming our this year's supply the chemistry of nature is preparing us a new yearly supply that will not get panicky and run off with this basis, as did the coin men in our late rebellion.

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material body of 25.8 grains of metal; for although that still existed before it went to the mint and after the car-wheels had passed over it, the money principle was not in it.

Money, then, is not material, nor does it possess intrinsic value, for the intrinsic value of 25.8 grains of gold was not changed from the time it came from the ore-bed till its flattened form was taken from under the car-wheel. If money, then, is the spirit of legal tender breathed into inorganic or material form by the sovereign power of the Government, as the spirit of man is breathed by God into the soul's clayey tenement, why clamor for a body or hope to obtain an equal or intrinsic value to the spirit that inhabits it. Money is like everything else—the scarcer it is the dearer it is; and the more land, labor or commodity it takes to purchase a given sum. It is not the amount of money in existence which determines prices so much as the amount in circulation."

Now, if the farmers and grangers could come to some agreement as to how much money per capita we needed to transact our business, and ask our servants at Washington to supply us with what we need at the rate of two per cent., and fix it and keep it at so much per capita, we could then always have a sound financial basis, for Europe is now depending on the United States for bread. A St. Louis paper says:

"It is ascertained that Europe's population has increased 160,000,000 in the last half century, and is increasing now at the rate of 4,000,000 besides sending abroad 1,000,000 emigrants yearly. This growth has so far out-run food production that Russia and Hungary are now the only European countries that count on raising their own food supply. Forty years ago Great Britain alone looked beyond her own soil for breadstuffs and provisions. Now the utmost resources of the soil are taxed in vain to feed the population of Europe after Russia and Hungary are left out of the calculation. In 1850 the total value of our exported food products was less than \$27,000,000. In 1880 it was sixteen times as much, or nearly 440,000,000. Cattle on the remotest ranges of Texas and Idaho now command better prices than they brought on the cultivated farms of the Atlantic States in 1880. Wonderful as our increase in population and production have been, it has not more than kept pace with the growth of Europe's demand for all the surplus we can produce. Indeed the increase of our disposable surplus is beginning more and more to be a subject of constant anxiety to the people of Europe, their only assurance against impending famine. European statesmen know that their dependence on us in this respect will become more and more absolute, in spite of the greatly increased immigration to the United States."

If these figures and statements are correct, why can not the farmer do without gold as long as England can do without our provisions? It is said that in Poland, where ventilation and drying are continued for some time, wheat has been kept sound and good for half a century. Its age does it no injury, and such wheat is said to yield handsomer and better flour than that from grain recently harvested. At Dantzig, the preparation for keeping wheat continues for a year or longer, and after this period it is often kept for seven years perfectly sound in large granaries. These facts show how easily wheat may be preserved and stored, as well as all other canned meats and fruits, and if it is true, as it undoubtedly is, that the world is within a year of starvation if we should have a universal failure of crops, how essential then

the large ware-houses filled with wool and visions, for our need in an emergency. If the farmers only could comprehend that they hold the key to a true and the only republican basis of finance, and could agree and stand together, and have their warehouses all over our country—their sub-treasuries at the bottom of their finance—and issue money, not bonds, and let the farmers float the money instead of the bankers float our bonds, the amount that they could save in interest would reclaim all of our desert lands. If they would establish a true system of irrigation—which would be to enlist all idle men in companies, as soldiers are now enlisted for our army and navy, equip them with plow, spade, pick and shovel, and put them at work on the line of reclamation of our deserts, and when their work of reclamation is finished let each laborer have his choice of fifty acres of the land he has reclaimed, on easy and reasonable terms—then our warehouses and sub-treasuries would increase as never before, and Europe would gaze in astonishment at what a true republican could accomplish. Says the Psalmist: "The idols of the heathen are silver and gold, the work of men's hands."

They have mouths but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not.

They have ears but they hear not, neither is there any breath in their mouths.

Those that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them.

I am afraid our Brother Granger can also say with Mr. Hume:

We, too, have placed our hope and trust in silver and in gold; Have bowed to them and set them high, as did the heathens old.

But we can scarce the ancients blame Who honored senseless rocks,

While we've so many modern fools Who worship their old smocks.

No such the stores in Labor's Banks—

The coal, the grain, the wood;

They need no saction from the world To make their titles good.

If we have been gold worshipers, I have worked and write that every granger may be converted to a true Grange-republican standard of finance, and no longer willing to empty his profits in the gold man's bin. Ever since the war the only thing the two great political parties have been at work for is to see how they can protect capital, for capital makes the laws. Some farmers think, perhaps, that there is not much in the Greenback principle. There may not be very many farmers or grangers to advocate it now, but there is a principle of right-strong, powerful, eternal—which shall bring the Government into the hands of the people just as surely as there is a God above and intelligent thinking men beneath.

I want a dollar fixed by law, not made dependent on anything redeemable, but a legal tender for debts, public and private, with the stamp of the most powerful and wealthy nation on earth—the United States of America. We don't want the dollar made to suit anybody in another nation, and especially the Chinese trade dollar. We don't want a piece of gold stamped, because that piece of gold is a commodity—for when it gets to be more valuable as a commodity then some one comes and just takes it off for a commodity. We ought to stand boldly for an inconvertible paper currency, the greenback, which terminated the war and saved our country. We want to get rid of bonds and have done paying interest, when we are, or ought to be, creators of our own money. And I think as did Governor Allen when he said that he regarded the whole doctrine of specie payments as an ideality, without practical foundation to rest on; and said, "I regard it as a dead barren ideality, sir."

## A HOPEFUL SIGN.

The Topeka (Kas.) Capital says:

The Kansas State Grange devoted a large part of yesterday's session to discussing the question as to the practicability of co-operating with the Farmers Alliance in securing legislation for the relief of the farming interests, and for the furtherance of all measures which will benefit the farmer. A number of delegates were in favor of calling a State convention in which the Farmers Alliance, the State Grange and other farmers organizations were to be represented by accredited delegates for the purpose of united action and looking to the formation of a farmers' political party, but this was voted down by a large vote. It was finally decided to appoint a committee to confer with the Farmers Alliance of Kansas, and arrange if possible for harmonious and united action by the two organizations in all matters which concern the farmers of Kansas. In this way the two organizations can exert a powerful influence, and will undoubtedly succeed in accomplishing great good for the agricultural and live-stock interests. The committee appointed on behalf of the Grange is the executive committee of the State Grange, and includes Henry Rhoads of Gardner, D. S. Fairchild of Overbrook, and A. F. Allen of Vinland. It was decided that the seven demands made by the National Farmers' Alliance and the Knights of Labor at their St. Louis convention during the first week in December, should be submitted to the subordinate granges of Kansas for their ratification or rejection.

This is exactly as it should be, and is another proof that the wealth-producers are seriously considering their condition, and are determined to investigate the subject until the root of the difficulty is found. When that is done there will be no difficulty in uniting upon certain lines of action that will not only remove the cause but apply the remedy. The great obstacle to overcome just now is the wide difference of opinion concerning the nature of the disorder. All admit its being with us, but just how it came, and through what agency, is not so clearly defined. This will be made plain in the near future, and then—the end.

For some time past an English syndicate has been buying grain elevators in Chicago and other cities where profitable investments could be made. The inevitable result of alien ownership manifested itself a few days ago, when the storage rate on grain was raised from 9 to more than 10 cents per year for all kinds of grain. This action created much excitement on the board of trade, and a vigorous protest was made to the managers of the alien syndicate. Not only this, but a threat was made to petition for legislative action. Of course nothing will be done in the matter. Grain buyers will simply pay the farmer so much less for his grain and bridge over the difficulty in that manner. No matter what happens either by flood or fire, monopoly or alien greed, the farmer pays it all. If a system of Government warehouses could be inaugurated, there would be no room for this kind of extortion. Is it not better for the Government to own our grain elevators than aliens?

## THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

The Iowa (Des Moines) Tribune gives the St. Louis meeting a good name:

The influence of the great Labor Congress which met in St. Louis has been truly wonderful. It has infused new life and hope throughout the whole body of the people. On every hand courage is returning and the lines are forming for a great and decisive struggle for industrial emancipation.

The various organizations among producers and laboring people are doing marvelous work. The farmers and Knights know what they want, and it is evident they intend to help themselves. The nation is approaching a new era. All hail to the sturdy, honest men who are helping to usher it in.

The Iuka (Miss.) Reporter says:

The great farmers' organization, which is destined soon to embrace in its folds every State and Territory in the Union, is hereafter to be known as the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, instead of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, as adopted at Meridian one year ago. A constitution for the government of the consolidated bodies was adopted and new secret work formulated and agreed upon.

The Kansas (Topeka) Farmer does the right kind of talking:

We do not question appearances? Bank clearings, railroad receipts, loans of money, etc., all show a large volume of business; but our farmers, mechanics, and laborers—the producers—are they doing well? Ten-cent oats and thirteen-cent corn are not encouraging entries on account books. Our foreign commerce is increasing regularly, and our inland trade is greater than ever before; still, we ask, what about the men who make all this vast volume of trade possible? From the time when men first began to trade in the products and necessities of their fellows, money-changers, traders, and middlemen have lived off of profits in hiring and buying and selling. It matters nothing to the trader what corn or sugar is worth. He buys and sells in the market, and makes his profit without regard to price. If he buys high he sells high, and if he buys low he can afford to sell lower. The middleman cares nothing about the value of property. He wants his commission, and gets it, for he has a lien on the property he handles. The banker and money-lender have no concern about the prices at which produce sells or at which labor can be employed, except as it may affect the volume of their business. Money brings a certain rate per cent interest, whether wheat is fifty cents or a dollar a bushel. And so it is all through the non-producing departments. They produce nothing; they only trade in what other people produce, and they live off of the profits made in the traffic. But to the producer, the man who makes or raises the articles which give rise to all the trade of the country, to him the price of his products is all important. And how is it with him to-day? Is he prosperous? Go ask him.

The Co-Operator (La Crescent, Minn.) puts it this way:

The actual wealth of the United States is about \$6,000,000,000, while the assessed value is but little over one-third of that amount, and what is worse, those assessed most in proportion have the least. Five billion should be taken off entirely, and thirty added to reach those who have and should pay as well as relieve those who are taxed too much. Our tax laws need a very material revision, and it will be attended to if men ever control the nation instead of money. Our financial troubles are the ones that cause the most hardships, and could be very easily remedied if there was a will to do it. Money rules the world, and men submit to those who have it.

Independent American (Creston, Iowa) gives the following advice:

Read the basis of agreement between the Farmers Alliance, the Industrial Union and the Knights of Labor. Those are grand principles. Let every friend of the people go to work. Lay aside party feeling, fall in line, and march shoulder to shoulder. Give the Alliance the center, and on either flank let the Knights and Industrial Union march on to battle. The contest is now where the people agree to stand by each other.

The Kansas (Topeka) Farmer describes the situation of farmers in that State.

Farmers are in trouble, and they are looking for a way out. All over the country the same story is told. Crops are generally good, but prices are discouragingly low. If farmers were not in debt, they could get along well enough—as well as other producers, but they are in debt and that is the

burden which they can not bear long. Six, eight, ten and twelve per cent interest can not long be paid out of a two per cent business. Think of ten cent oats, 12 cent corn, 50 cent wheat, when the owner is paying ten per cent interest and three and one-half per cent taxes. They can not pay out at present prices. Relief must come from some source or within the next ten years a million homes will be sold in this country under execution. What is to be done?

The Rural World (St. Louis, Mo.) How is this for railroad monopoly:

The importance of the products of the farm to the railroads, is shown at every step taken to market them. St. Louis parties shipping potatoes to New York and other Eastern points, at this time, pay about \$85 a car for the potatoes, and the railroad company gets \$90 to \$100 to take them to the purchaser. This shows how much more than the farmer the railroad managers gets for the crop, and they do not have to labor and wait a year either for their share of the proceeds, as does the farmer whose work contributes so much to their success.

The Industrial Age (Duluth, Minn.) puts the silver question equitably in the following:

The National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union at their St. Louis convention, demanded the free and unlimited coinage of silver. This organization has a membership of 3,000,000 voters pledged to this principle. The adoption of this principle would increase the selling price of farm products twenty-five per cent; farmers would be able to purchase twenty-five per cent more of the products of wage labor, and hence a corresponding increase in wages. An increase of the selling price of farm products and an increase of wages means an increase of trade to the merchant and all classes of legitimate business. But it would not suit the purposes of the millionaire syndicates, foreign and domestic, and hence the monopoly press opens its batteries in favor of the gold standard and against the welfare of the wealth-producing and business interests of the country.

The Monitor (Jefferson City, Mo.) The attention of Senator Paddock, of Nebraska, is especially called to the following; it is a specimen of the prosperity of the farmers in his State that he boasted of in a recent speech:

THE TOILERS IN NEBRASKA.

Error Monitor:

Your letters and papers came to-day. True for you; you have the biggest little paper in America. In response to your inquiry, "How are the toilers here?" I reply: their condition is all the word 'deplorable' implies. Within three and one-half miles of my home there are thirty quarter-sections mortgaged and abandoned. The people are discouraged; no energy nor enterprise in the country; the county bonded; part of the precincts bonded; school districts ditto and villages likewise; railroad taxes low, the farmers' taxes high; rates on railroads high; produce low, and manufactured articles two prices. In nearly everything the conditions are contrary to what they should be. Produce is plentiful but money is scarce, and people are suffering for the necessities and comforts of life. These are facts. Many of us are fighting by the peaceful processes at hand; but generally, so far, we have not done any good. I shall remain in the harness for life, or until the basic principles of our organization are realized. Let us not despair, but stand to our guns as long as we are able. Glad to see the cause growing.

ROB'T WILBERT, Mabelo, Nebraska.

The Junction City (Kan.) Tribune—always right on this question:

The farmers, merchants and even the weaker bankers are now crying out, "What must we do to be saved from the hard times?" Well, gentlemen, in the language of Senator Logan, "it is a money famine, and nothing else." We must organize, combine and work together at the polls. We must vote for men who demand that the volume of money must increase as population and products increase; otherwise we will have falling prices and hard times forever. Combining to fight each other will not afford permanent relief! Farmers, mechanics and country merchants are all in the same boat, and must sink or swim together! We must talk, work and vote for more money, gold, silver and greenbacks, with which to do business and pay debts.

Journal of the Knights of Labor (Philadelphia, Pa.) pays its respects to the Government's cook-book as follows:

The Dexter (Kan.) Free Press puts it about right: The present iniquitous combinations and banded monopolies who are seeking to destroy and devastate the whole country by their heartless connivances is simply astonishing. While the oppression is pushing the farmers and the laboring classes to abject poverty, the same oppression is crowding the merchant and small manufacturer to the wall. The combination of the larger manufacturers to choke out the smaller ones has done its work in many instances, and unless something is done soon the small manufacturer and merchant will be in the hole and the farmer and laborer not able to help out.

The Local News (Butler, Mo.) is but one step behind the sub-treasury plan. Read it, brother:

Give us a free coinage of silver, and make our silver equal to gold, dollar for dollar, then lend

to work for \$1 a day and have \$84 a year to pay rent, doctors' bills and pew rent, besides buying fuel, clothing, etc. Then they will have the glorious satisfaction of knowing that, if their employers find out they can live at Government cook-book rates, they will have to work for Government cook-book wages.

The Great West (St. Paul, Minn.) gives some interesting figures:

The United States Government is furnishing various banks a hundred million dollars to do business on. If the same Government could furnish a loan to the farmers of the ten Western States at three per cent there would be a saving of \$172,000,000 annually on land mortgages. Then when foreclosures occurred it would be the Government which owned the land. As it is, nearly fifteen thousand farms a year are passing into the hands of the plutocrats. One Eastern loan firm rents out over five hundred farms around Huron, Dak.

Presbyterian Banner (Pittsburg, Pa.) is just a little suspicious of the moral influence of increased riches:

The rapidity with which the wealth of this country is increasing is a surprise to the world. According to the published figures the total wealth of the country is now \$61,459,000,000, equal to nearly \$1,000 per capita. This is an increase in ten years of \$18,000,000, or 42 per cent. The temptation to luxury and indulgence is increasing from year to year. The power of the Gospel of Christ to restrain, elevate and purify will be more and more needed as wealth and fashion assume greater proportions.

News Reporter (Three Rivers, Mich.) explains some silver ideas:

Who are the men that protest against free coinage of the standard silver dollar? They say it is only a scheme to enrich the miners of silver. Is it true? Who gets enriched by the free coinage of gold and the surreptitious demonetization of silver by a conspiracy which makes the standard silver dollar irredeemable in gold? By this scheme the gold miners are enriched at the expense of the silver miners, of course, but the gold miners are not the ones who reap the lion's share of the wreck and ruin caused by the single gold standard. Readers, we ask you to investigate those who say that free coinage of silver serves no other purpose but to enrich the silver miners.

Labor's Tribune (Carthage, Mo.) says:

Failures everywhere! In almost every instance dullness of trade, slow collections and great competition are assigned as reasons for these forced suspensions. Is it possible that these things will continue and yet thousands of seemingly intelligent men remain indifferent to the cause?

The Aberdeen (South Dakota) Republican shows up monopoly in the following style:

Monopolies, like Armour & Co., are fond of charging the low price of farm products to over production. Dakota farmers are obliged this winter to take one cent a pound for beef cattle. Mr. Armour says this is because there are too many cattle raised—over production. This statement is mostly humbug, and in all his array of figures given to the Senate committee he gives none to support it. If the records would have supported the statement it is not likely he would have omitted them. The best information obtainable shows there are not so many beef cattle in this country per capita as before the war. In 1860 there were 542 beeves for each thousand inhabitants, and in 1888 there were only 537. This explodes Mr. Armour's theory of over production.

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it out direct to the farmer, or through some medium that it reaches him without increasing the interest, and in sums that they can pay mortgages and other debts and have something to do business with, then see how quick the prices of commodities would go up and the now existing wail of hard times would cease.

Alliance Motor (Broken Bow, Neb.) wants mortgages in that State taken:

A bill has been introduced into Congress to ascertain the amount of indebtedness of the farmers of the United States, as represented in mortgages, and also for the purpose of ascertaining the percentage of farmers who are tenants. This is a wise measure and if passed will give our people reliable information upon a much vexed and disputed question.

The Lebanon (Kas.) Journal, says:

When the Farmers Alliance, Union Labor, and Knights of Labor, each with the same object in view—that of protecting their own interests—all get together in one common brotherhood, the average Republican politician, if he don't get a move on him, will hear something drop that will make him very tired, especially if he is a candidate for office.

The News Vidette (Salem, Ohio) discussing matters, says:

A policy designed to bring the greatest good to the greatest number will not necessarily or permanently harm any one. It may deprive some grasping user of undue advantage, and that is really the thing Government is for. Extortionately cheap products and extortionsately dear dollars will never get the farmers out of debt. The reverse, with good domestic markets, would reverse the order and cause the land to prosper.

Lafayette County Statesman (Oswego, Kas.) In the following few lines are told the underlying cause of all our trouble. Volumes might be written in explanation, yet the whole matter is condensed in this paragraph:

Farmers should make a note of the fact that it costs just as much per hundred pounds to ship 15 cent corn as it does 40 cent corn; just the same to ship 55 cent wheat as 100 cent wheat; 1 cent cattle as 5 cent cattle, and \$3 hogs as \$6 hogs.

Journal of the Knights of Labor (Philadelphia, Pa.) asks an important question. Don't all answer at once:

The Republican revolution in Brazil turns out to be not so very Republican after all. A successful military mutiny it might more accurately be called. Still, something in the nature of a republic may be evolved out of it. The American press has gone into nonsensical raptures over it, and hailed it as the ushering in of liberty to the Brazilian people, quite oblivious to the fact that being a bad subject of a king is not the same thing as being a true believer in republicanism. If the American press is so ardently desirous of having the world republicanized, how would it be to make an effort to republicanize the United States? Emperor Dom Pedro was no such fag to liberty as King Caucus.

The Great West (St. Paul, Minn.):

Corn for Fuel—A Kansas report states that farmers in the vicinity of Hiawatha, Kan., are burning corn for fuel, finding it cheaper than coal. Corn is sold on the farm at 15 cents bushel, while the average price of coal delivered at the farm ranges from 21 cents to 23 cents per bushel.

This won't pay off the mortgage.

Prairie County Wheel (Conway, Ark.)—right you are, brother:

The man who is eternally howling about the tariff, and says nothing about the great money trust which has cornered into the hands of a few men the control of the finances of the country, and has hoarded into our national treasury fully one-third of our money, can be very appropriately designated a demagogue.

Labor's Tribune (Carthage, Mo.) is about right:

It is said that 15-cent corn is putting many old party men in the sweat-box over in Kansas. On with the dance! The logic of events is doing what all other arguments have failed to do. Experience is a hard school, but some people won't learn in any other.

Kingman (Kas.) Weekly Journal. This is no doubt correct, but it does not agree with your neighbors in Congress here:

America has over 60,000,000 souls; of these 40,000,000 are struggling like drowning men to keep their homes from under mortgage. Twenty years ago five-eighths of the people owned their homes, and but three-eighths of them were tenants; now but three-eighths of them own their own homes, and five-eighths are tenants! All this under Republi-

can and Democratic rule. It is a lamentable fact that the present system of laws are making tenant farmers at the rate of half a million a year. He who laments the fate of Ireland should first look at home and suggest a remedy to change matters here before giving aid and sympathy to that country.

The Rockdale (Texas) Messenger prints the following in regard to Brother Tracy. It is exactly what might have been expected. If Harry Tracy can't handle trusts and monopolies, either with or without gloves, the next man had better not try. Every man in Texas should hear him speak:

Mr. Harry Tracy made an address to the Farmers Alliance at the opera house on Saturday last. The house was full to repletion and the audience listened to the speaker with marked attention. Mr. Tracy handled trusts and monopolies without gloves. His address was well received by his hearers.

REPORT OF THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

This report will stand as the most exhaustive and ingenious plea for the continuance of the national banking system ever made.

Nothing has been omitted. Every point in its favor has been amplified, and many of its bad features excused or defended upon the most plausible theory. The usefulness of the banks, the possibilities of war, the fear of bad national credit, their safety, honesty, and even patriotism, have all been called into the argument. After all, stripped of its deception and erroneous deductions, this report means, make banking more profitable and the people can have more money.

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Total..... 5,969,649,892

This is a conservative statement of the amount of tribute they have taken from the people. Brother farmers, the institutions to which this vast sum of money has been paid never added one single dollar to the wealth of the nation. It all had to come from the soil. You worked hard and produced it and they controlled legislation and took it from you. Do you want this to continue?

WHEREAS THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our adopted official national organ, has so boldly and fearlessly advocated our cause and defended our principles: Therefore, be it

Resolved by this national body, That we heartily approve of the course it has pursued, and recommend that every member of the order should subscribe for and read the paper as one of the best means of education in the way of industrial freedom.

In calling attention to the foregoing resolutions, passed unanimously by the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union at St. Louis, the publishers of the national journal have nothing more to say at present upon the subject than that the highly complimentary endorsement is duly appreciated. THE ECONOMIST has at all times endeavored to do its duty fully and faithfully, and it now remains for the members to do their duty to themselves, THE ECONOMIST and the cause it represents by giving it an extensive circulation. The individual endorsement of the members by sending in their subscriptions is now and always in order.

BRADSTREET says: A corner in diamonds has been formed. This important information is repeated in order that the agricultural portion of our people may purchase their supply at once and not be caught by the advance in price which is sure to come.

With its usual foresight the Government some years ago placed a tariff of only 10 per cent. upon this article of every day consumption in order to keep the price within reach of the people. At the same time it put a duty of 30 per cent. on wheat in order to enhance the price of that luxury. But by reason of this and similar combines the paternal object of government has been thwarted. Doubtless the

To the Senate of the United States Greeting.  
BY HARRY HINTON.

*Most Honorable Sirs:*—There is something grand, sublime and peculiar in one little mouse accosting a herd of large, ponderous elephants, stopping them on the way and asking them whither go ye this bright morning. A man told me once not to despise the day of small things, and if this be wise how much wiser it is judge ye for one not to despise the day of seventy large things.

The very first subject of serious importance on which my mind cogitates is the prohibition movement. This has given our country serious trouble. The most astute minds could not calculate for certainty on the result of the election in several States on account of this disturbing element. Besides a great deal more campaign boodle was required than would otherwise have been needed to have effected the desired results. This matter should be at once attended to as of great national importance. It would not be wise in the opinion of your humble servant to prohibit prohibition, but you can now and henceforth boycott this institution and allow none of them to hold any office of profit and trust in the gift of the Government. This would be a conspicuous handwriting on the wall.

As I dictate to my pen the words to write the subject grows and enlarges, dangers and troubles gather apace. There are the Knights of Labor, another great disturbing element in politics and business. They too have often changed the result of elections and make the calculations of our committees uncertain. Not only this, they have absolutely essayed to dictate the price of labor, a thing never heard of before in this free country. This thing also deserves your serious consideration. For you to get at this labor question properly and to understand the whole inwardness of the thing it would be prudent to appoint a traveling committee to travel all over this country and interrogate all classes from the highest nobleman down to the lowest serf, from Jay Gould down to the Georgia darky, and report in two large volumes the information they may receive at your next sitting. This is the way caution points out; for these same Knights of Labor have votes. These upbraided Knights of Labor are a troubling element to be sure. Instead of coming up humbly and softly to the gates of bliss as Harry Hinton does, they come up with a demand and shake it in your noble faces. This is not acting the part of dutiful subjects, nor is it common politeness. Sirs, we demand, first. We demand, second. Wedemand, third, and so on. And so they go on, demanding and commanding. They should have rather come up with a prayer, meek and humble. Truly, we your most obedient servants do most humbly pray that you, our most honorable and august Senate, do grant this, our meek and lowly prayer, as in duty bound we shall always and ever pray. That is the way they should have talked.

Harry Hinton knew very well when they were putting on airs in such a manner that you would take no notice of them. The best thing to do under the circumstances is to appoint an investigating committee to hold over, for it can not be expected of you who have never done a day's labor in your lives to know anything about labor.

Most august and honorable sirs, the worst has not been told yet. The farmers have been holding their secret meetings all over the land, and it was but yesterday they met in a huge conclave in the city of St. Louis and there confederated with these said Knights of Labor, and not only repeated

those aforesaid insolent and unmannerly demands and commands, but also added some of their own fabrications. These upbraided sons of America are a great menace to the peace and dignity of the state. Of course, they must be treated civilly, for they all have the voting franchise as yet. You should at once appoint a large traveling committee to investigate the condition of agriculture in these United States, for it would no doubt disclose many facts not known to your honorable body.

It is pertinent in this place to call your attention to some of the public acts of this confederation. It comes to the front openly and avowedly, demanding that the census of 1890 be made to show the farm indebtedness of each State and county, as if you had nothing of importance to do but to pander to the clamors of the populace. Judge, most honorable sirs, that you have the highest moments of statesmanship to demand your time, and the blessed union of the Nation and the party must be defended at all hazards. Who are these who come up with such silly demands on your precious time and patience? Are they intelligent manufacturers, merchants, bondholders, or bankers? Are they composed of the patriotic and intelligent officials of government? No, sirs; none of these. They are averagely poor mechanics, farmers and laborers—got no hand in making the laws and administering the Government. Want to know how much they are in debt! Now ain't that farcical enough to make a cow laugh. Just say you did not have time. The thing was sprung on you so sudden. You must be civil, you know.

This is but a small matter to what I am going to tell you. They say they have not land enough, and in the very same breath tell you that two-thirds what they have got is somebody else's—under mortgage. What do they want with more land? Place under a mortgage too? Release unto us, say they, the 220,000,000 acres owned by syndicates and corporations. They say this equals five or six States in size. How greedy! Got land under \$16,000,000,000 mortgage, and want you to sell them five States more; condemn it and sell it to them on thirty days' time. Why, sirs; they will never pay for the land they have while old Joshua's sun rises and sets. They must pay four or five times as much on interest alone as it costs to run this Government a year, and there is not enough money in this country, copper jacks and all, to pay the interest one year and at one time. Want you to take 220,000,000 acres from your friends and sell it to them! and they bankrupt. If this thing was not so funny, it would be startling. Harry Hinton kindly invites you not to do it. Just treat them sort of civil like, appoint an investigating committee, and let the matter kinder die out. Next election blow your bugle a little louder, form your processions away down the street, bring around the ginger cakes and whisky, and the rabble will rally all the same. You've got them straight, keep them so. Your Powderlys and Polks may halloo and whoop, but they have neither money, nor whisky. There's the rub. If Quay and Brice and Clarkson don't think they can work the thing, send for Harry Hinton, he'll show them a figure.

But what makes the blood boil in my veins and makes me as mad as a raging sea is that these self-same commoners without money or brains impute all of their misfortunes to the previous acts of your honorable body. They say you took no heed of Grant, who said if let alone he could pay the public debt in less than fifteen years. They say that Abraham

Lincoln said "If a government contract a debt with a certain amount of money in circulation and then contract the money volume before the debt was paid, it is the most heinous crime a government could commit against the people." They say that Thomas Jefferson said that "Funding was simply robbing the people on a great scale." Many other things they quote from Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and Alexander Hamilton equally as obnoxious. But to wind the thing up and pin the basket on you they make a quotation from Doubleday's history, "By the contraction of money in England, 1816 to 1825, more than four-fifths of the landowners were robbed of their estates."

I wish to draw your attention to one thing. All these men are dead—dead and buried deep. They dare not quote a living witness to sustain their foul aspersions. They will talk of Lincoln and cock one eye up like a duck in a shower of rain and say, "Yes, and he was killed; and Garfield was killed too." I tell you, my noble sirs, this poverty-stricken rabble are mad—mad as hornets. They believe in Lincoln, and he says you have committed a most heinous crime. They believe in Thomas Jefferson, and he says you have robbed the people on a great scale. Four-fifths of the land is lost in fee simple to the agriculturist, and they think somebody committed the robbery. They are getting us somewhat in a corner right here, and I frankly believe it would be wise to make some concessions. The alien landowners will sell their lands any day for money enough, and let us turn this wrath on them. The government can buy their lands and tax this self-same rabble to pay for them by a cunning system of indirect taxation. We must have some big speeches made in favor of these landless and brainless cliques, some whereases, and therefore, and be it resolved, and so on, and peradventure we can keep them quiet until the campaign flags are raised and the regular war horses begin to champ their bits and the bells begin to ring—if so we have them. They will drift with the current and all will be well.

I have another thing to talk about. This same disturbing element is always inquiring, was there no other way to manage the finances but by continually throwing the burdens of every change upon the poorest and most unfortunate of our citizens? How in the thunder and damnation does it happen that every time the monetary affairs of the country are touched by you the moneyed circles are benefited, and the toiling millions are the losers? In the name of Julius Caesar and Tom Walker, they wish to know, why have you contracted the currency so that bonds are bought by the Government 25 per cent above par? Who does such a procedure profit? These are some of the inquiries they make in quite a sanctimonious manner. It is whispered around that they want you to increase the amount of money. Put your foot down on that proposition. It would be both suicidal to your party interest and to your own pockets. The capitalists from whom you would get the boddle would not allow it. This would leave you with a slim campaign fund, when the value of your own salaries would be lessened thereby. It would be perfectly suicidal. These commoners will all burst up after a while, and then the country will be safe. They have the brass of a mountain howitzer to come to you and ask you while in office to lessen the purchasing value of all salaries of the Government; of all bonds, of all stock in incorporation, of all money. Just because stock and other things have been watered too

much they want you to water the money. Don't do it. Stand firm. Keep on buying bonds at a premium. That is the way to keep your credit up.

Before I close I will state that I can get good endorsement from reliable men. Through thick and thin, come weal or come woe, I have ever stood square upon my party principles, and it is nothing but modesty which prevents me from asking you to assist me in getting an office. The bare mentioning of these facts to the President would be simple and easy. However, if there is any favor I can render you, bear it always in mind that Harry Hinton is Charley at the spot.

#### THE CENSUS ENUMERATION.

The following copy of a letter to Senator Hale was sent to the Executive Board of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union by the Superintendent of the Census in further explanation of his attitude concerning the demands made by the Alliance. This letter, in connection with the report of the chairman of the executive committee, given in last week's *ECONOMIST*, indicates a desire on the part of the superintendent to incorporate this information in his work.

WASHINGTON, December 16, 1889.

MY DEAR MR. HALE: Referring to our conversation a few days ago in relation to the inquiry relating to recorded indebtedness, I beg leave to submit the following for your consideration:

The act of Congress, approved March 1, 1889, for taking the eleventh and subsequent censuses, provides that the Superintendent of Census "shall, also, at the time of the general enumeration herein provided for, or prior thereto, as the Secretary of the Interior may determine, collect the statistics of and relating to the recorded indebtedness of private corporations and individuals; and make report thereon to Congress."

Under this provision of the law, it is intended to collect said statistics in January, 1890. The limitations of the law and the limited appropriation of money for the purpose of carrying it out, together with other insuperable difficulties in the way of doing this work by enumerators in connection with the general enumeration of the population beginning June 1, 1890, which are outlined in my recent letter to Hon. James H. Berry, United States Senator, forbid that these statistics should be gathered by a house-to-house canvass. Nevertheless, a large amount of information, covering very nearly the whole subject, will be obtained in other ways, partly from the records and partly by inquiry of holders of mortgages and owners of mortgaged real estates.

The financial transactions of the people, as far as evidenced by mortgages, will be ascertained for the ten years—1880-89. The number of acres of agricultural land and the number of real estate holdings in villages and cities which have been mortgaged in each year, in each county, and the amount of mortgaged debt placed upon these two classes of real estate, by years and counties, will be ascertained.

The amount of mortgaged debt existing January 1, 1890, upon agricultural land and upon village and city real estate, and the number of agricultural acres and of village and city holdings covered by this debt, will be obtained for each county.

It will be ascertained to what extent mortgages arise from misfortune, and, for this

purpose, agricultural land will be distinguished from other real estate.

The rates of interest paid upon debts secured by real estate will be learned for each county and for each of the ten years.

Private corporations, both as mortgagors and mortgagees, will be kept distinct from individuals in these statistics; and such corporations will be separated into several classes, according to the character of their business.

How far the facts that are to be obtained will show the number of mortgaged farms and homes cannot be said at this time, since the number of these can be reached only by computation, if at all, in the absence of a house-to-house canvass. The amount of debt borne by agricultural land and the homes that go with it will be known, but in villages and cities homes cannot be separated from other real estate.

Of the agricultural land that is under mortgage, the proportion which the debt bears to the value can be ascertained only in those States where the statistics of taxation separate agricultural land from other real estate.

In the collection of the agricultural statistics by enumeration, the numbers of tenant and proprietor farmers will be obtained.

A high degree of ability will be required for the field work upon mortgage indebtedness, and the Superintendent of Census must necessarily depend to a considerable extent upon experts sent out from the Census Office.

The difficulties in the way of this investigation have been and will be great. That the work could be done at all was for a long time doubtful, and it was only after the results of experimental investigations by three special agents in four counties had become known, that it was possible to formulate a plan of work. All the information about the mortgage question, requested by numerous petitioners, that can be obtained without a house-to-house inquiry, will be brought out by expert investigation, excepting the number of tenant and proprietor farmers. While it is impossible to comply with all suggestions, still they will be substantially answered in some form or other, and a vast amount of information that has not been specifically asked for will be supplied.

Very respectfully, ROBERT P. PORTER.

#### The Alliance and Politics.

BY A. BARNWELL, OF MACON, GA.

A certain vagueness has pervaded the articles which I have read on this subject, from whatever standpoint they have been written, and as there is ever danger in the indefinite, perhaps it is as well for us at once to face the issue and clear the problem.

That the Alliance shall not become "a political machine" seems to be the calm and fixed determination of a large proportion of its membership, who individually and collectively command the respect of and therefore have the confidence of the country at large. That the Alliance shall have "nothing to do with politics" would seem so to curb and dwarf its operations, when its size is considered, as to run its sublimity into the ridiculous. And if there are no half-way grounds between these two positions, grounds which are capable of being occupied securely and held firmly against every encroachment, grounds presenting vantages aggressive and defensive, grounds which can be occupied by the order at large and upon which its entire membership can meet, broad enough for its untrammeled movement, and yet condensed enough for effectiveness, then it would seem that al-

ready the Alliance has out-developed itself, and contraction will be the only way to escape disintegration.

In support of the two propositions I would say, first, that American institutions demand that true American sentiment revolts against secret nominations for public offices; primaries, caucuses and all ring methods being the utmost which freemen will stand. Consequently, a secret political machine is out of the question, even if the essentially varying shades of opinion could be assimilated, and hence the Alliance cannot as well as should not become a political machine.

On the other hand, since the main and therefore the most valuable issues which have sprung to the front, and must there remain until settled, are issues demanding legislation, it is difficult to see now the Alliance can "have nothing to do with politics," and at the same time mold legislation, and the difficulty deepens when one fully realizes the far-reaching effect of the legislation which the Alliance demands, or to more forcibly put it, and in fact more fairly, which the situation demands that the Alliance shall demand.

I confess that, possessing no profundity in such researches, I can only hope to drive a few pegs upon which the well-informed can hang the fabric of their well-spun arguments, but it behooves us that we should know for ourselves and that we affirm to outsiders our place in politics, if place we have. I would not ask that the entire course be shaped; circumstances which alter cases, will, doubtless, play an unavoidable part in this, and the extent of success attained by initiatory efforts will essentially pervade future actions, but in the mean while, what?

Already our committees are intrusted with presenting resolutions pregnant with reform, but upon what base must the pressure they will need rest? for, mark you, unlimited pressure will be needed to secure their recognition; for albeit just, they are distasteful to the party in power, not the Republican or Democratic party, but the Autocratic and Plutocratic party. What menace will couch behind justice when she demands of Shylock an abatement of blood money? Will an undefined appeal to the dignity of numbers suffice, or will it be necessary to show how this force can and will be precipitated?

It is an established fact that Americans consider "resolutions" as a panacea for all ills, but will they answer the purposes of the Alliance; and if not, what then. Shall it be a move all along the line, that is, a general effort to fill the legislative halls with those imbued with Alliance principles, or else only an endeavor to obtain pledges from candidates that they will advocate Alliance measures?

Or, still yet shall a minority of independents form a balance of power, and thereby secure from either or both parties friendly co-operation? Which of these, if any, will be the course? and if any, will it follow that the Alliance will become to some extent a "political machine?" Without any of these, when relief can only come through a radical change of our banking system, a more impartial adjustment of our revenue system, a stronger control of our railroad system, and the establishment of "land laws" more in accordance with the prospect of perpetual freedom? Query?

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST ALMANAC is now being sent out to subscribers as fast as the available clerical force at command can do the work. New orders will meet little or no delay,

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

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

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

The Farmers Associations that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST represents as their national official organ now contain a membership of over one million, and by means of organization and consolidation they expect to number two millions by January 1, 1860.

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.

## A THIRD PARTY.

Politicians and hot-headed reformers are just beginning to realize the power that the farmers through their organizations possess. The one, through fear of being called to an account for past political shortcomings or future political retirement, is beginning to deplore the downfall of these organizations because of their going into politics, and hypocritically gives advice accordingly. The other makes the echoes ring with the shout that now, having formed a solid combination upon principles adverse to existing conditions, a grand smashup of present systems will speedily follow, and out of the wreck something better is to be found. The fear of the politician may prove a benefit and put an end to certain evils that the farmers would otherwise be compelled to do at the polls. The ever-ready crank must wait; nothing foolish or rash will be attempted:

## GOVERNMENT CROP REPORT.

Through the kindness of Hon. J. R. Dodge, Statistician of the Department of Agriculture, we are enabled to print the following tables from the advance sheets of the December reports:

## WHEAT—1889.

## OATS—1889.

States and Territories.	Bushels.	Acres.	Value.
Maine .....	2,764,000	94,025	\$1,022,804
N. Hampshire .....	956,000	31,359	393,451
Vermont .....	3,324,000	105,536	1,106,778
Massachusetts .....	646,000	23,750	245,480
Rhode Island .....	170,000	6,417	64,619
Connecticut .....	1,009,000	39,413	373,320
New York .....	36,009,000	1,384,967	11,522,925
New Jersey .....	3,408,000	144,425	1,158,866
Pennsylvania .....	34,504,000	1,316,932	10,351,085
Delaware .....	420,000	22,931	121,695
Maryland .....	2,203,000	117,786	660,779
Virginia .....	9,166,000	678,968	3,116,463
N. Carolina .....	6,941,000	580,477	3,053,981
S. Carolina .....	4,129,000	393,226	1,981,859
Georgia .....	6,874,000	624,874	3,436,807
Florida .....	568,000	54,081	295,283
Alabama .....	3,970,000	417,880	1,905,533
Mississippi .....	3,656,000	358,408	1,718,208
Louisiana .....	396,000	42,110	174,167
Texas .....	14,808,000	652,320	4,886,529
Arkansas .....	4,848,000	293,831	1,745,336
Tennessee .....	8,179,000	711,207	2,453,664
W. Virginia .....	2,520,000	146,502	781,149
Kentucky .....	9,456,000	511,156	2,553,224
Ohio .....	36,615,000	1,169,823	8,421,556
Michigan .....	30,469,000	931,770	7,617,220
Indiana .....	27,317,000	968,688	5,736,579
Illinois .....	145,364,000	3,876,380	27,619,208
Wisconsin .....	52,697,000	1,527,437	10,012,350
Minnesota .....	53,128,000	1,562,588	10,625,598
Iowa .....	99,459,000	2,739,931	15,913,519
Missouri .....	36,384,000	1,426,839	6,549,191
Kansas .....	37,529,000	1,416,178	5,629,308
Nebraska .....	29,993,000	1,085,628	4,494,500
Colorado .....	1,899,000	75,973	854,696
Oregon .....	5,432,000	211,371	2,118,572
Nevada .....	3,129,000	97,791	1,251,725
Arizona .....	23,290,000	1,245,428	6,288,166
Dakota .....	1,000,000	35,725	450,135
Idaho .....	2,578,000	85,938	1,134,382
New Mexico .....	340,000	16,168	142,602
Utah .....	916,000	36,658	412,403
Wyoming .....	3,082,000	99,421	1,325,282
Total .....	751,515,000	27,462,316	171,781,008

## CORN—1889.

States and Territories.	Bushels.	Acres.	Value.
Maine .....	1,034,000	28,717	\$89,273
N. Hampshire .....	1,311,000	35,924	734,287
Vermont .....	2,044,000	58,397	1,124,142
Massachusetts .....	1,997,000	58,209	1,078,147
Rhode Island .....	3,393,000	12,558	220,116
Connecticut .....	1,766,000	56,977	953,795
New York .....	20,475,000	688,800	10,032,672
New Jersey .....	10,792,000	357,342	5,395,864
Pennsylvania .....	41,225,000	1,383,377	18,963,332
Delaware .....	3,905,000	223,136	1,640,050
Maryland .....	15,105,000	733,239	6,495,031
Virginia .....	34,231,000	2,152,911	15,061,765
N. Carolina .....	33,050,000	2,754,127	17,516,248
S. Carolina .....	18,310,000	1,592,152	9,887,264
Georgia .....	33,739,000	3,011,602	15,541,468
Alabama .....	5,206,000	486,562	3,019,604
Mississippi .....	33,944,000	2,514,370	17,311,437
Texas .....	29,474,000	1,991,481	14,736,960
Arkansas .....	18,949,000	1,082,826	9,664,222
Tennessee .....	83,698,000	4,573,645	29,294,196
West Virginia .....	2,609,653	2,130,369	18,321,431
Kentucky .....	10,811,000	982,831	7,784,022
Ohio .....	36,865,000	2,542,990	28,017,289
Michigan .....	23,709,000	1,612,847	17,544,550
Indiana .....	28,181,000	2,801,803	29,242,418
Illinois .....	38,014,000	2,375,863	26,609,666
Wisconsin .....	16,937,000	1,192,750	11,686,565
Minnesota .....	45,456,000	3,113,406	30,455,338
Iowa .....	21,023,000	1,604,838	13,244,728
Missouri .....	20,639,000	1,587,583	13,208,691
Kansas .....	30,912,000	1,680,000	17,001,600
Nebraska .....	16,848,000	1,464,019	8,761,079
California .....	43,781,000	3,291,820	30,646,844
Oregon .....	13,689,000	845,000	9,582,300
Nevada .....	335,000	18,306	251,250
Colorado .....	1,851,000	87,300	1,332,547
Arizona .....	337,000	25,930	252,818
Dakota .....	41,652,000	4,431,034	24,991,032
Idaho .....	1,449,000	81,427	1,116,039
Montana .....	1,539,000	85,000	1,153,875
New Mexico .....	1,096,000	86,295	800,041
Utah .....	1,880,000	122,878	1,410,025
Washington .....	6,856,000	415,500	4,799,025
Total .....	490,560,000	38,123,859	342,491,707
The attention of every farmer, and especially every member of the Alliance, is called			

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## OFFICIAL.

to the above tables. No other proof is necessary to show the existence of a gross inequality in our economic system, and that the burden of this unjust distribution falls almost entirely upon the farmer.

In 1867 32,520,249 acres produced 768,300,000 bushels of corn, that sold for \$610,948,390. In 1888 75,672,763 acres produced 1,987,700,000 bushels of corn that sold for \$677,561,380. In 1889 78,319,651 acres produced 2,112,892,000 bushels of corn that sold for \$597,918,829.

Washington, D. C., January 2, 1890.  
C. W. MACUNE,  
Chair. Ex. Bd. N. F. A. and I. U.

NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION,  
Washington, D. C., January 3, 1889.

AT an early day the Ritual, containing form for burial service, will be published and issued from this office. Also, the Constitution and Statutory Laws of the Order, with simple and practical rules of parliamentary usage.

These books will be printed in neat and durable style and will each bear the imprint of the seal of the National Order. Rituals and National Constitutions without such imprint will not be recognized as official.

This office can supply State secretaries only. Members of the order must apply to their State secretary.

By order of the President:

J. H. TURNER,  
Secretary N. F. A. and I. U.

ALL communications for L. L. Polk, President National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, or for J. H. Turner, national secretary, should be addressed in care of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C.

IN the compilation of the proceedings of the St. Louis meeting a serious error has been pointed out. Section 20 of the statutory laws should be eliminated and the following substituted in its stead:

That the question of eligibility be left to each State, subject to the limitations of the constitution.

After much debate and many amendments to that section as it came from the committee, this resolution was offered as a substitute for the whole section and adopted. The small scrap of paper on which this resolution was written became mixed up with a number similar in character relating to the eligibility clause in the constitution, which was under discussion the same day, hence this mistake. The section will be corrected in the official publication. This correction is made at the earliest moment, and it is hoped that no harm advanced.

The exports of wheat have been greater this year than last, which does away with the argument of a foreign demand. The only argument remaining, therefore, is the familiar one of over-production; that as a nation we are suffering from a surplus of success; that our people are so industrious and labor in production is so abundantly rewarded that the present distress, bankruptcy, and discouragement found among all wealth producers is the result. In the beginning of the season the farmer is advised to work harder and produce more. When his products are marketed he is told that the low price he receives for them is due to over-production. The natural conclusions which follow such conditions would be to produce less. Acting upon this assumption, what would be the result? Thrift would cease, business languish, and a general disintegration of American institutions ensue. Bad as these results might be, they are the legitimate fruits of an economic policy that does not bring labor the reward it so justly earns. Common sense teaches that these conditions are wrong; that these results are unnatural; that a wise Providence never intended that man should suffer by reason of his industry, honesty, or frugality. It is brought about through unfair legislation, and can only be remedied by the repeal of these unjust laws and the enactment of better in their stead. Let us hope that the present Congress will give the people some evidence of their appreciation of the troubles which to-day surround agriculture.

PRESIDENT HARRISON in his message says: The loaning of public funds to the banks without interest, upon the security of Government bonds, I regard as an unauthorized and dangerous expedient.

Secretary Windom says: The surplus is loaned to the banks and is practically in the hands of the people.

ticles has been directed into the nature and causes of these discriminations has been for the purpose of affording an accurate judgment as to the correctness of the railway claim that competition is the real cause of them, or on the other hand how far the public indisposition to accept that theory and the public preference to cling to the sheet anchor of competition is justified. A summary of the points which have been established by this detailed and perhaps prolix examination of the circumstances under which discriminations will arise has developed the foundation for the claim that the popular idea is in accordance with the true state of affairs. The general faith in competition as a regulative force may be indefinite and it may have been shaken by some of the surface indications that the force has failed to perform its perfect work. But the points established by a thorough study of the nature of discriminations proves that the general opinion is not ill-founded, and demonstrates the incorrectness of the railway theory as to the injurious effect of competition upon the public interests.

With regard to individual discrimination, or favoritism as between shippers, the inquiry has brought out the following points:

*First.* The power of railroad officials to inflict upon the mass of shippers the injustice of a special favoritism to a selected shipper is most absolute, and is utterly without check upon the local traffic of the railroad where competition is an unknown force. In other words, instead of this class of discrimination being due to competition, its most extreme and aggravated form is present where competition is absent, and is rendered possible by the absence of that force.

*Second.* The great examples of discrimination which have built up exclusive and burdensome monopolies in great branches of industry, for the traffic of which several railroads might compete, are shown by a careful study of such cases to have been only possible where combinations of the different railroads have prevented competition between them for the patronage of those shippers who were crowded out of business or forced into the monopoly. The example of live-stock "eveners" discrimination, of the discriminations against the transportation of dressed beef in refrigerator cars, against the transportation of live stock in improved live-stock cars, the history of the Standard Oil Company, and of the anthracite coal combination, all show the universality of the principle that such discriminations are maintained when they affect industries beyond the local control of a single road, only by the combination of the exclusive privileges of all the railroads engaged in the transportation for those industries, or by an agreement which prevents competition between them and unites them in the support of the injustice. This principle is emphasized by the further development of the fact that those classes of traffic which involve the services of so many competing railroads that combination is impossible, or commands the com-

petition of water transportation, have never been brought under the control of a monopoly by favoritism in railroad rate.

*Third.* It has been shown that competition between the railroads does often produce, and is carried out by means of rebates and special rates in order to secure business; but where the competition which produces those reductions from tariff rates is legitimately for the purpose of seeking business, shippers are practically upon equal ground, and each shipper can obtain the reductions upon the nominal rate which put him on an equal footing with his competitors. The system of rebates is a mistaken method of carrying on railroad competition, an outgrowth of the railroad idea that its exclusive privileges can prevent those rebates from extending to the great mass of shippers; but except where there is combination between the railroads to confine those rebates to special favorites, the great evil and injustice of concentrating the ability to carry on important lines of business in few and favored hands is absent; and the abuse is brought down from the rank of a great and dangerous assault upon the liberty and equality of commerce to that of an antiquated and erroneous effort to maintain rates in excess of those fixed by natural competition.

In the second class of discriminations—those between localities—the claim that they are produced by competition has a superficial foundation in the fact that the centering of competition at the terminal or competing points produces the reductions of rates which present the great contrast to the higher rates upon the local or non-competitive traffic. But we have clearly seen that this effect of competition at the competitive point is only emphasized and exaggerated by the accompanying absence of competition upon the non-competitive traffic. It is not the fact that the through business has the benefit of competition that produces local discrimination. It is the fact that it alone has the benefit. Or, to make the cause more clear, it is the fact that the local business has not the benefit of competition. It is the absence of competition upon the short haul that enables the railroad to discard and go far beyond the element of cost of service, charging the full value of what the freight will bear. It is the presence of competition at the competitive point that forces the railroad to the discovery that it can only charge what the freight will bear as compared in view of the fact that it can take some other road unless the low charges are made. In other words, it is not competition that produces the anomaly of a greater charge for the portion of a haul than for the whole of it; but the obstructed and uneven action of competition growing out of the present constitution of the railroad system.

It also appears in the discussion of the various examples of local discrimination, that it is the fact that the railroads are forced to compete with water routes and are not forced to compete with other carriers upon their

local traffic, which produces the theory of charging the local traffic with the burden, not only of earnings upon capital, but with the maintenance of tracks and cars, as well as the expenses of general superintendence, while the rates given in competition are made entirely free of those items of expense. It is the fact that railroads are brought into competition with each other at terminal and competing points which causes the same discrepancy between the rates upon local and competitive business; and the injurious effect of this partial and uneven application of competition needs no better demonstration than the cases presented by the railway schedule itself, where three times the charge is made upon hauling a certain class of freight one thousand miles, where there is no competition, that is made upon hauling it three thousand while the competition of other carriers brings the charges down to a close margin upon the cost of service.

These facts are entirely destructive of the railway theory that discriminations are produced by competition. In its place they bring out and demonstrate the important and vital principle that they are caused by the obstructed and uneven competition that is produced by the organization of the railway system. They make this clear with regard to each class of discriminations by showing that individual favoritism is rendered possible either by the monopoly of each railroad over its local traffic, or by the combination of different railroads to prevent competition and enforce the discrimination where more than one railroad is involved; and upon discriminations between localities the discrimination is invariably produced by the absence of competition at localities discriminated against and its presence in concentrated force at those which gain the benefit of the discrimination.

While there may be an immense field for argument as to the class of measures that will furnish an effective remedy, it is a legitimate conclusion that whatever doubt or discussion there may be as to the complete and thorough cure of the evil, the facts that have been stated, show that the proposition to suppress all competition, as the effective cause of the evil, is one which does not offer a remedy, but proposes an aggravation. Such a practice can only be compared to the empiric who, finding disease to be produced by an unnatural and obstructed condition of the blood, proposes to cure the evil by drawing away the blood and making it do without the circulation of that life-bearing fluid altogether. Such pathology is of a medieval character, but we know that it was once supposed to be the point of scientific knowledge; and it seems that the present day is not without a parallel in the argument just stated. Yet it is difficult to understand how any man in possession of the ordinary faculty for deducing the conclusion of cause from effect, can fail to see that all these evils are directly caused, either by the entire absence of competition upon certain classes of rail-

road traffic, or its obstructed and uneven operations in other classes. The obvious remedy is to make the action of that influence even and legitimate to all, and to rely for the equality, impartiality, and practical justice of railroad charges upon the same natural cause that fixes the impartiality, equality, and reasonableness of the prices of cotton, corn, or wheat.

The deduction is certainly a logical one when we find that many evils are produced by the obstructed and partial operation of a great law of trade, that the proper remedy for the evil is to restore the natural and even influence of that force upon all the departments, and in all respects in which it is lacking. When we find that the obstruction of water causes results that at times the flow of water is scarce and insufficient, and at other times when it rises above and bursts beyond the obstruction which has restrained it, that a destructive and dangerous flood sweeps away everything that has been inadvertently placed in its path, we do not lay the blame upon the principle of gravitation which causes water to flow down hill. We perceive rather that the danger and evil is produced by the obstruction of that great law, and adopt the natural and wise conclusion that the way to prevent such unnatural disasters is to remove such obstructions, and give the workings of natural law an even and equitable operation. The principle is exactly the same with regard to the obstructions of the natural force of competition that has been created in the development of the railroad system. Competition is absent on one part of the traffic, and is consequently increased in force and exaggerated in effect upon another. Those persons who are subject to the rates which are fixed without regard to competition, have no escape either from individual discriminations or from the principle of levying what the traffic will bear.

The working people of either sex employed in factories, building operations, mines, quarries, or any other trade or industrial occupation, or on railroads, canals, etc., are obliged to be insured, except such as are not working people at all, or administrative officers who receive a salary of more than five hundred dollars a year. The employers are compelled by law to return to the proper officer a list of their employees, and they are bound to pay certain amounts or premiums to the insurance fund, a part of which they can deduct from the wages of their employees, but a certain part they must pay themselves. The insurance fund receives also a certain per cent from the government. Women are insured on the same conditions as men. If an employee is disabled, he receives during the period of his disability, one-half the value of his wages before the accident. If he dies he receives a sum equivalent to his wages for twenty working days.

The logical deduction just quoted is supported by experience and common agreement with regard to those charges and prices in commerce which are fixed by the free action of demand and supply, under the equal operation of competition upon both elements. No individual ever appealed to the law to protect him against the injustice of being charged more for his clothing, or his groceries, than his neighbor is. He knows that the action of competition in those trades procures him practically the same prices as those at which his neighbor can obtain goods. He knows, too, that any

effort of the merchant from whom he obtains his supplies to impose an inequitable and unjust price upon him, over what his neighbor paid, can be fully punished by his transferring his trade to a competing merchant. No community ever thinks of appealing to the Government to protect it against the levying of a special profit upon its supply of flour or of dry goods. It is plain that if any merchant should undertake to exact excessive profit upon the people of any community the obvious remedy would be to start competing stores; and the fact is not less plain that such competition will swiftly follow the existence of such exorbitant profits. In other words, the ability of all men to compete for the profits in any department of traffic or commercial service furnishes the most thorough protection against injustice, and the most complete safeguard against excessive charges. That conclusion is pivotal, both as to the refutation of the railway theories, and as to the direction which an inquiry for the thorough and complete relief from railway discriminations should take.

Discriminations are not caused by competition, but are caused by its imperfect and obstructed condition under the prevalent railway methods. It is plain, therefore, that the cure is not to be obtained by smothering competition altogether, but that the inquiry which seeks a natural force that will remedy these evils and adjust prices upon a perfect and spontaneous principle, will try to ascertain whether there is no method of bringing competition to bear upon all departments of railway traffic as thoroughly as it bears upon the vast body of commercial and productive operations.

#### WORKMAN'S INSURANCE IN GERMANY.

.

The German government has for some time experimented with compulsory insurance among its laboring people. Some minor changes have been made recently, but the main features of the system are as follows:

The working people of either sex employed in factories, building operations, mines, quarries, or any other trade or industrial occupation, or on railroads, canals, etc., are obliged to be insured, except such as are not working people at all, or administrative officers who receive a salary of more than five hundred dollars a year. The employers are compelled by law to return to the proper officer a list of their employees, and they are bound to pay certain amounts or premiums to the insurance fund, a part of which they can deduct from the wages of their employees, but a certain part they must pay themselves.

The insurance fund receives also a certain per cent from the government. Women are insured on the same conditions as men. If an employee is disabled, he receives during the period of his disability, one-half the value of his wages before the accident. If he dies he receives a sum equivalent to his wages for twenty working days.

A part of this system provides for the organization of compulsory insurance associations by industries among the brewers, build-

ers, manufacturers, etc., which are all under government supervision. These associations pay also as pensions to widows and children a sum equal to about twenty per cent of the husband's or father's wages for a considerable time after death. A more recent law requires the common laborers and domestic servants also to be insured. This makes insurance so universally compulsory that there is neither man nor woman who works for wages in Germany who does not fall under its provision in some manner.

The only condition necessary is, that the employes shall have once engaged in labor, and for a certain time have received wages as laborers. This system provides also for a pension in old age. These pensions are paid without delay, for the government system of enrolling and receiving and approving reports of accidents or deaths is most complete.

Throughout the whole plan the insurance money is paid in about equal proportions by the workingmen themselves, by their employers and by the government, while the people of every class are taxed to maintain this system in two ways. First, by direct payment, and second, by the payment made from the government treasury. The benefits of this taxation, as well as the burdens, are almost equally distributed.

The workings of this plan has been highly satisfactory, and the government seems determined to bring out all the good qualities of such a system of insurance.

There is no legislative parallel to it in the world. It was brought out by Chancellor Bismarck as a check to socialism. There is no question but a carefully considered plan of government insurance is the true method, and the day is not far distant when government insurance will be demanded by the people of this country.

Now is the best time of the whole year for securing subscribers for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST; also for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac. Every Sub-Alliance, Wheel or Union in the United States ought to make up a good large club for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac at 12½ cents each and send it in on as early a day as possible. It certainly contains more information for the money than any book ever published in this country. All friends of this great agricultural movement should at this season of the year interest themselves in behalf of the National Order. Members with a little effort on their part accomplish more when it is directed toward securing subscribers to the national organ than in any other way in which they could exert themselves. THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is to-day the cheapest paper published in the United States; that is to say, it has more reading matter for the money. It contains but very few advertisements and has nearly all of its space well filled with interesting and valuable reading matter. Each subscriber for the sum of one dollar receives 836 pages, which when bound makes a valuable repository of information, all indexed and ready reference for everyday use; far more convenient and valuable than could be obtained for many times the money in any other manner.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## THE FEEDING VALUE OF INDIAN CORN.

In a late number of the American Farmer there is an article on the above subject by Dr. A. P. Sharp, in which that gentleman defends Indian corn against the chemists who are in the habit of treating that grain as an ill-balanced food, too rich in carbon, and too poor in nitrogen to be fed singly with economy. There can be no doubt that the views of these chemists are rather more ill-balanced than the great American cereal. The extravagantly vaunted and eternally quoted German feeding standards require revision to bring them into harmony with practical results. The thousands of millions of pounds of corn-fed pork and beef produced in this country capable of topping, and which does top the markets of the world, is too striking and too vigorous a fact to be knocked into pie by a German chemist analyzing the food and dung of a couple of sheep or an ox or two, and a few old horses and pigs, and from the results of these analyses constructing a so-called "nutritive ratio," to which all feeding rations must be made to conform. The experience of this writer is that a German philosopher is near about as apt to be mistaken as the average of mortals, and he has long felt that the foundation of these nutritive formulae is much too narrow and much too precarious to merit the confidence which has been reposed in it. The instructions upon which these nutritive ratios are based are so narrow, so necessarily affected to a serious extent by errors of observation which can only be graded away by comparison of the results of many observers studying these great problems under various conditions, so as finally after vast labor and long research to reach substantial accuracy, that they are not fully trustworthy. When we reflect that these nutritive ratios and feeding standards have been calculated from the results obtained upon scarcely half a score of animals, by one person whose methods of study were in a large degree tentative and untested by experience, no injustice is done to the labors of that gentleman if we venture to think his work needs to be subjected to restudy and exhaustive criticism, in the light of experience and practical results on a grand scale, such as Dr. Sharp in his article calls attention to. It has been strongly insisted in these columns, and in this place at this time it is once more strongly insisted, that it is unsafe to attempt the solution of such problems by approaching them exclusively from the chemical side. Dr. Sharp says he has colts and horses as good as anybody has, which have been fed no grain except corn. The writer's personal experience in the same; moreover, he has seen in his lifetime thousands of fine animals as have ever been produced, raised and fattened on corn exclusively. The digestive powers of animals vary as widely as any of their external characters; they do not accommodate themselves to any "nutritive ratio," nor to any particular feeding stuff, however skillfully compounded, even by a German philosopher. We can not afford to fling aside the results of successful experience to rely upon a few analyses of feeding stuffs, set over against a few analyses of sheep's dung, and the like. It is not intended to deny that many intelligent suggestions are to be derived from a study of these German feeding experiments, and the

## SULPHUR.

Another of the structural elements of that organic concrete which is the physical basis of life is sulphur. Some of the chemical characters of this element exhibit its relations to phosphorus, and with that element it is associated in the composition of protoplasm, and is consequently an essential factor among the alimentary materials which nourish the plant kingdom. This fact renders necessary its presence wherever life is to be maintained, and the necessity is laid upon

the laws of the creation of providing for its mineral distribution in such small quantities as are needed by plants, and in such combinations as shall be available for use in support of the varied functions of plant life. Those who have studied the great natural functions of this group of elements must have become accustomed to see them entering upon the cycle of their activities in those chemical combinations which enables them to enter into the nutrition of plants, and to complete that cycle in ministration to the highest function of organic nature, viz.: To the intellectual faculties of man, then to return to the earth as it was. Through this cycle sulphur may be easily if imperfectly traced. When the mind has accustomed itself to this sort of study and grasp of this great natural group of elements, and to follow them one by one as they pass from the condition of elementary isolation to the state of chemical combination, bringing them within the reach of the absorptive and assimilative organs of plants whereby they are dissociated from their chemical compounds and recombined in protoplasm and hydrocarbons as physiological compounds, and so passed on to the animal kingdom, there to be worked over in the physiological laboratories of the animal organism and wrought into animal tissue susceptible of the marvelous endowments of animal life, or to be consumed in its furnaces to supply it heat and every form of force, including mind, then at last to return each to the source which nature has provided, then a good foundation is laid for a simple view of the fundamental facts of scientific agriculture. Upon that foundation a theory and practice of scientific agriculture in any of its branches may be securely based. Sulphur may and does exist in nature in a more or less pure state, yet its range of combining powers is very extensive. Very great deposits of native sulphur exist in many volcanic regions, and vast quantities of it are utilized in nature in the formation of metallic ores, called sulphides, besides very great deposits of sulphates, as, for example, those of calcium and barium, commonly called gypsum and barites. In such sulphide ores and sulphates the omnipresence of sulphur on all arable soils is secured. In plants we find it as sulphates and as a constituent of vegetable albumen, and in some of the products of plants, as essential oils, of mustard for example. In animals we have, besides sulphates, sulphur in combination in albumen fibrine and casein, and in muscular and other tissue, also in secretions as bile, taurine from which contains no less than 25 per cent of it. Sulphur combines readily with the atmospheric oxygen and inflames at moderate temperatures when sulphurous acid is produced. The chemistry of sulphur presents many highly remarkable facts and phenomena which are most interesting, but which being detailed by the text writers generally need not be repeated here. In a few passing remarks our attention may be directed for a single moment to a peculiar compound which sulphur forms by combining with two atoms of hydrogen, viz., sulphurated hydrogen, or hydrosulphuric acid, a disgusting, stinking and very poisonous gas, but with all that the most useful and the most constantly in use of all the analytical reagents of the practical chemist. Sulphur combines with hydrogen and oxygen to form no less than eight (8) acids, all of which containing one or more atoms of hydrogen replaceable from corresponding series of salts, and hence the actual or possible compounds of sulphur, exclusive of sulphides

and organic bodies, are vastly numerous. Among the reagents used in the industrial chemistry of agriculture none is of equal importance with sulphuric acid. Sulphurous acid gas being powerfully destructive of low forms of life, and being easily produced by burning sulphur in the open air, is a very efficient disinfectant. Sulphuric acid in dilute solution is also a good disinfectant. It must be borne in mind that not only is this acid a powerful irritant poison, even when diluted, but is a very violent and rapidly destructive caustic, the external application of which may cause disfigurement, maimment and death with horrible agony. Dashing this acid over a person, or breaking over them a bottle of it, is one of the most hellish of all felonious assaults most frequently adopted by women, and should be most rigorously punished. Inhalation of sulphuric acid is very dangerous.

## FARMERS INSTITUTES.

By "farmers institutes" we understand educational assemblies for lectures and discussions on topics of the theory and practice of scientific agriculture. We know of no other or better means of bringing together on a common footing the scientific and the practical workers, comparing the scientific with the practical methods and results. It seems worth while to inquire whether, and to what extent, legislative enactment, national and State, may afford recognition and encouragement to this kind of education. It seems worth while to inquire whether systems of lectures free to the public may not be managed in connection with the national department, and the various State colleges and stations at Washington, and in the various counties of the several States. We do not believe in adding work without just compensation to men employed in the public service, but it would seem no hardship to require that every professor in any State agricultural college shall deliver at least one lecture free to the public in some place in the State, on the advances of the applications of this branch of science in practical agriculture, in every year of service. At the colleges and stations short winter courses of lectures free to the public could be arranged which would prove rather a recreation than a task to the officers, and would stimulate them to activity of research and zeal in teaching, while opening the nature and value of the work carried on at these institutions to public inspection and intelligent criticism, in place of that which is partizan and malicious and ignorant.

## THE MARYLAND FARMERS ASSEMBLY.

This body meets in regular annual session on the 10th of January. It is, like the Virginia assembly, a representative convention of the farmers of the State who meet to discuss the general interests of their calling; to discuss special measures of public policy from their standpoint, and to recommend lines of action to their constituents. They give expression and currency to the views of the body on such topics, and it is certain that the opinions of such a representative assembly of the leading productive industry of the State and nation are entitled to respectful consideration. In this country it is coming to be, that many great legislative questions are settled outside of the legislative assemblies by the voice of the people, thus making itself heard, for in the final resort it is making itself clear that the sovereignty of every people is lodged with the people themselves; that all public functionaries are the servants of the people, and not their rulers; servants who are at all times

amenable to their sovereign, and whose safety is found in their obedience to the supreme will. That such assemblies of the people as the Maryland State Farmers Assembly possess an effective influence in consolidating the sentiments of their constituents, and bringing intelligent public criticism to bear upon the salient features of great public questions, is not to be denied. But such assemblies can in no way take the place, nor exercise the functions, of such great business organizations as the Alliance, the Grange, the Wheel, or such other organizations as the Knights of Labor, etc.

SOME

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statistics

of wheat

production

drawn from the statistics of wheat production may have the effect of giving to some of our farmers an idea of the actual conditions which have been affecting them for years.

The crop of wheat of 1867 was produced on an acreage of 18,321,561 acres, which produced 212,441,400 bushels, of an aggregate value of \$421,796,460. The crop of 1887 was raised on 37,641,783 acres, and the value aggregated only \$385,248,030.

Here is shown an increase of acreage of 19,014,677 acres, or in other words, the area, and consequent cost of production, were more than doubled, and yet the return of 1887 fell short of the actual amount received for the crop of 1867 by \$111,183,500, and the value per acre fell to almost one-third of what it was in 1867, although the yield per acre was greater in 1887 than it was in 1867. After realizing the enormous loss to the farmers here represented remember that equivalent losses have occurred each succeeding year for twenty years and then try to comprehend the vast aggregate.

While considering these problems, consider what might have been the result had the sub-treasury system proposed by the St. Louis convention been in operation during these twenty years of constant loss. Should the farmers not have been rich instead of dependent?

## MONOPOLY SLAVERY.

The New York Sun states that the annual income of John D. Rockefeller is \$20,000,000. This requires the constant labor of 54,794 laborers at one dollar per day. Surely this control of labor by the control of money is more profitable than to own the laborers as chattel slaves. The wealthiest slave-holder of the South never dreamed of being able to hold 50,000 slaves under the system of unrestricted chattel slavery. But under our present system of debt and wage slavery it is not unusual. It requires the labor of one man six days at one dollar per day to furnish John D. Rockefeller his income for one second. And Rockefeller is but one of thousands of monopolistic masters of greater or smaller dimensions. Is it strange that the slaves are not satisfied?

Men are not usually to blame for taking advantage of circumstances or conditions, and it is not against such men that reform measures are directed. It is against the laws which make such conditions. Good men often make the mistake of assuming that these demands are aimed at the millionaires personally. It is not true. It is directed against that system of national economy which makes these millionaires. Mr. Rockefeller is here; by some means he has amassed a large fortune. Under the law it is his. These reform measures do not propose either to hang him or take away his property. But the people don't want any more of his kind, nor will they permit him to use this immense lever to enslave his neighbors. It is proposed to wipe out a system that will bring about such results. Who will gainsay that doctrine?

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

### THE SUB-TREASURY PLAN.

**Declaration of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.**

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MONETARY SYSTEM.**

The financial policy of the general Government seems to-day to be peculiarly adapted to further the interests of the speculating class, at the expense and to the manifest detriment of the productive class, and while there are many forms of relief offered, there has up to the present time been no true remedy presented which has secured a support universal enough to render its adoption probable. Neither of the political parties offer a remedy adequate to our necessities, and the two parties that have been in power since the war have pursued practically the same financial policy. The situation is this: The most desirable and necessary reform is one that will adjust the financial system of the general Government so that its provisions cannot be utilized by a class, which thereby becomes privileged and is in consequence contrary to the genius of our Government, and which is to-day the principal cause of the depressed condition of agriculture. Regardless of all this the political parties utterly ignore these great evils and refuse to remove their cause, and the improprieties of the privileged class have no doubt often led the executive and legislative branches of the Government to believe that the masses were passive and reconciled to the existence of this system, whereby a privileged class can, by means of the power of money to oppress, exact from labor all that it produces except a bare subsistence. Since then it is the most necessary of all reforms, and receives no attention from any of the prominent political parties, it is highly appropriate and important that our efforts be concentrated to secure the needed reform in this direction, provided all can agree upon such measures. Such action will in no wise connect this movement to any partisan effort, as it can be applied to the party to which each member belongs.

In seeking a true and practical remedy for the evils that now flow from the imperfections in our financial system let us first consider what is the greatest evil, and on what it depends. The greatest evil, the one that outstrips all others so far that it is instantly recognized as the chief, and known with certainty to be more oppressive to the productive interests of the country than any other influence, is that which delegates to a certain class the power to fix the price of all kinds of produce and of all commodities. This power is not delegated directly, but it is delegated indirectly by allowing such class to issue a large per cent of the money used as the circulating medium of the country, and having the balance of such circulating medium, which is issued by the Government, a fixed quantity that is not augmented to correspond with the necessities of the times. In consequence of this the money issued by the privileged class, which they are at liberty to withdraw at pleasure, can be, and is, so manipulated as to control the volume of circulating medium in the country sufficiently to produce fluctuations in general prices at their pleasure. It may be likened unto a simple illustration in philosophy: The inflexible volume of the Government issue is the fulcrum, the volume of the bank issue is the lever power, and price is the point at which power is applied, and it is either raised or lowered with great certainty to correspond with the volume of bank issue. Any mechanic will instantly recognize the fact that the quickest and surest way of destroying the power of the lever to raise or lower price is to remove the resistance offered by the fulcrum—the inflexible volume of Government issue. The power to regulate the volume of money so as to control price is so manipulated as to develop and apply a potent force, for which we have in the

English language no name; but it is the power of money to oppress, and is demonstrated as follows: In the last four months of the year the agricultural products of the whole year having been harvested, they are placed on the market to buy money. The amount of money necessary to supply this demand is equal to many times the actual amount in circulation. Nevertheless the class that controls the volume of the circulating medium desire to purchase these agricultural products for speculative purposes, so they reduce the volume of money by hoarding, in the face of the augmented demand, and thereby advance the exchangeable value of the then inadequate volume of money, which is equivalent to reducing the price of the agricultural products. True agriculturists should hold their products and not sell at these ruinously low prices. And no doubt they would if they could, but to prevent that, practically all debts, taxes, and interest are made to mature at that time, and they being forced to have money at a certain season when they have the product of their labor to sell, the power of money to oppress by its scarcity is applied until it makes them turn loose their products so low that their labor expended does not average them fifty cents per day. This illustrates the power of money to oppress; the remedy, as before, lies in removing the power of the fulcrum—the inflexible Government issue—and supplying a Government issue, the volume of which, shall be increased to correspond with the actual addition to the wealth of the Nation presented by agriculture at harvest time, and diminished as such agricultural products are consumed. Such a flexibility of volume would guarantee a stability of price based on cost of production which would be compelled to reckon the pay for agricultural labor at the same rates as other employment. Such flexibility would rob money of its most potent power—the power to oppress—and place a premium on productive effort. But how may so desirable a result be secured? Let us see. By applying the same principles now in force in the monetary system of the United States with only slight modification in the detail of their execution. The Government and the people of this country realize that the amount of gold and silver, and the certificates based on these metals, do not comprise a volume of money sufficient to supply the wants of the country, and in order to increase the volume, the Government allows individuals to associate themselves into a body corporate, and deposit with the Government bonds which represent National indebtedness, which the Government holds in trust and issues to such corporation paper money equal to ninety per cent of the value of the bonds, and charges said corporation interest at the rate of one per cent per annum for the use of said paper money. This allows the issue of paper money to increase the volume of the circulating medium on a perfectly safe basis, because the margin is a guarantee that the banks will redeem the bonds before they mature. But now we find that the circulation secured by this method is still not adequate; or to take a very conservative position, that must be consumed every year are really the very best security in the world, and with more justice to society at large. For a precedent, attention is called to the following.

In December, 1848, the London Times announced the inevitable failure of the French republic and disintegration of French society in the near future, but so wise was the administration of the statesmen of that nation that two months later it was forced to eat its own words—saying in its columns February 16, 1849:

As a mere commercial speculation with the assets which the bank held in hand it might then have stopped payment and liquidated its affairs with every probability that a very few weeks would enable it to clear off its liabilities. But this idea was not for a moment entertained by M. D'Argout, and he resolved to make every effort to keep alive what may be termed the circulation of the life-blood of the community. The task was overwhelming. Money was to be found to meet not only the demands on the bank, but the necessities

are consumed. It is not an average adequate amount that is needed, because under it the greatest abuses may prevail, but a certain adequate amount that adjusts itself to the wants of the country at all seasons. For this purpose let us demand that the United States government modify its present financial system:

1. So as to allow the free and unlimited coinage of silver or the issue of silver certificates against an unlimited deposit of bullion.

2. That the system of using certain banks as United States depositaries be abolished, and in place of said system, establish in every county in each of the States that offers for sale during the one year five hundred thousand dollars worth of farm products, including wheat, corn, oats, barley, rye, rice, tobacco, cotton, wool and sugar, all together; a sub-treasury office, which shall have in connection with it such warehouses or elevators as are necessary for carefully storing and preserving such agricultural products as are offered it for storage, and it should be the duty of such sub-treasury department to receive such agricultural products as are offered for storage and make a careful examination of such products and class same as to quality and give a certificate of the deposit showing the amount and quality, and that United States legal-tender paper money, equal to eighty per cent of the local current value of the products deposited has been advanced on same on interest at the rate of one per cent per annum, on the condition that the owner or such other person as he may authorize will redeem the agricultural product within twelve months from date of the certificate or the trustee will sell same at public auction to the highest bidder for the purpose of satisfying the debt. Besides the one per cent interest the sub-treasurer should be allowed to charge a trifle for handling and storage, and a reasonable amount for insurance, but the premises necessary for conducting this business should be secured by the various counties donating to the general government the land and the government building the very best modern buildings, fire-proof and substantial. With this method in vogue the farmer, when his produce was harvested, would place it in storage where it would be perfectly safe and he would secure four-fifths of its value to supply his pressing necessity for money at one per cent per annum. He would negotiate and sell his warehouse or elevator certificates whenever the current price suited him, receiving from the person to whom he sold, only the difference between the price agreed upon and the amount already paid by the sub-treasurer. When, however, these storage certificates reached the hand of the miller or factory, or other consumer, he to get the product would have to return to the sub-treasurer the sum of money advanced, together with the interest on same and the storage and insurance charges on the product. This is no new or untried scheme; it is safe and conservative; it harmonizes and carries out the system already in vogue on a really safer plan because the products of the country that must be consumed every year are really the very best security in the world, and with more justice to society at large. For a precedent, attention is called to the following.

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The great necessity of the times is education. It is our only hope. It is the beacon light of success. We must not only educate but we must educate properly. The people fight the bagging trust and the twine trust because they see plainly the iniquity of the system. There are other trusts in existence more insidious in their nature, and a thousand times more dangerous to the Republic, that are causing but little alarm. Why is this? It is want of education. The money trust is the giant of trusts. From its abundant resources all other trusts draw their sustenance. The machinations of this giant of giants are scarcely known. If you would know the diabolical schemes which this combination, more powerful than Congress, have practiced to rob the people, read Morgan's new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and The Impending Revolution." No book of this character ever written has treated of as many subjects in so masterly a manner. It covers the entire ground of the struggle between labor and corporate capital, and discusses fully the great issues that must determine our destiny as a people and as a nation. It has met the hearty approval and endorsement of the principal officers of the Wheel and Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union. The following testimonial are evidence of the high character of the work:

DUBLIN, TEX., September 3, 1859.

BRO. MORGAN: After critical examination of your new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution," I find it to be a work of vital importance to every reformer, and one that should be read by every American citizen. The subjects on which it treats are the questions which affect the industries of the nation and cause the depressed condition of labor. It is a wonderful compilation of facts, sustained by the most eminent authorities. It is one of the best educators within the reach of the people, and it has my hearty approval.

Yours fraternally, EVAN JONES,  
Pres. Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

OZONE, ARK., September 6, 1859.

BRO. MORGAN: I have received your "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution." I predicted a work of unusual interest, and after having read your book I find my predictions fulfilled to the letter. It is a work that I can heartily recommend to the toiling millions. It has more clubs with which to fight monopoly, between its two covers, than any book I have ever seen. I hope it will have an extensive circulation.

Yours for the right, ISAAC McCRAKEN, Pres. National Wheel and Vice-Pres. F. L. U. A.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 27, 1859.

W. S. MORGAN: DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I write to congratulate you upon your valuable "History of the Agricultural Wheel and Farmers Alliance, and the Impending Revolution."

I regard your history as a great benefit to the order, and calculated to be of much assistance in the important work of the future.

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BY HARRY HINTON.

BY CHARLES LAMB.

MOST HONORABLE AND POPULAR SIRS:

MOST HONORABLE AND POPULAR SIRS.—Whether your body be the left or the right arm of the nation does not transpire in our noble Constitution, but in addressing you of one thing we are certain, that your body is fresh from the bowels of the people and know-

fresh from the bowels of the people and know all their wants and necessities. Some few things have been hatched since you left home; of these I wish to talk to you. These Alliance men and Knights of Labor met in St. Louis, a good-sized town somewhere on the banks of the Mississippi River, they say, and said you had not treated them right.

and said you had not treated them right, that you was too intimate with one Miss Banks; also another one they call Miss Combines; that you had got so shamelessly bold as to hug these belles on the streets in the face of open day-light. These and many more railing accusations they have brought against your honorable body. They take it for granted this country is a small patch of devil dust on which they can cavort and do as they please. Now in former times they used to say those hell-cats of Democrats did it, or those d--d Radicals did it. This was all well enough as long as we could keep them jawing each other, but now they come and lay all the blame on the previous actions of your body. This is perfectly traitorous, striking right at the heart of the administration of the Government.

To cap the climax of all villainous proceedings, these aforesaid sects held court and tried the administration of this Government in a formal manner. They wanted to try it for treason, heinous criminality and robbery. So they brought in their witnesses. Mr. Hamilton said, "To annihilate the use of either of the two metals as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium." Then up jumps one and proclaims that to abridge the quantity of circulating medium is the robbing of the debtor class and making richer the moneyed class. To this they all said amen. The next witness was a man they called Henry Clay, tall and slim as an Indian. The question was asked him, Mr. Clay what do you know about money?

"I say anything that the Government will receive in payment of public dues is money and good money, no matter what the form may be."

"Up jumps a young upstart and allows  
"Yes, they saved all the shinplasters for the  
common trash and said that the bondholder  
must have gold only. And to make the  
gold doubly precious they abridged the quan-  
tity of circulating medium of silver and paper.  
This was another robbing scheme."

Then another witness was introduced. Mr. Thomas Jefferson, what do you know about the nature of funding? Then Mr. Jefferson straightened himself up, slowly and grandly, and said, "Funding is simply robbing the people on a great scale."

bing the people on a great scale. Then up jumps Jim Flipp and said, there I told you so. I told you they had been robbing the people on a great scale, and now I reckon you know it. Have they not funded millions on millions? If so, that settles it. There is no use in prosecuting the case any further. We have the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses that these last Congresses all have been wholesale robbers of the people. But there is a man out here in his shirt sleeves who allows he knows something about this money matter. I move we have a subpoena issued and have him brought into court. Make a proclamation there, Sheriff, that will do. O yes! O yes! O yes! Abraham Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln, come into court.

Here he is, judge. Well, Mr. Lincoln, tell us what you know about this money matter.

"There is one thing I know, judge. If a government contract a debt with a certain amount of money in circulation, and then contract the money volume before the debt is paid, it is the most heinous crime a government could commit against the people."

"That will do Mr. Lincoln," said the judge, and then up jumps John Constance and allows that this most heinous crime was in the high superior superlative degree, and there could be no worse crime than this. That treason, robbery, and corruption in office could not beat it.

Right here Bill Legal pops up and says,

"this thing is going on too fast. We should

have proved that somebody was robbed before we fix the crime on the criminal." Then up springs the whole clan, and in one breath a halloaing and a whooping, "I'm robbed, we're all robbed, robbed of our lands, robbed our homes, robbed of our

lands, robbed of our rights, robbing us of our country." Thus they went on out raging a tempest at sea. Robbed of over \$20,000,000,000 in value, allowed them, and to make the thing doubly certain that the contraction of the currency was the leading cause of all their woe, they had one Mr. Doubleday called in, who said: "By the contraction of money in England from 1810 to 1825 more than four-fifths of the land owners were robbed of their estates."

You may depend on it, my honorable sir, there was a scene there which beggars description. First, they rose to their feet, and then they sat down without saying a word or parting a lip. They rose to their feet again, and then they quietly sat down, as not know-

ing what to do nor what to say. Blanched countenances stared at blanched countenances, wandering eyes looked at eyes that looked wandering back. Tears commenced to roll down the cheeks of some. Some fought the air with their fists. Others prayed and sang, while others cursed and swore. Still, above all the clangor and confusion of that awful time, one word was clearly heard, "robbed." And on this word they had thousand variations. Robbed of my land

robbed of my money; and they even went to say they were robbed of their children, robbed of their happiness; robbed of heaven, poor, despised and forsaken; robbed, d

frauded, and made victims to the garotter by our trusted friends." It is no use for me tell you more of what they said and did, but it really did make my heart ache to hear them pleading that they were not able to send their children to school, nor pay the preacher, nor send missionaries to the heathen, on account of these things. Your honorable body will mark me that the thing is getting bilious down in these parts. It would be well enough for you to send around a committee to investigate.

The governmental machinery has been working like a charm, and the two grand old parties have just kept up difference enough to make a fair and square fight each campaign, and everything would have moved smoothly had it not been that these same poor farmers and mechanics sought to put their mouths into the politics of the glorious country. Now they have made a jar and a jargon of the whole matter. There must be something done, or these self-same turbulent sons of America will knock the bottom out of your milk-pail, and the world will see through it as clear as daylight. The key to the whole secret of success lies in this: Keep the party frenzy up! Make strong party speeches! Keep the pot boiling! Introduce bills to rectify these things, and

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

edge ours to be the "best Government on earth." We don't even object to the tribute takers spending the wealth which we pay them in foreign countries. After the Scully heirs have come to our country, lovingly wrapped the folds of our proud emblem of liberty about them, and solemnly sworn allegiance to the great American eagle, they too, may as freely enjoy the liberty of spending our wealth in foreign countries as Jim Blaine, Andrew Carnegie, and other of our truest patriots now do.

Certainly our requirement is not a severe one.: Only a little "swear" which to them, with their immense wealth, is but the compliance with a form. It really means nothing. But there; it is really unbecoming in me, a citizen of the mighty commonwealth of Illinois, to argue this question with the Scullys. They have our ultimatum. Unless that ultimatum is repealed within three years after old Scully's death his heirs must cease to be foreigners or else sell their right to levy tribute upon Illinois farmers to some of our home-grown patriots, and that is all there is about it. We are groveling enough to pay tribute, but "by the eternal" we are too manly and independent to permit our right to choose our masters to be tampered with! Isn't this a logical deduction from the premises upon which the Illinois law is based? Isn't it a logical deduction from the premises upon which all the talk about "foreign capital" and "foreign syndicates" is based? If we must pay tribute what matter it to whom we pay it?

Is it well to pay for it? Is a shoddy American aristocrat, whose genealogical tree a generation or back was shrouded in the fog of a wash-tub, any better as a tribute taker, than a blue-blooded Briton who proudly counts his lineage from some illiterate princely murderer of the damages? Is the tribute exacted by Oliver Dalrymple from his Dakota wage-slaves any less galling than the tribute exacted by Lord Scully from his Illinois tenant slaves because Dalrymple is a citizen of our country and Scully is a citizen of Ireland?

Does citizenship alone decide the justice or injustice, the sin or the righteousness, tribute taking? Would the little children who perished from starvation at Braidwood this season have died easier if the Washburn Moen Flouring Mill Company of Minneapolis had remained the property of an \$8,000,000 American syndicate instead of having become the property of an \$8,000,000 foreign syndicate? What does all this talk about "foreign capital" and "foreign" syndicates mean, anyway? What is "foreign" capital? When a citizen of another country comes here he is a "foreigner" and subject, within bounds, to the laws of his late government until he becomes a citizen of this. But how about the capital he may bring with him? When does it become domesticated? When does it cease to be "foreign capital"? If a foreigner bring with him a thousand dollars or ten thousand dollars, or ten million dollars, and invest in United States property, is it not at once domestic capital? Is it not once subject to our laws, and does it not once become dependent upon our laws, our courts and our judges and all of our complicated paraphernalia, including our policemen and Gatling guns, for protection? Syndicates of blue-blooded English millionaires send an agent to this country with instructions to buy up a few railroads, bridges, mills, or some of the western Territories, and the agent accomplish his mission, is the capital invested in the railroads, etc., subject to our laws? If so, then in what sense is it "foreign" capital? It is true

blue bloods aforesaid would have the management of their property subject only to our legal restrictions, but how could that fact make matters for our wealth producers worse than they are now? Are the English smarter at a trade than their Yankee brethren are? Have they the swinish faculty of acquisitiveness more fully and acutely developed? If not, how can their control of our capitalistic institutions as against Yankee control be of greater detriment to our wealth producers? "Yes, but we ought to take

patriotic pride in our own institutions and in the fact that they are run by our *own* people." So, the spirit of "patriotism" is to be invoked, is it? I have heard the word before, and in common with a great many other thoughtless asses have bowed in deep veneration before the sentiment for which it is supposed to stand. What is patriotism, and who are patriots? It is no digression from the subject under consideration to, for a moment, discuss the subject for patriotism; in fact, it is absolutely essential to the full understanding of our subject that we devote a short time to the discussion of the sentiment that is always relied on by selfish demagogues as a last resort to get what they want. The "Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man" doctrine, inculcated by Jesus of Nazareth, is the direct antithesis of the quality which finds expression in the word "patriotism." If a gang of politicians in one part of the world declares the nation they represent to be at war with a nation represented by some other gang of politicians, "patriotism" calls for the wealth producers

ously extravagant Government, but to pile hundreds of millions of dollars in our Treasury to be loaned without interest to men who are running "the best banking system on earth!" It was under the guise of a "patriotic" desire to develop the country, that a venal congress in 1862 granted to a gang of ghouls an empire of our land and the credit of the Government to the extent of \$64,000,000, with which to build a railroad from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean! It is under the guise of a generous and munificent "patriotism" that our Government has allowed the Pacific Railway thieves to amass fortunes aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars without having paid so much as one cent of their indebtedness to the people! It is under the guise of a magniloquent "patriotism," which forbids our Government to interfere in "private affairs," that railroad companies are permitted to rob their helpless patrons of immense fortunes annually! It is in the name of a "patriotic" enforcement of the laws that the wealth-producers of our principal States are forced to keep up

"triotism" requires the fool wealth-producers of each nation to spring to the rescue of their respective gang of politicians, and the fool wealth-producers of the unsuccessful gang of politicians will be fed on patriotic taffy just as freely as the fool wealth-producers of the successful gang will be. Of course, the unsuccessful gang can't "taffy" the fools who backed them with as good grace as the successful gang can the fools who backed them; but, nevertheless, diplomacy demands that they spread it on as thick as they can. They might need assistance in the future, and it is just as easy to call them "patriots" as anything else. See? When two men fall to and pummel and pound and gouge each other our Christian civilization dubs them "brutes" and their act as "brutish." When two nations fall to and murder each other by wholesale the same Christian civilization calls the actors "patriots" and their act "patriotism." See? If Silcott, the Democratic statesman who pulled the wool over the eyes of his brother statesmen and succeeded in getting their confidence and money, could be persuaded to leave his Canadian resort and return to his own native land he would undoubtedly be punished for his fine work. If Jim Blaine can succeed in pulling the wool over the eyes of the Pan-American Congress to such an extent as to get a treaty between us and our sister nations that will be of advantage to us, no matter how detrimental it may be to them, Jim Blaine will be voted a "patriot," and, perhaps, elected President in 1892. The difference between the thief and the "patriot" is that Silcott's fine work was done for the purpose of benefiting Silcott, while Blaine's fine work was done for the purpose of benefiting the United States. "Oh liberty," exclaimed Madam Roland, as she prepared to ascend the steps of the French guillotine, "what crimes are committed in thy name!" Patriotism seems to be a twin brother of liberty and to have been born for the express purpose of enabling crimes to be committed in his name. It was under the guise of "pa-

of our principal States are forced to keep up a standing army of "citizen soldiers," whose only duty is to protect the property which mighty corporations have looted from the poor! Every blue-coated militiaman, every club-swinging policeman, every brass-buttoned Pinkerton thug is a living, breathing, sentient emblem of our unquestioning faith in the "patriotism" of our law makers! The gilded domes of our legislative halls, the garish completeness of our insane asylums, and the somber massiveness of our penitentiaries tell more effectually than words can of the "patriotic" pride we take in our public institutions, while the agonized groans of homeless, houseless, heart-stricken laborers, the heart-wrung tears of their famishing wives and little ones tell a pitiful story of the condition of the "patriots" upon whom our politicians must rely for material to fight their next war! And it is an appeal to this sentiment, the false and vicious use of which has done more to make our earth a hell, has done more to set man against his fellow-man, and to fill the land with the wail of the widows and orphans than any other invention of the devil, that is to be relied upon, as a last resort, to persuade the free-born citizens of America to give native capital the preference over the foreign capital! The fact that "foreign" capital is coming to our country in vast quantities of late ought certainly to excite thought upon our part, but the trend of our thought ought to be in a direction entirely different from that in which our city press is so skillfully guiding it. Instead of worrying over the thought that foreign capital is likely to supersede native capital, our wealth producers are much more interested in the question of what it is coming at all. Capital usually seeks investment where it feels sure of largest returns. The "returns" of capital are nothing more nor less than tribute exacted from the labor it employs. English capitalists, thus investing as they have invested in the last six months more than one hundred million dollars in American properties, indicate

## THE REFORM PRESS:

## The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

nothing more surely than it does the belief upon the part of Englishmen that the wealth-producing labor of this country affords a better source from whence their capital can take tribute than the labor of their own country does. They have scoured "pauper" Europe from end to end in their search for places in which their capital can be made to bring them largest tribute. They have exhausted the tribute-paying resources of India, Australia, and other countries of which they have worldly knowledge in their search after gilt-edged "spot cash" places of investment, and their choice among all the tribute payers of the earth is the citizens of "the land of the brave and the home of the free." Instead of worrying, lest their act may cause some distended millionaires of native production to loose their soft snap, hadn't we better turn our bucolic thoughts in another direction and ask why this race among the world's rich after American investment. Capital can command "returns" (tribute is the correct word) from labor in an exactly inverse proportion to the ability of labor to command the assistance of capital. In other words, if capital (and by capital I allude to the world-wide representative of wealth called money) is easy of access by labor, it cannot command as much of the fruits of labor in tribute or compensation for its use as it can if hard to get. Then English or "foreign" capital coming to this country indicates the belief upon the part of its owners that those who have juggled the financial affairs of our nation have at last arranged matters until money here will command heavier tribute from labor than in any other civilized nation under the sun. These foreign investors are not fools. They know what they are doing. Money does command a greater share of the products of labor in this country than in any other nation on earth. Why? Simply because the slow thinking, hard working wealth producers of our country have allowed a few scheming brain-workers to take the control of the thing which has no right to exist except as a representative of the wealth which their labor creates from their hands and give it into the control of as unscrupulous a gang of thieves as ever cut a throat or compelled a man to walk the plank. There is only one remedy for the condition of things which has spotted the wealth producers of this mighty nation in the eyes of foreigners as the greatest and most docile tribute payers on earth. Only one. We may juggle with the tariff and other subsidizing schemes. We may talk about the necessity of civil service reform and of the horrible inroads of the liquor traffic, and about any other question which the money-bought press of the country throws out for our entertainment, but if we would relieve ourselves, and our wives and little children, of the hateful odium which attaches to slavish tribute payers we must take absolute and unquestioned control of the source from whence our money supply emanates. As to how this may be done read the report of the committee on the monetary system which appears in No. 15 of the NATIONAL ECONOMIST. While the author of that report does not claim perfection for the scheme it advances, he does claim, and rightfully I think, that it is an improvement upon anything in a monetary way of late origin.

MONEY at one per cent to banks is an able government policy; money to farmers at one per cent may be considered impossible. Why the difference? Banks are used to it; to farmers it is as yet a faint hope. They then telegraph their agent at Ashe-

ville, N. C., to offer beef so low that the farmers of Buncombe county can not sell their beef to the butchers, and thus take entire possession of the Asheville market and establish a monopoly in beef. Who is profited by this arrangement? Armour & Co. and the railroads, and possibly some of the consumers in Asheville. Who is hurt by it? The farmer in Kansas and the farmer in Buncombe, who are forced to raise beef for less than cost in order that capitalists and railroads may make money on it.

A farmer possessing 160 acres of land will have forty acres in pasture and five acres in feed lots, orchard, house, yard, etc. He has five acres sown to millet, cane, etc., to produce forage for his horses and cows. He has planted to corn seventy acres, yield 50 bushels per acre, total 3,500 bushels. Of this he will need to feed five head of horses 500 bushels, and to feed a sufficient number of hogs to supply the family with pork it will take at least 125 bushels (we will say there are five persons in the family). To feed the milk cows, chickens, etc., it will take at least 75 bushels. This makes a total for his own use of 700 bushels. Take this from his entire crop will leave him for marketing 2,800 bushels; price per bushel 14 cents, making total of \$392. He has 40 acres sown to oats, yield 35 bushels per acre, total in bushels, 1,400; of this he will need for feed and seed 250 bushels: that will leave him to sell 2,150 bushels; price 10 cents per bushel, total \$115. His expenses are as follows: Interest on \$1,000 mortgage, \$80; interest on \$150 for six months at the rate of two per cent per month, which he was compelled to borrow to meet obligations as they become due, \$18; twine for binding oats, 90 pounds, at 15 cents, \$13.50; threshing, \$42; wages for one hand, ten months at \$18 per month, \$180; clothing, boots and shoes for family during the year, \$50; for coal, \$30; for flour, \$35; for incidentals, such as blacksmithing, hardware, repairing of implements, and a thousand and one little things that are constantly needed on a farm, \$30; taxes, \$25. We could swell this much larger, but we will use economy as it is preached by the Republican press and quit adding, but please note the result:

Total receipt for corn.....	\$392
Total receipt for oats.....	115

Total receipt for both.....	507
Total expenditures.....	564

That leaves him \$56.50 worth of "prosperity" to be added to the two per cent fund. If you call such prosperity, please deliver us from it.

The Southern Alliance Farmer (Atlanta, Ga.) advises as follows:

Alliance men stand up to the Alliance; do not lose confidence in it, nor become indifferent, but attend regularly all the meetings of your lodge; this must be done to insure success. There is a great work before us yet to accomplish; the jute bagging trust has not yet been defeated; they will inundate the country next season with their jute bagging, which will be priced low in order to induce you to use their bagging. Pay no attention to their bagging or to the low price it may be offered, for their scheme is by low prices to make you abandon cotton bagging and buy their bagging, and if they are successful in that in the future the farmers are at their mercy and will be made to make up their losses. This we can not afford to do, for if you abandon your cotton bagging for the cheap jute we never need again attempt to have any other kind of bagging, but in future will subject ourselves to the use of jute, let the prices be ever so high.

The Hutchinson (Kan.) Times gives some good advice:

Our people are intelligent and capable of self-government without resting and imposing all confidence and all their interests to professional politicians, and men whose purses are so well filled that they can, by the thousand political methods, manage and manipulate the course of parties and shape legislation. Time must be given to thought and study by the people. Take some good county, State, and national papers, read closely, and think in a classified manner, and then speak your convictions at your public meetings, and the great middle class of people will absolutely govern in this nation, and the cry against the millionaires will cease, and they will grow fewer in numbers.

The Indianapolis (Ind.) Leader says:

What estimate are we to form of American journalism and statesmanship when we remember there are three millions of idle men seeking employment, and millions of our people suffering for food, clothing, fuel, and shelter, while said journalists and statesmen are trying to find a market for our surplus products—the very thing our own people are suffering for, but are too poor to buy. The truth is, that class legislation has placed labor at such a disadvantage that the wages received for producing wealth are wholly insufficient to decently support the laborer.

Legal-tender Greenback (Burlington, Iowa) explains:

The Progressive Farmer (Raleigh, N. C.) says: Armour & Co. and the railroads combine to control the beef market of the country. Armour & Co. form a combine and force the Kansas farmer to sell them his beef for less than it costs to produce it. They then telegraph their agent at Ashe-

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The Kansas (Newton) Commoner furnishes the following letter, which purports to give the condition of the farms in Annelly, Kansas, from where it is written:

A farmer possessing 160 acres of land will have forty acres in pasture and five acres in feed lots, orchard, house, yard, etc. He has five acres sown to millet, cane, etc., to produce forage for his horses and cows. He has planted to corn seventy acres, yield 50 bushels per acre, total 3,500 bushels. Of this he will need to feed five head of horses 500 bushels, and to feed a sufficient number of hogs to supply the family with pork it will take at least 125 bushels (we will say there are five persons in the family). To feed the milk cows, chickens, etc., it will take at least 75 bushels. This makes a total for his own use of 700 bushels. Take this from his entire crop will leave him for marketing 2,800 bushels; price per bushel 14 cents, making total of \$392. He has 40 acres sown to oats, yield 35 bushels per acre, total in bushels, 1,400; of this he will need for feed and seed 250 bushels: that will leave him to sell 2,150 bushels; price 10 cents per bushel, total \$115. His expenses are as follows:

The corporations and monopolies are controlling the city press, the State legislatures, Congress and the courts. The farmers will have to wake up, or they will be subjugated and impoverished by the banded monopolies. The farmers need to study finance, banking, taxation, and politics. These are the matters that concern them most. The papers that tell them how to raise pumpkins, corn, beans, and potatoes, are not so useful as those that discuss taxation, finance, transportation and government.

The Alabama Mirror (Selma):

Mr. Secretary Windom asks Congress to relieve the national banks of the 1 per cent tax on their issue. He also asks for the repeal of the compulsory features of the coinage act. Mr. Windom is not losing any time in paying the obligations he incurred in attaining his present position.

The Rural World (St. Louis, Mo.) gives some plain truth:

A man can be longer starving to death on a farm than in any other business, but then we are not on the farm to feed the world and starve ourselves. We are there to succeed as men in other branches of business succeed, by making a profit on what we produce. That is all we ask, and that we demand. We have had enough of the starving business; have done enough toward making millionaires, and now intend to have a share in the profits. This is an age of trusts and combines, and we have trusted to combines long enough.

The American Farm News (Akron, Ohio) pays its respects to trusts and combines:

It becomes farmers to look to their own interests and frown down all combinations and trusts that are intended for their ruin. The twine, sugar, coffee, tea, and lumber trusts are all inimical to the farmer. If agricultural people do not take care of themselves they may feel well assured others will not do it for them.

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The Coffee County News (Elba, Ala.) recommends the following:

The farmers should look closely to their calling and remember that in union there is strength and separated you fall. The nation cannot censure you for defending yourselves; it will make you more self-supporting and more independent. The country at large will be the better for your efforts. The world will think more of you. Stand to your order with double determination.

The Patrick Henry (Springfield, Mo.):

Suppose that some notorious counterfeiters were to strike \$2,000,000,000 in money so perfect that it could not be detected as counterfeit, and should manage to successfully circulate it among the people, the same as our greenbacks once were, and the people were to use it for twenty-five years, free of cost, and at the end of that time it was detected as counterfeit, what would be the result, and which would be the worse for honest men, the counterfeiters or our present national bankers?

Kingman Weekly Journal (Kingman, Kan.) has this idea of farm organizations:

An organization of labor that is not founded upon a firm, intelligent, and permanent basis and with a fixed purpose, is a greater curse to labor than no organization at all. It arouses the employing classes from their fancied security to a realization that labor is dissatisfied and makes them more alert, while it leaves labor to their tender mercies in times of greatest need. For these reasons the laboring classes have a right to expect great and beneficial results from the combination of farmers.

The Butler (Mo.) Local News says:

We do not find fault with the men that have amassed fortunes under our laws. It is the laws and the law-makers that the Union is looking after.

Corrupt legislation has nearly obliterated our "free" peasantry and placed in its stead a "tenancy" system, equalled only by the tenant system of Ireland.

Junction City (Kan.) Tribune, says:

Men, women and children are starving to death in the mines of Illinois and Pennsylvania. This is worse than the old slavery, prior to the war. The general Government should interfere promptly and effectively for the relief of innocent, suffering humanity. Those millionaire monopolists should be taught a lesson which they and their kind would never forget.

Faulkner County Wheel (Conway, Ark.):

The official reports of Secretary Rush show the prices of farm products the lowest ever known in this country, and still there is a downward tendency.

Houston (Tex.) Echo—of course:

President Harrison says he is in perfect sympathy with Windom's silver policy. Of course, Windom's silver policy is in perfect harmony with the banking interest, and who ever heard of a President antagonizing the bank interests since Jackson's time.

Lafayette County Statesman (Oswego, Kan.)—the plainest kind of truth:

All the more intelligent Democrats and Republicans know and admit that there are many radical changes needed in our laws in order to secure justice and equal rights to all, yet they have not the moral courage to unite with us and help fight for the demands of organized labor. Such men occupy the same relation to labor organizations that the moral man does to the church—they neither enter themselves nor suffer those who would enter to go in. They should get out of the way and not be a stumbling-stone and rock of offense to those who would better their condition.

Cooper County (Kan.) Democrat:

A speaker on the affirmative side of the question: "Resolved, That farming pays in Kansas," had just taken the floor at the meeting of a debating society out in western Kansas when a fellow on the negative side opened the stove door and shoveled in three or four pecks of corn.

This should have ended the argument.

Spirit of Kansas (Topeka):

The Farmers Alliance will do what it can to protect Kansas from foreign meat combines and pack-

ers. But there is more meat in the cocoanut than this. It will join with the grange in cutting down official salaries, and will see that the next legislature is composed of material different from third-rate lawyers and political demagogues, whose seats of operation are dry-goods boxes during the working part of the year.

That is good sense.

There seems to be an increasing desire on the part of Alliance journals to investigate the merits of the sub-treasury system.

A careful consideration discloses a fair, honest plan of getting a circulating medium among the people when they need it, without cost to the Government and at little expense to the citizen. There is no risk, no trickery. It does away with the possibility of one portion of our people taking advantage of the other. Instead of being oppressive to any class it places all on a level. It makes all producers equal and prevents the non-producers from insisting upon unjust distribution.

The Chickasaw Messenger (Oklahoma, Miss.) comments on the plan as follows:

On the inside of this paper will be found the report of the National Alliance monetary committee, which was adopted at the St. Louis meeting. The plan may at first reading appear to our readers, as it did to us, impracticable, but the more it is investigated the more it will commend itself to the better judgment of the honest, fair-minded man, no matter what his occupation may be. We are sure of one fact, namely: The attempt to organize the system is no robbery of any class of our people, and if successful it will prove of great benefit to the farmers of the country. Next week we will publish from THE ECONOMIST "the sub-treasury plan," that our agricultural friends may fully comprehend the business principles upon which the system is based, and form a correct idea of its workings when put in operation.

The American Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kan.) says of the farmers' sub-treasury plan:

As may be seen elsewhere, the national banks are reaching for a new lease on the free plunder of the country. They now desire to use silver bullion as a basis for bank circulation. The farmers have caught the idea and will ask Congress to accept deposits of wheat, corn and cotton as collateral for monetary advances. Coming from the farmers it is a socialistic vagary; from a Wall street broker it is a big-bellied statesmanship.

Wait and see which gets the best attention from Congress.

The Peninsula Farmer (Federalsburg, Md.) in advocating the Farmers Alliance says, among other good things:

We shall not attempt to show that farmers ought to unite—the day for such discussion has passed. It is no longer a question of propriety to be debated, whether it would, on the whole, be better for farmers to join together in endeavoring to get rid of the burdens which oppress them; it is now simply a question of imperative necessity, and the only thing to debate is by what form of organization and by what means the needed work shall be done. We are in the field to advocate the Farmers Alliance as best fitted to perform the work which must be done, as we believe the principles which it advocates are the correct ones.

A Few Words to the Law-makers and Citizens of America.

BY J. BRAD BEVERLY.

The Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union met a few days ago in St. Louis, and I see they showed an actual membership of 2,000,000 men. For what are these people organized into this body? Moreover, they effected a "federation" with the Knights of Labor, "offensive and defensive," one of the leaders said. That "federation" then would include, I guess, about 3,500,000 men. For information I sought THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, their head organ, and I read carefully, thoroughly, and from first to last.

I condensed, assorted, classified and re-read, reconsidered, and then knowing that prejudice and bias make us all short-sighted, I held it away off and it read, the object of this "federation" is: "To prevent universal slaughter by universal suffrage; to make ballots prevent bullets, and hence they organize voters to prevent the organization of soldiers." I exclaim. "What is the matter with these people? Where are the slaughtered, the bullets, the soldiers to come from?" I re-read, reflect and conclude: "From their own people." They are anarchists! No; anarchists are men who despise justice from the Government, and these men ask for voters. Communists are! No; communists call for government ownership of everything, and many of these men own property. They are socialists! No; Henry George is the paragon of socialists, and says land alone must be taxed, and these men own land. Who are they? What are they? Where are they? There can not be so many sore-heads and cranks. These men are the brawn, the muscle, the backbone, the foundation and strength of the nation. They are the producers of everything. What fool will say these men are cranks, these men are humbugged by demagogues, these men fear imaginary dangers, and complain of groundless grievances? Can such a multitude of men be all affected by the moon, so that they follow jack o' lanterns, and scare at the hooting of owls? There are more men in this "federation" than were engaged in the late war. It is the army of producers. They are incited by debt, and urged on by visions of hunger, cold, and nakedness, by fears of serfdom and slavery, and mark ye! statesmen of America, you who should represent these people and administer justice, these men can not be driven to desperation with impunity. At present they ask for relief. Soon they will demand it. Late they will take it! It is needless to assert that a majority of the popular vote controls this Government, and that these people constitute a majority. They know that the majority should rule, but they know too well that political trickery, log-rolling, wire-pulling, bull-doing, and gold from the precinct primary to the

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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### THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

#### Laws Governing the Census.

For the purpose of answering numerous inquiries, and at the same time giving the general public all the information possible, the entire act relating to the eleventh census is herewith printed. It is considered of sufficient importance to warrant the space taken:

#### AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR TAKING THE ELEVENTH AND SUBSEQUENT CENSUSES.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.* That a census of the population, wealth, and industry of the United States shall be taken as of the date of June first, eighteen hundred and ninety.

SEC. 2. That there shall be established in the Department of the Interior an office to be denominated the census office, the chief officer of which shall be called the superintendent of census, whose duty it shall be, under the direction of the head of the department, to superintend and direct the taking of the eleventh census of the United States, in accordance with the laws relating thereto; and to perform such other duties as may be required of him by law.

SEC. 3. The superintendent of census shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; and he shall receive an annual salary of six thousand dollars; and for the purposes of taking the eleventh census of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior may from time to time as the necessity therefore arises appoint a chief clerk and one disbursing clerk of the census office at an annual salary each of twenty-five hundred dollars, two stenographers, ten chiefs of division, at an annual salary each of two thousand dollars, ten clerks of class four, twenty clerks of class three, thirty clerks of class two, with such number of clerks of class one, and of clerks, copyists, and computers, at salaries of not less than seven hundred and twenty dollars nor more than one thousand dollars per annum, as may be found necessary for the proper and prompt compilation of the results of the enumeration of the census herein provided to be taken. And the Secretary of the Interior may also appoint one captain of the watch at a salary of eight hundred and forty dollars per annum, two messengers and such number of watchmen and assistant messengers, laborers, and skilled laborers at six hundred dollars each per annum, and messenger boys at salaries of four hundred dollars each per annum, and charwoman at salaries of two hundred and forty dollars each per annum, as may be found necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

And upon such compilation and publication of said census, or at an earlier date, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, the period of service of said clerks and employees shall end: *Provided*, That clerks transferred or detailed for service under this act from existing branches of the civil service shall not lose their positions or rights under the act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States. All of the clerks of classes four, three, and two, above provided for may be statistical experts. The disbursing clerk herein provided for shall, before entering upon his duties, give bond to the Treasurer of the United States in the sum of fifty thousand dollars, which bond shall be conditioned that the said officer shall render a true and faithful account to the Treasurer, quarter-yearly, of all moneys and properties which shall be by him received by virtue of his office, with sureties to be approved by the Solicitor of the Treasury. Such bond shall be filed in the office of the First Comptroller of the Treasury to be by him put in suit upon any breach of the conditions thereof. All examinations for appointment and promotion, under this act, shall be in the discretion and under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of the Interior shall, on or before the first day of March, eighteen hundred and ninety, on the recommendation of the superintendent of census, designate the number, whether one or more, of supervisors of census, to be appointed within each State and territory, and the District of Columbia, who shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The number of such supervisors shall not exceed one hundred and seventy-five. The superintendent and the supervisors shall, before entering upon the duties of their offices respectively, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: I, \_\_\_\_\_ (superintendent or supervisor, as the case may be), do solemnly swear or affirm that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and perform and discharge the duties of the office of

(superintendent or supervisor, as the case may be), according to law, honestly and correctly, to the best of my ability, which oaths shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 5. Each supervisor of census shall be charged with the performance, within his own district, of the following duties: To propose to the superintendent of census the division of his district into subdivisions most convenient for the purpose of enumeration; to designate to the superintendent of census suitable persons, and, with the consent of said superintendent, to employ such persons as enumerators within his district, one for each subdivision, and resident therein, who shall be selected solely with reference to fitness, and without reference to their political party affiliations, according to the division approved by the superintendent of census: *Provided*, That in the appointment of enumerators, preference shall, in all cases be given to properly qualified persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service of the United States residing in their respective districts; but in case it shall occur in any enumeration district that no person qualified to perform and willing to undertake the duties of enumerator resides in that district, the supervisor may appoint any fit person, resident in the county, to be the enumerator of that district; to transmit to enumerators the printed forms and schedules issued from the census office, in quantities suited to the requirements of each subdivision; to communicate to enumerators the necessary instructions and directions relating to their duties, and to advise with and counsel enumerators in person and by letter, as freely and fully as may be required to secure the purposes of this act; and under the direction of the superintendent of census, and by inquiry made of the head of such family, or of the member thereof deemed most creditable and worthy of trust, or of such individual living out of a family, to obtain each and every item of information and all the particulars required by this act, as of date June first, eighteen hundred and ninety. And in case no person shall be found at the usual place of abode of such family or individual living out of a family competent to answer the inquiries made in compliance with the requirements of this act, then it shall be lawful for the enumerator to obtain the required information, as nearly as may be practicable, from the family or families, or person or persons, living nearest to such place of abode. The superintendent of census may employ special agents or other means to make an enumeration of all Indians living within the jurisdiction of the United States, with such information as to their condition as may be obtainable, classifying them as to Indians taxed and Indians not taxed.

SEC. 10. And it shall be the duty of each enumerator to forward the original schedules, duly certified, to the supervisor of census of his district, as his returns under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 11. The compensation of enumerators shall be ascertained and fixed as follows: In subdivisions, where the superintendent of census shall deem such an allowance sufficient, an allowance not exceeding two cents for each living inhabitant, two cents for each death reported, fifteen cents for each farm, and twenty cents for each establishment of productive industry enumerated and returned, and for each surviving soldier, sailor, or marine, or widow of such soldier, sailor, or marine returned, five cents, may be given in full compensation for all services: *Provided*, That the subdivisions to which the above rate of compensation shall apply must be designated by the superintendent of census at least one month in advance of the enumeration. Rates of compensation for all other subdivisions shall be fixed in advance of the enumeration by the superintendent of census, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, according to the difficulty of enumeration, having reference to the nature of the region to be canvassed and the density or sparseness of settlement, or other considerations pertinent thereto; but the compensation allowed to any enumerator in any such district shall not be less than three dollars nor more than six dollars per day of ten hours actual field-work each, when a per diem compensation shall be established by the Secretary of the Interior; nor more than three cents for each living inhabitant, twenty cents for each farm, and thirty cents for each establishment of productive industry enumerated and returned, when a per capita compensation shall be deemed advisable by the Secretary of the Interior. No claim for mileage or traveling expenses shall be allowed any enumerator in either class of subdivisions, except in extreme cases, and then only when authority has been previously granted by the superintendent of census. The superintendent of census shall prescribe uniform methods and suitable forms for keeping accounts of the number of people enumerated or of the time occupied in field-work for the purpose of ascertaining the

three hundred dollars, to be prosecuted in any court of competent jurisdiction.

SEC. 8. No enumerator shall be deemed qualified to enter upon his duties until he has received from the supervisor of census of the district to which he belongs a commission, under his hand, authorizing him to perform the duties of an enumerator, and setting forth the boundaries of the subdivision within which such duties are to be performed by him. He shall, moreover, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation:

"I, \_\_\_\_\_, an enumerator for taking the census of the United States, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will make a true and exact enumeration of all the inhabitants within the subdivision assigned to me, and will also faithfully collect all other statistics therein, as provided for in the act for taking the census, and in conformity with all lawful instructions which I may receive, and will make due and correct returns thereof as required by said act, and will not disclose any information contained in the schedules, lists, or statements obtained by me to any person or persons, except to my superior officers. (Signed)

Which said oath or affirmation may be administered by any judge or clerk of a court of record, or any justice of the peace or notary public empowered to administer oaths; which oath, duly authenticated, shall be forwarded to the supervisor of census before the date fixed herein for the commencement of the enumeration.

SEC. 9. It shall be the duty of each enumerator, after being qualified in the manner aforesaid, to visit personally each dwelling-house in his subdivision, and each family therein, and each individual living out of a family in any place of abode, and by inquiry made of the head of such family, or of the member thereof deemed most creditable and worthy of trust, or of such individual living out of a family, to obtain each and every item of information and all the particulars required by this act, as of date June first, eighteen hundred and ninety. And in case no person shall be found at the usual place of abode of such family or individual living out of a family competent to answer the inquiries made in compliance with the requirements of this act, then it shall be lawful for the enumerator to obtain the required information, as nearly as may be practicable, from the family or families, or person or persons, living nearest to such place of abode. The superintendent of census may employ special agents or other means to make an enumeration of all Indians living within the jurisdiction of the United States, with such information as to their condition as may be obtainable, classifying them as to Indians taxed and Indians not taxed.

SEC. 10. And it shall be the duty of each enumerator to forward the original schedules, duly certified, to the supervisor of census of his district, as his returns under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 11. The compensation of enumerators shall be ascertained and fixed as follows: In subdivisions, where the superintendent of census shall deem such an allowance sufficient, an allowance not exceeding two cents for each living inhabitant, two cents for each death reported, fifteen cents for each farm, and twenty cents for each establishment of productive industry enumerated and returned, and for each surviving soldier, sailor, or marine, or widow of such soldier, sailor, or marine returned, five cents, may be given in full compensation for all services: *Provided*, That the subdivisions to which the above rate of compensation shall apply must be designated by the superintendent of census at least one month in advance of the enumeration. Rates of compensation for all other subdivisions shall be fixed in advance of the enumeration by the superintendent of census, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, according to the difficulty of enumeration, having reference to the nature of the region to be canvassed and the density or sparseness of settlement, or other considerations pertinent thereto; but the compensation allowed to any enumerator in any such district shall not be less than three dollars nor more than six dollars per day of ten hours actual field-work each, when a per diem compensation shall be established by the Secretary of the Interior; nor more than three cents for each living inhabitant, twenty cents for each farm, and thirty cents for each establishment of productive industry enumerated and returned, when a per capita compensation shall be deemed advisable by the Secretary of the Interior. No claim for mileage or traveling expenses shall be allowed any enumerator in either class of subdivisions, except in extreme cases, and then only when authority has been previously granted by the superintendent of census. The superintendent of census shall prescribe uniform methods and suitable forms for keeping accounts of the number of people enumerated or of the time occupied in field-work for the purpose of ascertaining the

amounts due to enumerators, severally, under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 12. That the subdivision assigned to any enumerator shall not exceed four thousand inhabitants, as near as may be, according to estimates based on the tenth census. The boundaries of all subdivisions shall be clearly described by civil divisions, rivers, roads, public surveys, or other easily distinguished lines.

SEC. 13. That any supervisor or enumerator, who, having taken and subscribed the oath required by this act, shall, without justifiable cause, neglect or refuse to perform the duties enjoined on him by this act, or shall, without the authority of the superintendent, communicate to any person not authorized to receive the same, any information gained by him in the performance of his duties, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not exceeding five hundred dollars; or, if he shall willfully and knowingly swear or affirm falsely, he shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and, on conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned not exceeding three years, and be fined not exceeding eight hundred dollars; or, if he shall willfully and knowingly make false certificates or fictitious returns, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction of either of the last-named offenses, he shall be fined not exceeding five thousand dollars and be imprisoned not exceeding two years.

SEC. 14. That if any person shall receive or secure to himself any fee, reward, or compensation as a consideration for the appointment or employment of any person as enumerator or clerk or other employee, or shall in any way receive or secure to himself any part of the compensation provided in this act for the services of any enumerator or clerk or other employee, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than three thousand dollars, or be imprisoned not more than one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 15. That each and every person more than twenty years of age, belonging to any family residing in any enumeration district or subdivision, and in case of the absence of the heads and other members of any such family, then any representative of such family shall be, and each of them hereby is, required, if thereto requested by the superintendent, supervisor, or enumerator to render a true account to the best of his or her knowledge, of every person belonging to such family in the various particulars required by law; and whoever shall willfully fail or refuse shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars.

And every president, treasurer, secretary, agent, director, or other officer of every corporation from which answers to any of the schedules provided for by this act are herein required, who shall, if thereto requested by the superintendent, supervisor, or enumerator, willfully neglect or refuse to give true and complete answers to any inquiries authorized by this act, or shall willfully give false information, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not exceeding ten thousand dollars, to which may be added imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year.

SEC. 16. That all fines and penalties imposed by this act may be enforced by indictment or information in any court of competent jurisdiction.

SEC. 17. That the schedules of inquiries at the eleventh census shall be the same as those contained in section number twenty-two hundred and six of the Revised Statutes of the United States, of eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, as amended by section seventeen of the act entitled "An act to provide for taking the tenth and subsequent censuses," approved March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, with such changes of the subject-matter, emendations, and modifications as may be approved by the Secretary of the Interior; it being the intent of this section to give to the secretary full discretion over the form of the schedules of such inquiries: *Provided*, however, that said superintendent shall, under the authority of the Secretary of the Interior, cause to be taken on a special schedule of inquiry, according to such form as he may prescribe, the names, organizations, and length of service of those who had served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the war of the rebellion, and who are survivors at the time of said inquiry, and the widows of soldiers, sailors or marines: *And provided*, That the population schedule shall include an inquiry as to the number of negroes, mulattoes, quadroons, and octoquads. The report which the superintendent of census (if directed by said Secretary) is required to obtain from railroad corporations, incorporated express companies, telegraph companies, and insurance companies, and from all corporations or establishments reporting products other than agricultural products, shall be of and for the fiscal year of such corporations or

establishments having its termination nearest to the first of June, eighteen hundred and ninety; the superintendent of census shall collect and publish the statistics of the population, industries, and resources of the district of Alaska, with such fullness as he may deem expedient, and as he shall find practicable under the appropriations made, or to be made, for the expenses of the eleventh census. He shall also, at the time of the general enumeration herein provided for, or prior thereto, as the Secretary of the Interior may determine, collect the statistics of and relating to the recorded indebtedness of private corporations and individuals, and make report thereof to Congress; and he shall collect, from official sources, information relating to animals not on farms. The only volumes that shall be prepared and published in connection with said census shall relate to population and social statistics relating thereto, the products of manufactures, mining, and agriculture, mortality and vital statistics, valuation and public indebtedness, recorded indebtedness, and to statistics relating to railroad corporations, incorporated express, telegraph, and insurance companies, a list of the names, organizations, and length of service of surviving soldiers, sailors, and marines, and the widows of soldiers, sailors, and marines.

SEC. 18. That each enumerator in his subdivision shall be charged with the collection of the facts and statistics required by each and all the several schedules, with the following exceptions, to wit: In cities or States where an official registration of deaths is maintained, the superintendent of census, may in his discretion, withhold the mortality schedule from the several enumerators within such cities or States, and may obtain the statistics required by this act through official records, paying therefor such sum as may be found necessary, not exceeding the amount which is by this act authorized to be paid to enumerators for a similar service, namely, two cents for each death thus returned. Whenever he shall deem it expedient, the superintendent of census may withhold the schedules for manufacturing, mining, and social statistics from the enumerators of the several subdivisions, and may charge the collection of these statistics upon experts and special agents, to be employed without respect to locality. And said superintendent may employ experts and special agents to investigate and ascertain the statistics of the manufacturing, railroad, fishing, mining, cattle, and other industries of the country, and of telegraph, express, transportation, and insurance companies as he may designate and require.

And the superintendent of census shall, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, prepare schedules containing such interrogatories as shall be accounted for in such way as the Secretary of the Interior shall direct, and covered into the Treasury of the United States to be placed to the credit of, and in addition to, the appropriation herein made for taking the eleventh census.

SEC. 19. That the Secretary of the Interior may authorize the expenditure of the necessary sums for the traveling expenses of the officers and employees connected with the taking of the census, and the incidental expenses essential to the carrying out of this act, including the rental of convenient quarters in the District of Columbia and the furnishing thereof, and an outfit for printing small blanks, tally-sheets, circulars, and so forth, and shall from time to time make a detailed report to Congress of such expenditures.

SEC. 20. That the act entitled "An act to provide for the taking of the tenth and subsequent censuses," approved March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, and all laws and parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed; and all censuses subsequent to the eleventh census shall be taken in accordance with the provisions of this act, unless Congress shall hereafter otherwise provide.

Approved, March 1, 1889.

ing, and it shall not be lawful for the Secretary of the Interior or the superintendent of census to incur any expense or obligation whatever, in respect to said census, in excess of that sum; and the sum of one million dollars is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be immediately available, and continue available until the completion of the eleventh census.

SEC. 21. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, whenever he may think proper, to call upon any other Department or office of the Government for information pertinent to the enumeration herein required.

SEC. 22. Any supervisor of census may, with the consent of the superintendent of census, remove any enumerator in his district, and fill the vacantacy thereby caused or otherwise occurring; and in such cases but one compensation shall be allowed for the entire service, to be apportioned among the persons performing the same in the discretion of the superintendent of census.

SEC. 23. That upon the request of any municipal government, meaning thereby the incorporated government of any town, village, township, or city, or kindred municipality, the superintendent of census shall furnish such government with a copy of the names, with age, sex, birthplace and color, or race, of all persons enumerated within the territory in the jurisdiction of such municipality, and such copies shall be paid for by such municipal government at the rate of twenty-five cents for each one hundred names, and all sums so received by the superintendent of census shall be accounted for in such way as the Secretary of the Interior shall direct, and covered into the Treasury of the United States to be placed to the credit of, and in addition to, the appropriation herein made for taking the eleventh census.

SEC. 24. That the Secretary of the Interior may authorize the expenditure of the necessary sums for the traveling expenses of the officers and employees connected with the taking of the census, and the incidental expenses essential to the carrying out of this act, including the rental of convenient quarters in the District of Columbia and the furnishing thereof, and an outfit for printing small blanks, tally-sheets, circulars, and so forth, and shall from time to time make a detailed report to Congress of such expenditures.

SEC. 25. That the act entitled "An act to provide for the taking of the tenth and subsequent censuses," approved March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, and all laws and parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed; and all censuses subsequent to the eleventh census shall be taken in accordance with the provisions of this act, unless Congress shall hereafter otherwise provide.

The cotton crop of 1867, which aggregated only 2,097,254 bales returned to the farmers \$279,354,232, while the crop of 1887, which was the largest ever produced and aggregated 7,046,833 bales only returned \$263,269,680.

Does the sub-treasury plan not offer the cotton producers a defense against the robbery which has been perpetrated upon them for the past quarter of a century? The fact is that it is wonderful that the farmers of America are not in a still more abject condition than they are; no other people on earth could have withstood such a strain upon their energies and endurance. Any other people would have become actual serfs.

Lecturer Ben Terrell's Appointments in Alabama.  
Evergreen, Monday, January 20.  
Brewton, Tuesday, January 21.  
Clanton, Thursday, January 23.  
Wetumpka, Friday, January 24.  
Dadeville, Monday, January 27.  
Alexander City, Tuesday, January 28.  
Opelika, Wednesday, January 29.  
LaFayette, Thursday, January 30.  
Wedowee, Friday, January 31.  
Notasulga, Monday, February 3.  
Tuskegee, Tuesday, February 4.  
Union Springs, Wednesday, February 5.  
Troy, Thursday, February 6.  
Eufaula, Friday, February 7.  
Clayton, Saturday, February 8.  
Ozark, Monday, February 10.  
Headland, Tuesday, February 11.

## The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS  
ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C.  
BY "THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST" PUBLISHING COMPANY.

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

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

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

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.

### MONEY LOANED TO THE PEOPLE.

A few days since Senator Cullom introduced a bill (by request), coming from an organization of farmers in Coles county, Illinois, asking the Government to loan the surplus in the Treasury at two per cent interest on good land security. The Washington Post criticised this proposition at some length, in the course of which it said:

This is somewhat contrary to the principle announced by ex-President Cleveland, and repeated, if we recollect aright, in the recent oration of Chief Justice Fuller, that it is rather the duty of the people to support the Government than the province of the Government to support the people, but the scheme has elements of popularity, and were the Secretary of the Treasury to open a real estate and loan office there is no doubt but he would soon be overrun with business. If Uncle Sam is rich enough to buy us all a farm, as the old song has it, he is certainly rich enough to buy all the farms in at mortgage sale, which would naturally follow fast upon the adoption of the Coles county plan. What he would do with them after he had foreclosed is not so easy to comprehend. But is it not a matter of regretful wonder that at this stage in the history of the country, and with the knowledge of the principles of our Government that is generally supposed to obtain, an organization of intelligent farmers in the great State of Illinois should seriously approach the Congress of the United States with such a proposition, instead of demanding to be relieved of the unnecessary taxation by which a surplus in the Treasury is being piled up?

This is a sample of the numerous arguments used when farmers demand equal privileges with other citizens. The action of these farmers was in strict accord with the motto of their organization, "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none." In this they were mistaken, as the time has not yet come when these sentiments prevail in this Government.

The Alliance makes its own declaration of purposes, clear, distinct and unequivocal. One of its purposes is not to break up the Democratic party on the one hand, or the Republican party on the other. Why then do political editors insist that they mean to do first one, then the other, and sometimes both, and to set up in their room an oath-bound, secret, political organization? We have denied this until we are tired denying it. Once more, the thing is not true. The Alliance does not aim at the destruction of political parties, but the reform and control of them. No purpose is entertained by the organization of setting men by the ears, nor of indulging in the asperities which have so long disgraced political debate. Our purpose is, if we can, to take the political parties out of the hands of the petty bosses, in-

cluding those of every kind and degree. We intend to assert the power of numbers in the primaries, and thereby, if we can, take the party nominations out of the hands of people who have controlled them, and to nominate and elect better men. This we have a clear right to do, and we can not be driven from our purpose by the idle denunciations and "noisy breath" of self-constituted censors, editors or others. If they have a fancy to fill the air with this sort of "inarticulate howls," no man will hinder them. Neither will any sensible man any more regard them than does he the howling of the farmer laborers in the field, while the banker sits idly in his office. As for less taxation, the farmers have been asking for that ever since the war, but to no purpose. Less taxation means less office-holders; therein lies the difficulty. It matters but little what ex-President Cleveland or any one else may say in regard to the duty of citizens and the responsibility of Government. The plain truth is, the people have given a most loyal support to all Government measures, hoping that relief might in the end be brought about. These hopes have not been realized, and the idea is becoming quite prevalent that the administration of national affairs needs reforming. This real estate and loan business, mortgage sales, etc., etc., to which the Post so flippantly alludes, are real factors in the lives of our toiling agricultural population. Even within sight of the office in which this article is written, land can be seen not worth ten dollars per acre because of the conditions this contemplated action seeks to remedy. The form of this bill may be somewhat crude and its demands an innovation, but the principle is sound, and in the near future will be admitted as just and proper. Instead, therefore, of ridiculing measures sent to Congress by the farmers for consideration, it would be much more generous and profitable for our large journals to consider them carefully, and if possible ascertain the causes which have led to the necessity of such action. There is a wide field of usefulness and an abundant reward awaiting that daily newspaper which espouses at the present time the cause of the farmers.

**WHAT DOES THE ALLIANCE MEAN?**  
The Alliance makes its own declaration of purposes, clear, distinct and unequivocal. One of its purposes is not to break up the Democratic party on the one hand, or the Republican party on the other. Why then do political editors insist that they mean to do first one, then the other, and sometimes both, and to set up in their room an oath-bound, secret, political organization? We have denied this until we are tired denying it. Once more, the thing is not true. The Alliance does not aim at the destruction of political parties, but the reform and control of them. No purpose is entertained by the organization of setting men by the ears, nor of indulging in the asperities which have so long disgraced political debate. Our purpose is, if we can, to take the political parties out of the hands of the petty bosses, in-

brief piece of gratuitous advice we have for them and shut up. The situation of American agriculture is far too serious, the depressed and degraded condition of those who man all the great productive industries of this great country is far too grievous, for the Alliance to turn aside from its great mission to bandy words in idle dissension with these party henchmen. If parties can not discover a *modus vivendi* with the Alliance, we are afraid they must go. We desire a few closing words with those earnestly patriotic leaders of both parties whose abilities, whose experience, and whose services entitle them to the respect of the people. That there are such men in both parties we freely concede; we believe a greater number of them than is generally admitted. We say to them that they are in duty bound to give due diligence to the study of the true meaning of this Alliance movement on the part of those who, impelled by necessity, have concerted together to take measures for their common safety. We ask them to give to the solution of the great economic questions which must be solved, and speedily solved, on a non-partisan basis, the benefit of your talents, and experience, and influence. And we tell them plainly we will not consent to give indefinite support to men who are known to us to be at heart hostile to us, and unfriendly to our interests. We can not be relied upon to continue to give voting strength to parties which despise our necessities, and leaders who deliberately insult our intelligence. If this be party treason, make the most of it!

### A NEW BANKING SCHEME.

There was always one point in the national banking laws that favored the people. The loss or destruction of national bank bills was a net gain to the Government. The national bank act provided in substance that, upon the deposit of United States bonds by the banks 90 per cent of the amount would be given them in currency. Also, that upon wishing to call in or retire this currency, the banks could take the amount (90 per cent) in United States notes (greenbacks), deposit them with the Treasury and receive back their bonds. This ended the bank's interest in the matter. If some of the 90 per cent of currency was for any reason not presented for redemption, the Government was a gainer by that amount. It has been a matter of much anxiety on the part of the banks as to a method by which the Government could be deprived of even this opportunity of getting a dollar now and then as profit out of this system. Of course it was not theirs by right, as they had received all that was due them, but such considerations do not count in a transaction between the Government and the banks. Each comptroller of the currency has tried to show how little is lost, and what a large per cent of this currency is presented for redemption.

A scheme has at last been devised by which this lost currency can be utilized by the banks, and the amounts paid by them to the Government as the one per cent on

circulation refunded. Ex-Comptroller John J. Knox will at once, so the New York papers say, instruct Congress to pass a bill making as a basis of national bank issues, 70 per cent of silver bullion estimated at market value, and the remaining 30 per cent to be composed of the funds charged to lost or unredeemed bank bills, greenbacks, and tax on bank circulation. This example of financial modesty comes from a man who pulled the wires that ran the late silver convention that the country has heard so much about lately. He not only wants the loss on the national bank currency, but also that on the greenback, credited to the profit of national banks. It is not definitely known how much of this circulation has been lost or destroyed. One fact remains, however, there is about \$87,000,000 held by the treasury as a redemption fund, which is much greater than the amount owned by the banks that have recently begun to liquidate. The present comptroller devotes considerable space to this question, and advocates the same idea so far as bank issues are concerned. He quotes from Ex-Comptroller Knox in regard to this matter quite extensively, which goes to show the relationship between Wall street and the treasury.

This fact alone is evidence enough that there is a large per cent of those bills unredeemed, and consequently a large amount of money in the hands of the Government, that this scheme would turn over to the banks.

These people never play for small stakes. We can form some opinion of the amount by comparing it with the fractional currency. There were issues and re-issues of this kind of currency amounting in all to \$368,000,000. The loss on this amount was about \$15,000,000. It must be remembered that about \$46,000,000 of this currency was the largest amount in circulation at any one time. There has been not less than \$10,000,000 of national bank and legal tender currency issued, re-issued and redeemed during the last 25 years. Certainly out of this vast amount some must have been lost. If but a small per cent it would in this length of time amount to many millions. No doubt this scheme will be undertaken, and unless closely watched will be successful.

In the compilation of the proceedings of the St. Louis meeting a serious error has been pointed out. Section 20 of the statutory laws should be eliminated and the following substituted in its stead:

That the question of eligibility be left to each State, subject to the limitations of the constitution.

After much debate and many amendments to that section as it came from the committee, this resolution was offered as a substitute for the whole section and adopted. The small scrap of paper on which this resolution was written became mixed up with a number similar in character relating to the eligibility clause in the constitution, which was under discussion the same day, hence this mistake. The section will be corrected in the official publication. This correction is made at the earliest moment, and it is hoped that no harm has been done.

An error has also been discovered in the published minutes, which placed the salary of the National Lecturer at \$3,000. This should have read \$2,000.

### RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

BY JAS. F. HUDSON

Author of "The Railways and the Republic."

NO. 38.

### THE PLEA FOR THE POOL.

The question whether the concentrated masses of capital shall have privileges in the increase of their wealth and power that are denied to the people is involved in the question of combinations to prevent competition between railway corporations. This is the third and most vital branch of the railway question. The divisions of the subject which we have been discussing heretofore are, to a certain extent, *res adjudicata*. Discriminations between individual shippers are acknowledged by intelligent railway theorists to be unjust and demoralizing. Discriminations between localities are generally conceded to be something to be avoided whenever possible. The discussion of these abuses has been necessary mainly to produce a clear understanding of their causes and to give the public judgment a clear estimate of the railway argument that the way to abolish them is to suppress competition altogether.

The issue as to corporate combinations for the suppression of competition is also one that has been settled in the sense of being forbidden by the law and denounced by the courts; but that settlement has not been accepted by the corporate school. The determination of the organized masses of capital to dispute and, if possible reverse the declarations of common and statute law against such combinations, is shown in the effort of the railway writers to hold up competition as the cause of all the corporate abuses. It is declared by the constantly renewed efforts to secure the amendment or repeal of the enactments against railway pooling in national and State legislation. Finally, the emphatic expression of the corporate idea that the law must be warped to suit the peculiar desires of combinations appears in the constant effort to form combinations so cunningly devised as to evade the letter of the law, and at the same time violate its spirit by methods which will suppress competition without incurring the penalties prescribed by law for such attempts.

In this development of the question it becomes a matter of the last importance for the people to closely study and clearly apprehend the issue involved in the question of corporate combinations. It is not alone the forbidden practice of railway pooling that is to be discussed and decided. The entire subject of trusts and all combinations to secure the attainment of trade monopolies stand on the same basis. The railway pool is the most prominent of its class because it has in the past dozen years been most widely attempted; because it has been the form of combination sought by the greatest and

most important of the corporate interests of the land; and because if successful in abolishing competition it could levy the greatest burdens on the productive industry of the people, and at the same time create in the hands of the favored few the largest amount of monopolistic wealth. Other combinations for the purpose of abolishing competition in smaller interests have attained greater success, and reaped an immensely larger proportion of profits than the railway pool has ever attained. But they all stand upon the same basis, as attempts to suppress competition; they all occupy the same relation to the public interests as making a practical claim for special privilege in exemption from that regulative force.

If it be permissible to relieve the railways from competition among themselves, it must be permissible for refiners of sugar and petroleum, for manufacturers of cotton bagging, for crushers of cotton seed oil, or for any other interest that can attain that fortunate privilege. If the greatest and most powerful corporate interest is prevented from forming such combinations the organizations for the same purpose in the smaller interests can be easily brought into subjection. The railway pools, the Standard Oil combination, the sugar trust, the cotton bagging combine, and all the lesser members of that monopolistic brood stand in exactly the same relation toward the popular interests.

They are efforts to secure the special advantage in the acquisition of wealth that can be drawn from the suspension of competition in their favor. The differences between them lie mainly in the forms of organization to attain the same end, and in the fact that the railway pools as the combination of the greatest interest have been least successful, while some of the smaller interests have by practically the same method as was sought to be enforced by the railways presented the most signal example of the extortion of exorbitant wealth which, under competition, would have been distributed among the people.

The plea of necessity for the railway pool, which is repeated in the case of all the other combinations with more or less insistence, is that competition is ruinous to them. Even in the case of the trusts which have sprung up like weeds during the past two or three years, the stereotyped feature of their statements giving the reasons for their formation is that competition reduced them to an unprofitable business. Since the passage of the Interstate Commerce law, every effort to secure the repeal of the anti-pooling section has been heralded by the declaration of the organs of the corporate interests, that that section takes away the means by which the railroads are able to protect themselves from their own constant efforts to ruin each other.

Such an argument proves altogether too much in the practical declaration that the corporate organization which is intended to provide the strength of legitimately combined capital for the discharge of great industrial and commercial functions produces

and extended terms by the advocates of the system in the most deliberate attempts to justify it. Mr. Alexander, in the midst of an argument that the pools are intended to prevent rebates and discriminations, asserts: "Unrestricted competition, or war, among railroads means distress and injury to the community. \* \* It means bankruptcy to railroads and loss to investors, and finally financial crises and commercial panics in which the poor and weak suffer most. And until some practical plan of restraining competition within reasonable limits is devised, pooling must be resorted to as the only refuge from immediate and greater evils." Prof. Hadley in a more extended and frank effort to show the necessity of railway pools, in the ruin of competition between railroads, says: "The competition of different stores finds a natural limit. It brings the rates down near to cost of service and then stops. The competition of railroads or factories finds no such natural limit. Wherever there is a large permanent investment and large fixed charges, competition brings down rates below cost of service. The competitive business gives no money to pay repairs or interest. \* \* Then we have bankruptcy, ruin to the investor, and when these things happen on a large scale—a commercial crisis."

This plea that combination is necessary to preserve the railroads from the ruin which they would work upon themselves, if left free to competition, will be found upon critical examination to contain several features of which our railroad friends can hardly be aware when they advance it. It involves the practical assertion that the greatest concentrations of capital and the most carefully perfected forms of organization are, by reason of their size and strength, so weak that they are driven into reckless self-destruction by an influence to which every petty shop-keeper, and every farmer and laborer in the land is subject. The butcher who sells a steak from a village stall, the pettiest farmer who has two hundred bushels of wheat to sell in the West, or who makes four bales of cotton in the South, must sell his products subject to the unrestricted force of the competition of millions of other producers. The railway theorists find nothing to deplore in that fact; but when it comes to subjecting to the same influence the organized capital of great corporations, strong in their command of resources, fortified behind their concentrated wealth, and able to oppose greater individual strength to this allegedly destructive force than any other interest in the country, the cry is raised that loss, ruin and bankruptcy attend upon subjecting them to the same force under which the humblest and weakest of the land gain their living.

Such an argument proves altogether too much in the practical declaration that the corporate organization which is intended to provide the strength of legitimately combined capital for the discharge of great industrial and commercial functions produces

instead the most aggravated weakness and a universal and innate predisposition to financial suicide. The organization of capital into corporate form has been sanctioned and encouraged by the laws for the purpose of creating great public works and carrying great enterprises which were originally beyond the power of individual wealth and too vast for the abilities of personal management. This is the legitimate form of combining capital provided by the laws. It was expected that the strength of capital invested in this way, and the perfection of organization and training secured under these artificial creatures, would yield results that could not be obtained by the enterprise and labor either of individual or copartnership. Up to a comparatively recent stage it has been taken as a conceded fact that these results had been attained to an extent undreamed of by any of those who took part in the inception of the system. But now we are met by the deliberate and repeated assertion, not from the critics or assailants of the corporations, but from the representatives of the corporations themselves, that this very concentration of capital which was supposed to produce strength has produced the most aggravated weakness; that the combination of individual effort in the organization of the corporations produces an inability to withstand the temptation of ruin by competition which does not even exist to those engaged in individual efforts. The critics of the corporations have often been accused of making sweeping and unfounded charges, but they never made as sweeping nor a more vital charge against the very right of the corporations to exist than this allegation of the corporate school, that if left subject to the same influence which regulates the wages and prices of farmers, shop keepers and artisans, and under which the individual of each class must gain his living, the great and powerful corporations of the land will tumble into ruin and insolvency. If that is true it destroys the very purpose for which the corporations were created and leaves them in the position of organizations which have destroyed the very foundation of their own existence.

Another peculiar phase of this plea, in its reversal of the old claim of expert knowledge as an exclusive requirement for dealing with the railroad questions, has already been glanced at in connection with Mr. Alexander's statement of the impossibility of fixing freight rates in relation to the cost of service; but the contradiction is far more striking in this connection. The early arguments of the critics of railway abuses were almost universally met by the assertion that such questions could only be intelligently discussed by the trained experts of the railway school, who knew every element of cost in railway service, and whose decisions were based upon such a foundation of especial knowledge as to reduce the exceptions of untrained publicists to the level of mere impertinences. The same argument still crops

out at intervals; but it is wholly shattered to fragments by the more recent declaration that these expert and trained railway managers, if left each to conduct his business according to his own knowledge, will, one and all, reduce their corporations to universal ruin. The expert knowledge of the cost of service is, in the light of this declaration, shown to be only more wanton and reckless in reducing rates below that cost. The infallibility of their unrestrained acts is declared to be of the kind that produces only ruin and panic; and the spectacle has actually been presented within the past few years of the railway interests calling upon the legislative power to save them from the loss and ruin which it was alleged these same expert and infallible managers would bring upon them if left to conduct their business under the same influence of competition as that under which the majority of the mercantile and productive business of the country is safely carried on.

An argument which, upon such glaring self-contradictions thus claims the especial privilege of exemption from competition, which regulates the rewards of the great mass of productive industry, is not to be accepted without the most careful scrutiny. A claim by a special interest of the advantage of profits freed from the restraint of natural competition, upon a plea which on its face implies either the dishonesty or insanity of its own members, commends itself not to the approval of the public, but to examination with a view to discovering what ulterior motives lie beneath this remarkable effort of logic. Such a claim is especially subject to an unfavorable view, when it seeks to establish for a favored class advantages in acquiring wealth which in the nature of things are beyond the reach of masses, and when the argument in favor of rescuing the corporate interests from the penalty of their vices, either of organization or management, rests solely on the existence of the weakness, recklessness, or dishonesty which can only be eradicated by subjecting them to the penalty of business extinction which inevitably follows upon such vices in the conduct of ordinary business.

It is to an examination of this railway claim that it must be permitted to evade the free action of the universal law of competition, that the inquiry on which we are engaged must be next directed. In the examination of the nature, purposes and means adopted for the attainment of this corporate desire, we shall have to consider the subject of the pools and trusts closely related to the railway pool, in objects and methods which exist in other interests. In order to thoroughly comprehend the issues involved we must study the foundations and workings of the influence of competition, not only in its direct effect upon the prices of commodities, but in its far wider and deeper influence upon the distribution of industries and the assignment to every class of its proper share in the rewards of industry. To examine this sub-

ject carefully will require protracted and careful discussion; but it involves in its effects upon our commercial system the very principles upon which the liberties of this country are founded, and comprises the very basis of the economic questions of the day.

To decide the issue of special privilege for organized wealth as against corresponding disadvantage and burdens for the people at large; of guarding classes of enterprises favored by their ability to combine against competition between themselves from the natural penalties of their own follies, errors or misdeeds; and of permitting the establishment of influences which shall levy arbitrary and enhanced charges upon the producers and consumers of the land, is certainly a matter calling for the most thorough inquiry and careful consideration. If the policy of corporate combinations to suppress competition involves these results, the welfare of the people must forbid its enforcement. If its attempts are devoid of such noxious effects the fact should appear plainly in its character and history. It is well worth while to study all the forms of combinations, to examine their history, and to fully weigh every claim made in their behalf in order to give a final and decisive answer to the question:

Is corporate wealth entitled to special exemption from the principle of free competition which regulates the prices and distributes the rewards of the great mass of productive industry?

#### Coming Our Way.

The business men's meeting at Watertown more fully demonstrates their attitude toward the farmers, and we print the resolutions adopted in the interests of needed legislation with much satisfaction.

1. That such legislation be had promoting immigration, under the control of a well equipped state immigration bureau with branches in the several counties or districts of the state, and reasonable appropriations be made to carry forward the work.

2. That all warehouses and elevators be declared public warehouses and elevators; that weighing, grading and dockage be regulated by law.

3. That stringent legislation be had to restrain the taking of a higher rate of interest for the use or forbearance of money than is allowed by law.

4. That there should be legislation regarding the toll or exchange of millers.

5. That the rate of interest on tax certificates be reduced, and that the counties be required to give public notice through their respective treasurers at least six months before the issuance of deed.

6. That a law be enacted permitting counties to raise money for emergent cases, such as have confronted counties in the drought stricken districts this season.

Where resolutions like the above are enthusiastically adopted by our best business men, among whom were bankers, it proves a great change of opinion. We have urged our business men to carefully study the purposes for which the farmers are organizing, claiming that if they once understood us they would become our staunch supporters. That much desired time has come; and if the Alliance will act with wisdom, this support

will not only remain but will continue to grow until our hopes have been lost in the fruition of success.

The above is taken from the Dakota (Aberdeen) Ruralist, and shows that our brethren of that State understand what this fight is about.

#### The Sub-Treasury Plan.

The Alliance Motor, Broken Bow, Neb., in commenting upon this system, says:

We wish to call attention to the above and explain more fully the import of the article. If the Government would build grain and cotton warehouses as above indicated in every county throughout the United States and allow our farmers to store their grain, and issue certificates that could be used as a circulating medium among the people, it would greatly relieve the present depressing times and bring a great degree of prosperity to our agricultural people. It would be no more than the Government has done for the liquor interest of the country, as they have built warehouses for the purpose of storing the liquors of the wealthy distillers and liquor interests of the United States until the uncollected revenue on the liquor now stored in these Government warehouses amounts to forty-six million dollars, to say nothing of the cost of buildings. We wish to remind the people also that our Government has issued to a class of our citizens known as national bankers, but more properly money sharks and gold gamblers, circulating notes to the amount of \$202,000,000 almost without cost to them. But some will say this is an unheard of and not a feasible or practical plan. To all such we wish to cite them to the following bit of French history:

The writer here quotes from the report of the monetary committee the extract in relation to the French plan so successfully operated in 1849.

We ask our farmer friends to take this matter into consideration and talk it up in our Alliance meetings. It will be a more effectual plan than building elevators on the co-operative joint stock plan.

THE cornfields of Kansas are less than five hundred miles from the coal fields of Illinois, but under the wise public policy of our Government the coal miners of Illinois are starving for want of Kansas corn, while the farmers of Kansas are freezing from lack of Illinois coal. We have lived under the present public policy for the past quarter of a century, during which time railroad monopolies and coal combines have been permitted to bring about the above conditions. With the farmers of Kansas burning corn for fuel and the coal miners of Illinois starving for it, is there any wonder that people are calling for reforms?

The farmers have organized for the purpose of eliminating these conditions. They know it is not right to burn corn when there is an abundance of coal. Neither is it right for people to go hungry for want of this same corn. They are beginning to ask each other if it is not time some other policy was tried.

The present policy of government has been thoroughly tested and found wanting, and the belief is rapidly gaining strength that the times are ripe for a change.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## PHOSPHORUS.

Of special importance in its relation both to the structure and functions of living organisms is the element phosphorus. In nature it exists only in combination, because of its great affinity for oxygen, which is the basis of many brilliant laboratory experiments and many disastrous outbreaks of spontaneous conflagration. The universal distribution of this element, which is an essential necessity wherever life is to be supported on the face of the globe, must, therefore, be provided by means of such distribution of phosphoric compounds. It occurs abundantly as phosphate of lime in the well-known mineral substances, coprolite, phosphorite, and apatite. It occurs also generally diffused through all fertile soils as phosphates of iron and alumina as well as of lime and magnesia. From such sources it is gathered and condensed by grasses and cereals, especially in their seeds, and animals, and, no less, human populations, feeding on these, yet further condense the phosphates, especially the calcium phosphate, which in general constitutes 55 percent of their bones. In many mineral phosphates, which are merely ancient bones, by the loss of all organic matter, only in part replaced by silicious and other foreign substances, the percentage of phosphate rises to above 60 per cent. The ultimate purpose of the vast distribution of phosphates outlined thus briefly is to provide solidity and strength for the bones of animals and ultimately of man. That which occurs when there is either too much or too little phosphate in bones is an object lesson, teaching the importance of adhering to the precise formula of nature. If there is in bones too little phosphates they assume a cartilaginous form, bending out of all shape, and unable to preserve the natural position or to support the movements of the body. If too much phosphate, we have the technical "fragilitas ossium," or brittle bone. Then the slightest accident breaks all the bones in pieces, as in the case of an old man, with this "fragilitas," slipping on the ice and shattering a thigh bone all to pieces, or in the pathetic case of the great race-horse McWhirter, when running a splendid race the cannons of both forelegs broke up under him and he fell powerless to earth, unable to rise again, and was obliged to be shot where he lay. We cannot depart from the formula of nature; that is to say, we are not able to improve the plans or the works of God any more than we are able to discern such of his purposes as are not revealed in nature. The chemistry of phosphorus is interesting and peculiar. When pure and in the ordinary form it is a very deadly and virulent poison, the allotrope, red, amorphous phosphorus appears to be harmless. As matches are placed in the reach of all classes of persons, including children, the very deadly character of the phosphorous with which they are tipped should be well known and understood. The red or non-poisonous is not sufficiently sensitive to friction to be used for matches. Phosphoric poisons for vermin are made of active phosphorus, and the manufacture and sale of them should be legally prohibited, because the body of a roach or mouse thus poisoned may long thereafter originate a disastrous conflagration, and justice, being blind, may hang an innocent person for the destruction caused by a dead mouse. Phosphorus, when heated above

its melting point,  $112^{\circ}$  F., as it often is, or may be if exposed to summer sun, inevitably takes fire. The flame of burning phosphorus is not easily communicated to hard substances, such as wood, because it rapidly incrusts them in a fire-proof coat of phosphoric anhydride, which the oxidation of the phosphorus produces; for this reason ordinary matches are coated with sulphur or other inflammable substances before being tipped with the phosphorus. Slow oxidation of phosphorus is accompanied by the peculiar luminosity known as phosphorescence and by the formation of ozone. The result of the oxidation of phosphorus is usually phosphoric anhydride, which in contact with water produces phosphoric acid, and the hydrogen of this acid being replaceable by a metal or other basic substance extensive series of salts are found, called phosphates. Phosphorus combines with oxygen and hydrogen in different proportions to form six different acids, each forming with basic substances its own series of salts. Besides these moreover, gaseous, solid and liquid phosphides of hydrogen exist. Phosphorus unites also with many metals and basic substances in forming compounds, called phosphorides or phosphates. The purpose here had in view does not contemplate the ordinary chemical details of the extremely various chemical behavior of phosphorus. The phosphates, which are merely ancient bones, by the loss of all organic matter, only in part replaced by silicious and other foreign substances, the percentage of phosphate rises to above 60 per cent. The ultimate purpose of the vast distribution of phosphates outlined thus briefly is to provide solidity and strength for the bones of animals and ultimately of man. That which occurs when there is either too much or too little phosphate in bones is an object lesson, teaching the importance of adhering to the precise formula of nature. If there is in bones too little phosphates they assume a cartilaginous form, bending out of all shape, and unable to preserve the natural position or to support the movements of the body. If too much phosphate, we have the technical "fragilitas ossium," or brittle bone. Then the slightest accident breaks all the bones in pieces, as in the case of an old man, with this "fragilitas," slipping on the ice and shattering a thigh bone all to pieces, or in the pathetic case of the great race-horse McWhirter, when running a splendid race the cannons of both forelegs broke up under him and he fell powerless to earth, unable to rise again, and was obliged to be shot where he lay. We cannot depart from the formula of nature; that is to say, we are not able to improve the plans or the works of God any more than we are able to discern such of his purposes as are not revealed in nature. The chemistry of phosphorus is interesting and peculiar. When pure and in the ordinary form it is a very deadly and virulent poison, the allotrope, red, amorphous phosphorus appears to be harmless. As matches are placed in the reach of all classes of persons, including children, the very deadly character of the phosphorous with which they are tipped should be well known and understood. The red or non-poisonous is not sufficiently sensitive to friction to be used for matches. Phosphoric poisons for vermin are made of active phosphorus, and the manufacture and sale of them should be legally prohibited, because the body of a roach or mouse thus poisoned may long thereafter originate a disastrous conflagration, and justice, being blind, may hang an innocent person for the destruction caused by a dead mouse. Phosphorus, when heated above

leaching action of copious rain and in small degree to evaporation and drying by sun and wind. In the earlier stage of the fermentation of a dung heap loss by exposure to weather is small, but when the fermentation has nearly done its work, much larger quantities of the valuable materials have been rendered soluble and capable of leaching out of the manure. Let it be remembered the soil has a power of retaining these valuable materials which the carbonaceous residue of a well-fermented manure heap does not possess. There will be large loss by leaching the manure, small loss or none by leaching soil by means of ordinary rainfall. In the management of a compost heap keep this fact in view. During the low temperature of winter, in farm-yard manure spread loosely over open lots, the fermentation is slow, and unless the slope be such as to wash the unfermented materials bodily away the loss by washing will be small. If, as is common, this manure be piled in heaps at the close of winter and left exposed, the fermentation proceeds with great rapidity, and the loss from leaching the mass is very great. If the manure which has collected in the feeding yards during winter is taken up at the beginning of spring, the loss has been small, and if it now goes on to the land there is an end of the loss. But if it goes into heaps and is left exposed in the yards, in no long time it will not be worth hauling out. In order to fire manure fork it. Keep it over winter in a compact heap, slowly fermenting. Keep it well moistened, and with sufficient strawfodder and such material as does not rapidly undergo putrefactive fermentation; it will not heat. Do not leave it all summer in the heap to be applied in the fall, especially unless there is a cemented or at least thoroughly puddled pit under the foundation of the heap to save what would otherwise be a total loss by leaching. If kept under cover water will have to be added to prevent firing. Horse manure develops rapid putrefaction and much heat, to prevent which mix it in a heap with other manure and with refuse materials of various kinds. The next best method is to clean the yards frequently, haul out on the land at once, and let the soil be the manure heap; the soil receives incidental benefit from fermentation within it.

## BREEDING TROTTERS.

The newspapers have a paragraph on the views of Senator Stanford about breeding trotters. The sum of the whole matter is that the breeder of Sundol believes that the two minute trotter that is to be will be very nearly, if not quite thoroughbred, and that he backs his judgment by sending fifty thoroughbred mares to a standard bred trotter, offering to match the average speed of twenty colts so bred against the average speed of any twenty standard bred trotting colts the produce of one stallion. He thinks that by eliminating the "unknown" element in the pedigrees of standard bred trotters and replacing it with known and select thoroughbred blood he will increase the uniformity, the style, the durability and the speed of trotters. These views and opinions now attributed to the breeder of Sundol, are identical in substance, and nearly identical in words with the opinions of this writer, stated in private correspondence with the late Gen. W. T. Withers, and published in a series of articles on the principles of breeding in the Southern Planter some twelve years since. Thereupon the horse-writers of that day "jumped on" a body with extraordinary unanimity and vim, Wallace of "The Monthly" among them. Will they now also "jump on" the breeder of Sundol?

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Not a doubt of it. But will our readers mark this, viz: Trotters of the near future are going to be common which will do a mile in two minutes or better, and they are going to be practically thoroughbred taught another way of going, the offspring of inbred trotting sires from daughters and granddaughters of thoroughbred stallions, as we stated the case a few numbers back.

## THE PEACE OF RUIN.

"The empire is peace," said Napoleon, and the guns of Sedan were being shotted while he spoke:

Within our own borders a general condition of prosperity prevails. The harvests of the last summer were exceptionally abundant and the trade conditions now prevailing seem to promise a successful season to the merchant and the manufacturer and the general employment of our working people.

So said President Harrison in his late message. The deception of his courtiers blinded the Emperor and led to his downfall. What element hides from President Harrison the true situation? Mr. Harrison was not "born to the purple." He was once a poor lad, and knew what poverty and want means and is. He has never been called an aristocrat, but came from common stock, and during his whole life has associated more or less with what is called the common people. Certainly with these opportunities for obtaining information and the good sense and judgment a man should have to reach the position he now occupies, it is strange indeed that such a statement should come from him. He is the last man among the millions of our country who should have made these assertions. The sources of information which would lead to a declaration like the above must have been manufactured for that especial purpose, because all the newspapers, excepting a few party organs, have been filled with cries of business disaster for many months. That he made the above statement is true, but why he made it, or what peculiar pressure was brought to bear in order that he should make it, will no doubt remain a mystery. At the time this statement was made the following letter from the Poet Whittier was being written to a friend in New York:

DANVERS, MASS., Dec. 1, 1889.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I thank thee for thy noble "testimony" in regard to the sad decline of N. E. agriculture. Every year when I go to the N. H. hill country I find more and more abandoned farms, and the sight takes away much of the pleasure of a sojourn in view of the mountains. I hope thy article, with which I fully agree, will be widely read. It should be published in pamphlet form and scattered broadcast. I am very faithfully thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

These few lines briefly describe the condition of one class of citizens in New England among whom prosperity does not prevail. The condition of the starving miners of Streator, Illinois, proved that another portion of our citizens were not enjoying their share of the prosperity spoken of. The destitution among the farmers of Dakota and North Carolina does not agree with this assumed condition.

The Illinois Bureau of Labor statistics for 1888, showing the mortgage indebtedness of 102 counties, is given below:

No. of mort's.	Cash Total.	Prop. enumbered.
Lands.....	\$147,320,054	8,082,793
Lots.....	142,750	246,704,729
Chattels.....	74,740	22,354,487
Total .....	310,267	\$416,379,197

This table shows that 8,082,793 acres of land in this State are under mortgage, beside those on 237,337 village and city lots. It is further shown that during that year 125,923 new mortgages were recorded to secure the payment of \$117,152,857. Those mortgages covered 2,178,532 acres of land and 95,066 village and city lots. A little calculation will show that this new indebtedness for a single year amounted to nearly one-fourth of the whole.

A farmer from Ashtabula County, Ohio, writes a Chicago paper, "That the farmers are all distracted hereabout; they can't sell enough of anything to pay taxes with. Cattle have not been so low and so little in demand for forty years. If I have good luck I may then be able to sell out, but I shall be glad to be able to sell for a third of what I refused a few years ago. Wherever I go I hear complaints of the scarcity of money among farmers. One farm, under splendid cultivation, just two miles from town and only forty rods from the railroad track, was recently sold for \$14 an acre, although it was purchased not long ago for \$45 an acre."

The Labor Report of Michigan for 1888 shows that out of the 90,803 farms in that State reported, 43,079 were mortgaged. That the annual tribute paid as interest amounted to \$2,701,669. By estimating the balance of the State not reported by the ratio of what was reported, Michigan is in debt \$64,392,580 on farms alone, with an annual interest of \$4,636,265. In one county there were 366 mortgage foreclosures in one year.

A correspondent from Mabel, Neb., writes the Monitor (Jefferson City, Mo.): "How are the toilers here? Their condition is all the word deplorable implies. Within three and one-half miles of my home there are thirty quarter-sections of land mortgaged and abandoned." Taken as a whole, the reports from these four States do not indicate "general prosperity within their borders."

This line of research might be made throughout the entire country, and not one single section or one single State could be found enjoying the blessings of that prosperity which President Harrison claims is dispersed so generally all over our land. Such conditions are not possible under present circumstances. All the products of labor are below cost of production. Wheat at 50 cents per bushel, corn at 16 cents per bushel, oats 9 cents per bushel, and beef at 2 cents per pound, are not promoters of prosperity. These prices are the harbingers of distress and disaster. They bring with them bankruptcy and ruin. These prices mean debt, distress and misery, and no one knows this better than President Harrison. When he wrote this paragraph, Bradstreet was telling him that the failures of this year would far outnumber those of last year. He was also aware that his Secretary of the Treasury was paying a heavy tribute to the bondholders in order to partially supply the people with money, and thereby save them from ruin.

**THE SUB-TREASURY PLAN.****Declaration of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.****REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MONETARY SYSTEM.**

The financial policy of the general Government seems to-day to be peculiarly adapted to further the interests of the speculating class, at the expense, and to the manifest detriment of the productive class, and while there are many forms of relief offered, there has up to the present time been no true remedy presented which has secured a support universal enough to render its adoption probable. Neither of the political parties offer a remedy adequate to our necessities, and the two parties that have been in power since the war have pursued practically the same financial policy. The situation is this: The most desirable and necessary reform is one that will adjust the financial system of the general Government so that its provisions cannot be utilized by a class, which thereby becomes privileged and is in consequence contrary to the genius of our Government, and which is to-day the principal cause of the depressed condition of agriculture. Regardless of all this the political parties utterly ignore these great evils and refuse to remove their cause, and the opportunities of the privileged class have no doubt often led the executive and legislative branches of the Government to believe that the masses were passive and reconciled to the existence of this system whereby a privileged class can, by means of the power of money to oppress, exact from labor all that it produces except a bare subsistence. Since then it is the most necessary of all reforms, and receives no attention from any of the prominent political parties, it is highly appropriate and important that our efforts be concentrated to secure the needed reform in this direction, provided all can agree upon such measures. Such action will in no wise connect this movement to any partisan effort, as it can be applied to the party to which each member belongs.

In seeking a true and practical remedy for the evils that now flow from the imperfections in our financial system let us first consider what is the greatest evil, and on what it depends. The greatest evil, the one that outstrips all others so far that it is instantly recognized as the chief, and known with certainty to be more oppressive to the productive interests of the country than any other influence, is that which delegates to a certain class the power to fix the price of all kinds of produce and of all commodities. This power is not delegated directly, but it is delegated indirectly by allowing such class to issue a large per cent of the money used as the circulating medium of the country, and having the balance of such circulating medium, which is issued by the Government, a fixed quantity that is not augmented to correspond with the necessities of the times. In consequence of this the money issued by the privileged class, which they are at liberty to withdraw at pleasure, can be, and is, so manipulated as to control the volume of circulating medium in the country sufficiently to produce fluctuations in general prices at their pleasure. It may be likened unto a simple illustration in philosophy: The inflexible volume of the Government issue is the fulcrum, the volume of the bank issue is the lever power, and price is the point at which power is applied, and it is either raised or lowered with great certainty to correspond with the volume of bank issue. Any mechanic will instantly recognize the fact that the quickest and surest way of destroying the power of the lever to raise or lower price is to remove the resistance offered by the fulcrum—the inflexible volume of Government issue. The power to regulate the volume of money so as to control price is so manipulated as to develop and apply a potent force, for which we have in the

English language no name; but it is the power of money to oppress, and is demonstrated as follows: In the last four months of the year the agricultural products of the whole year having been harvested, they are placed on the market to buy money. The amount of money necessary to supply this demand is equal to many times the actual amount in circulation. Nevertheless the class that controls the volume of the circulating medium desire to purchase these agricultural products for speculative purposes, so they reduce the volume of money by hoarding, in the face of the augmented demand, and thereby advance the exchangeable value of the then inadequate volume of money, which is equivalent to reducing the price of the agricultural products. True agriculturists should hold their products and not sell at these ruinously low prices. And no doubt they would if they could, but to prevent that, practically all debts, taxes, and interest are made to mature at that time, and they being forced to have money at a certain season when they have the product of their labor to sell, the power of money to oppress by its scarcity is applied until it makes them turn loose their products so low that their labor expended does not average them fifty cents per day. This illustrates the power of money to oppress; the remedy, as before, lies in removing the power of the fulcrum—the inflexible Government issue—and supplying a Government issue, the volume of which, shall be increased to correspond with the actual addition to the wealth of the Nation presented by agriculture at harvest time, and diminished as such agricultural products are consumed. Such a flexibility of volume would guarantee a stability of price based on cost of production which would be compelled to reckon the pay for agricultural labor at the same rates as other employment. Such flexibility would rob money of its most potent power—the power to oppress—and place a premium on productive effort. But how may so desirable a result be secured? Let us see. By applying the same principles now in force in the monetary system of the United States with only slight modification in the detail of their execution. The Government and the people of this country realize that the amount of gold and silver, and the certificates based on these metals, do not comprise a volume of money sufficient to supply the wants of the country, and in order to increase the volume, the Government allows individuals to associate themselves into a body corporate, and deposit with the Government bonds which represent National indebtedness, which the Government holds in trust and issues to such corporation paper money equal to ninety per cent of the value of the bonds, and charges said corporation interest at the rate of one per cent per annum for the use of said paper money. This allows the issue of paper money to increase the volume of the circulating medium on a perfectly safe basis, because the margin is a guarantee that the banks will redeem the bonds before they mature. But now we find that the circulation secured by this method is still not adequate; or to take a very conservative position, if we admit that it is adequate on the average, we know that the fact of its being entirely inadequate for half the year makes its inflexibility an engine of oppression, because a season in which it is inadequate must be followed by one of superabundance in order to bring about the average, and such a range in volume means great fluctuations in prices which cut against the producer, both in buying and selling, because he must sell at a season when produce is low, and buy when commodities are high. This system, now in vogue by the United States government of supplementing its circulating medium by a safe and redeemable paper money, should be pushed a little further and conducted in such a manner as to secure a certain augmentation of supply at the season of the year in which the agricultural additions to the wealth of the Nation demand money, and a diminution in such supply of money as said agricultural products

are consumed. It is not an average adequate amount that is needed, because under it the greatest abuses may prevail, but a certain adequate amount that adjusts itself to the wants of the country at all seasons. For this purpose let us demand that the United States government modify its present financial system:

1. So as to allow the free and unlimited coinage of silver or the issue of silver certificates against an unlimited deposit of bullion.

2. That the system of using certain banks as United States depositaries be abolished, and in place of said system, establish in every county in each of the States that offers for sale during the one year, five hundred thousand dollars worth of farm products; including wheat, corn, oats, barley, rye, rice, tobacco, cotton, wool and sugar, all together; a sub-treasury office, which shall have in connection with it such warehouses or elevators as are necessary for carefully storing and preserving such agricultural products as are offered it for storage, and it should be the duty of such sub-treasury department to receive such agricultural products as are offered for storage and make a careful examination of such products and class same as to quality and give a certificate of the deposit showing the amount and quality, and that United States legal-tender paper money equal to eighty per cent of the local current value of the products deposited has been advanced on same on interest at the rate of one per cent per annum, on the condition that the owner or such other person as he may authorize will redeem the agricultural product within twelve months from date of the certificate or the trustee will sell same at public auction to the highest bidder for the purpose of satisfying the debt. Besides the one per cent interest the sub-treasurer should be allowed to charge a trifle for handling and storage, and a reasonable amount for insurance, but the premises necessary for conducting this business should be secured by the various counties donating to the general government the land and the government building the very best modern buildings, fire-proof and substantial. With this method in vogue the farmer, when his produce was harvested, would place it in storage where it would be perfectly safe and he would secure four-fifths of its value to supply his pressing necessity for money at one per cent per annum. He would negotiate and sell his warehouse or elevator certificates whenever the current price suited him, receiving from the person to whom he sold, only the difference between the price agreed upon and the amount already paid by the sub-treasurer. When, however, these storage certificates reached the hand of the miller or factory, or other consumer, he to get the product would have to return to the sub-treasurer the sum of money advanced, together with the interest on same and the storage and insurance charges on the product. This is no new or untried scheme; it is safe and conservative; it harmonizes and carries out the system already in vogue on a really safer plan because the products of the country that must be consumed every year are really the very best security in the world, and with more justice to society at large. For a precedent, attention is called to the following:

In December, 1848, the London Times announced the inevitable failure of the French republic and disintegration of French society in the near future, but so wise was the administration of the statesmen of that nation that two months later it was forced to eat its own words—saying in its columns February 16, 1849:

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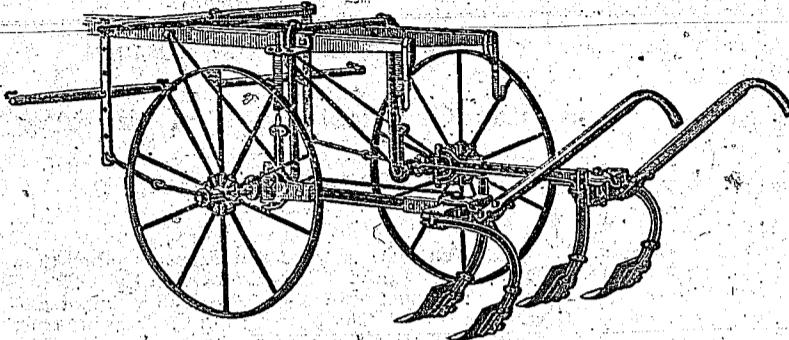
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### SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT.

Though the Senate of the United States is a body of great influence and the source of many propositions which affect the welfare of the people, an impression prevails that it is conservative and wedded to precedent, therefore little given to tentative projects. That this impression is in the main correct is true, and it is therefore with a degree of alacrity that the writer turns to its record for an example in illustration of the ease with which the Government may come to the financial aid of the people of the States and cities of this country. The actual proposition before the Senate is to perpetuate the national bank system, the existence of which is threatened by the extinguishment of the national debt. The national banks live on debt, their diet being the wealth produced by the toilers, collected by interest and discount. As there promises soon to be a short interest in Government bonds, considered the best adapted nourishment for the banks, a substitute is sought, and the proposition is to dignify the States and cities by adopting their bonds as the pabulum for these children of class legislation. Senator Farwell has introduced into the Senate bill No. 347, the first section of which is as follows:

That every national banking association which has heretofore been organized, or may hereafter be organized, under title sixty-two of the Revised Statutes of the United States and the acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto, may, in lieu of the registered bonds of the United States required by section fifty-one hundred and fifty-nine of the Revised Statutes of the United States to be transferred, and delivered to the Treasurer of the United States, transfer and deliver to the Treasurer of the United States the bonds of any State of the United States, or the bonds of any city of the United States exceeding twenty thousand inhabitants, or any other bonds which may be approved as hereinafter provided, upon which interest has been heretofore promptly paid, and which shall bear interest at a rate of not less than four per centum per annum. And all of the provisions of said title and the acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto shall be applicable, so far as may be, to the bonds herein provided for, in the same manner as to United States registered bonds: *Provided*, That the Treasurer of the United States shall not receive such bonds at more than seventy-five per centum of their par value: *Provided further*, That said bonds shall not be received as a basis of circulation until they shall have been fully examined as to their value as security by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Treasurer of the United States, and the Comptroller of Currency, who are constituted a commission ex officio for that purpose, nor until the unanimous approval of said commission shall have been signified in writing upon the back of said bonds.

The constantly recurring problem which meets the advocate of financial reform, when a commensurate volume of money is demanded, is how it shall be gotten into the hands of the producer without tax to a special class. The suggestion here would take it direct to the States and cities, where, with money at 1 per cent, many needed public conveniences could be instituted, profitable from sanitary and educational standpoints, as well as facilitating transportation and manufacturing. Money so derived could be paid direct to the labor so employed, remitting nothing to brokers or agents, and would thus go direct into the arteries of trade, stimulating prices and giving thrifit in its every movement. Every form of class distinction would be eliminated in the conduct of financial affairs, and any city would be justified in constructing water works, sewerage, school-houses, or public buildings, when

pertinent. If the bonds of States and cities be sufficient security for the issue of currency, it is reasonable to advocate that they be so used.

The extreme scarceness of money, verging upon famine all over the country, and causing distress among all classes of producers, justifies consideration of any proposition which promises more currency to the people. This means could be adopted to secure necessary circulation, and money so issued could go direct to the toilers and producers of the States and cities availing themselves of a plan suggested by the bill quoted. That plan is simple. Let the Government issue money on the bonds of the States and cities, direct to the States and cities, subject to the limitation and approval suggested. There need be no intervention of bank or broker. Certainly a collateral which justified a loan to a bank would be good for the money to the original party held by the contract. The bonds would in no way be strengthened by the bank's possession, and a further source of strength might be discovered in making the interest lower instead of higher than 4 per cent. If a State or city can pay that rate, it can pay less with more ease and certainty; it is therefore evident that any properly officered State or city would gladly pay the Government the less rate rather than the bank the greater, the more readily that the payment to the Government would in some sort tend toward a reduction of the taxes necessary to support of the Government. Viewed simply as a matter of State or city policy, is there any doubt which of the proposed plans would be accepted by the debtor? Smaller cities might be included in the privilege.

Money may well be defined as a universal tool, operating on a universal joint. It is used in all the operations of exchange, and is common to all the trades and vocations. It is a creature of government, and to supply it is the most beneficent act of the administration of public affairs. An important duty of the Government is to furnish a currency, and this purpose is clearly laid down in the discussions of the body which framed the Constitution, and that instrument restricts the power of coinage directly to the Government. The full exercise of this power, with a proper seigniorage, should be sufficient to give the people money at cost. Then a law drawn as that of the Illinois Senator would probably say 1 per cent instead of 4 per cent, as it now does in fixing the minimum rate of interest.

THE ECONOMIST aims to make men think. In this mission it is grateful for help from any source. Its thanks are due to the Senator from Illinois for a theme so timely as that which the quotation has suggested. As to the banks, so far as they control the issue of money, the country is to be congratulated that the end of their career is near. As banks of deposit and exchange, their usefulness is not enlarged by the function improperly delegated to them by Government. When they cease to control the issue of money the people will be relieved of the burden of an experiment which has perhaps bred more disaster than any other legislation in the country's history.

the tax upon the people could be minimized and tend to replace other taxes.

The farmers in session at St. Louis agreed that the staple products of farm labor should be advocated as a basis for Government currency, and the current discussion leaves little doubt that this demand will rally to its support all whose minds are not warped by the superstition of metal worship or whose personal interests do not identify them in some way with the class benefited by the present unjust system, whereby the Government responds only to the call of the creditors as against the debtors. To supplement this supply of money with currency direct to States and cities, these in turn basing their purpose to pay upon taxing power, would be a noble relief to the usury-cursed people of all kinds. The enormous interest tax which seizes the home of the artisan of the city as well as of the farmer, might be so reduced as to cause little obstruction to the operations of exchange. That large part of the people who can find no paying employment could be put to work and the wealth of the country would increase with unexampled rapidity were there only enough currency.

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## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

How a Man Feels Who Gets There.  
BY HARRY HINTON.

Now comes summer. The winter is over and gone. To my heart all is summer, and flowers, and springtime, and birds, when Congress meets and the chieftain speaks. Unspeakable joy has taken the place of grim sorrow. We'll now have wisdom.

"Our hearts will be animated with such a patriotic glow, We'll feel all feelingly as we never felt before."

Let the Solomons now blow their clarion notes and burst the lofty dome of the capitol; let them hail Hail Columbias till nations tremble on old ocean's farthest shore; let them spit spiteful fire at the traitors who would if they could be sitting in the seats where they now sit; but through all their patriotic zeal let them not forget the man of color. Selah.

He speaks. The son of Harrison who is the son of Harrison speaks. "Watch those darkies, Pete. Watch those darkies, Peter. I don't care a fig for the Irish, or the German, the Scotch, or the English, but save the darkies or all will be lost." When I heard these words I at once received consolation. A burden of forty pounds to the square inch was at once lifted off me. The country is safe, happy and prosperous. I jumped up and popped my heels together with sheer delight. These words of beauty I shall never forget. "Watch those darkies, Pete." My footsteps on the gravel was as light as the dew on the flowers and my cheeks glowed with a joy more beautiful than the maiden's blush as she hears for the first time the tenor of manly love. Excuse me, noble sir,

For my mind is poetic,  
My soul is sympathetic  
To express the admiration I've always had for you.  
Let the rustics go frolicking  
And the poor go frolicking,  
Let the sky rain speckled potatoes, snow white popcorn and candy kisses; still I will sing;  
O you outs and bouts  
Come get out of the wilderness,  
Come get out of the wilderness,  
Down in Washington.

I caught a fly once with beautiful and gauzy wings, and made it a cage of the finest wire. Men had educated the hog and monkey, and why not I the fly? I fed it on the daintiest dishes; sang to it the sweetest airs, and patted for it the nimblest jigs. No sound of a song could I teach it and no step of the dance would it make. So I took that dunc to the window and turned it loose with my farewell address. "Go it, poor devil; you'll neither dance and you'll not sing; go it, I've no use for you." So it shall be with this wicked generation. The noble Harrison will spread his banquet before a hungry nation; he will feast it on the daintiest dishes the empire can afford; he will train it in the sweet elements of party music; he will put to it the party dance, and whosoever singeth not shall be condemned; and whosoever dances not shall be taken to the window and cast into outer darkness with a sweet farewell; "Go it, poor devil, I've no use for you." They shall have no part in this administration, nor in the administration to come.

Hungry, sad and solitary, I sauntered along the lonesome road from early morn till dewy eve in order to get tidings from the President. Anon came along Jim Donan, whistling the tunes of joy. A letter for you, cries he; a letter for you; which was duly delivered there and then as witness my hand and seal. I hastened home to my cabin on the hill. All was lovely. My fortune was made. Sweet was the music of the

spheres. The roses blushed as I passed. No sooner than I gained the threshold than I gave a yell like the crash of Kremlin. My numerous family shot like bullets homeward from field and forest, for they thought something had happened. Says I to them, form a ring, my daisies, and let me read this letter to you. Sarah Jane, get me a piece of arbor vite, and pin it on my coat; pin it on my left side near my heart. All in a ring? Well!

MR. HARRY HINTON: You are hereby appointed postmaster at Thicklip. You will at once take charge of the same and inform Ned Smash to deliver to you all appurtenances thereunto belonging and git. Affectionately, JOAN'S FANMAKER.

Now, Mr. ECONOMIST, since I've been recognized by my country I'm going to blaze like a sky-rocket. I love my country. She is the grandest and sublimest spectacle of the earth. Down with the Democrats. Down with all scum and trash. Up with the elect, who were fore-ordained from the foundation of the world to rule and govern this people. We are going to ride in the chariot of the sun and outsparkle the stars of heaven. Do you hear? Take heed and be wise.

A word to the wise is sufficient. Now a word to the Solomons on Capitol hill.

What your party dictates to do, do,  
Or warns you not to do,  
This teach you more than hell to shun,  
That more than heaven pursue.

The wisdom of this remark is apparent, for if the party be lost all is lost; love, hope, money, friends, fame and happy country, all engulfed in one abyss of dark despair. Take care of your friends. Let him be Mogul, Mohamedan, heathen, tartar or moron. Supervise them. Watch them. Guard and protect them from the adversary. They will pay you. They will vote for you. Come, let us all join hands, for if we are cautious we'll make this thing pay yet.

There are thousands of ways to make a fortune when you are in office. Millions go loose waiting for the shrewd to pick it up.

What I said to you before I say to you at last. Stick to your party.

## The Sub-Treasury Plan.

Old Foggy, in the Progressive Farmer (Raleigh, N. C.) discusses at length the plan of the monetary committee of the National Alliance and Industrial Union:

From my standpoint, the sub-treasury plan is as superior to the national banking system as a God given system of religion is superior to the methods of Satan. The warehouse system is as old as Joseph of Egypt, who organized the first trust in corn, and the only one that was ever for the public good, while the system of hypothecating indebtedness as a base for other indebtedness, judging from its effects could only come from the lower regions, where the first trust on brimstone was operated. The farmer, always conservative, instead of asking for a bill of exchange to the value of his products, only asks 80 per cent of the actual value of products that all must have. The present system of national banking deposits evidences of debt and then issues the bank promissory notes on the hypothecated debt, and for 90 per cent of the face of the indebtedness. Our Government has gone into partnership with whisky distillers, and while the Government owns 75 per cent of the entire value of the liquors stored, it kindly waits three years for its revenues, if the distiller so desires. On the contrary, we propose to pay the actual expenses and give to the Government its margin of profit within the year.

It has been said that the warehouses would cost immense sums of money. Admit it. The post-offices of our country have cost immense sums of money. Rivers and harbors have cost a mint of money, a navy that has no country to fear it has cost no one can tell how much, all this for the "public good?" yet, when the farmer wants anything that will benefit his surroundings, then suddenly the speculator, the lobbyist and most of the lawyers hold up their hands in holy horror and cry expense! expense! Let us first pay off our debt and then make improvements. How quickly this class grows virtuous. The surplus gold in the treasury would build five warehouses in each county, giving employment to thousands, giving a market for brick and timber in every county; and not only so, but in each county there would be a Government bank for the farmer—and all; and a flexible volume of currency that would have for its base a dollar's worth of value to every 80 cents' worth of circulating medium. If the currency of to-day is sound when based on debt, what would be its condition when based on the products of our country? No longer would the money lords have the power to oppress. Never again could banks force the rate per cent up to 40 per cent in four hours. To the producer the advantages are so apparent that argument seems unnecessary. With the currency based on his own products, and issued to him just in proportion to his resources and needs, the people could get for their labor adequate returns.

The farmer could pay his laborers more for their services, for his produce would sell for more than now, for instead of trusts reaping the advantages, the farmer would hold his products until prices were satisfactory. You may call this fighting Belzebub with fire. So long as it is just and right, by bringing to the laborer a just return for labor we care not what may be said. We may be slow to learn, but we certainly do learn—we are taught by precept and example. No country ever prospered, no country is to-day prosperous, whose wages are low or money scarce. With a greater volume of currency better prices for products of the soil would naturally follow; wages would be increased, because if products were profitable to the husbandman the demand for labor would increase and thus labor would secure the just share of the wealth it creates.

But what of the manufacturer? If he desired cotton or wool, wheat or corn, the kinds and amounts he might need could be had at the Government warehouses, and he would not be compelled to hold in large amounts as now. This would enable him to increase his plant and business, and to do away with brokerage fees and commissions and get from any point he chooses (because railroad rates would not then be prohibitory) and to the cotton farmer millions in a decade would be saved in weights, in surplus, and other commissions. This would place the producer and the manufacturer so close to each other that middlemen would have to seek other business. Banks, as generators of currency would go out of existence and the postal, express and telegraph system, could be so arranged that in every hamlet there would be a bank of deposit, or savings bank.

The indebtedness of the country would be paid off, saving millions of dollars in premiums now paid to bond holders, the bonds replaced by treasury notes would save fifty millions yearly in interest thus giving relief in all forms and enabling landed proprietors to borrow money at low rates of interest,

thereby saving usury and interest and in this way reduce the mortgage indebtedness on the lands of the farmer.

A farm that produced 18 or 20 years ago 1,000 bushels of wheat in excess of the amount needed to pay hands and feed and clothe the family could have been sold for what the excess represented in interest. Thus, if wheat sold at \$1.50 per bushel, 1,000 bushels would be worth \$1,500, the farm paying interest at 6 per cent. on \$25,000, while wheat at 60 cents per bushel, the same excess would only be worth \$600, so that the farm would only be worth \$10,000; as an investment. Low prices for products lowers the value of lands, so by raising the price of farm products the farms would increase in the exact ratio of the value of the products raised. A volume of currency equaling 80 per cent of the entire products of the soil would double the values of the farms of this country. With no government bonds, no railroad stock or bonds, over four billions of money would be loosed that is now locked up, and values of land and all real property, mines and manufacture stock would correspondingly increase in value. Our farms and villages, our forests and mines, our factories and furnaces would increase in value as rapidly as they did in the North during the war. Capital would not remain idle, and the wage-earner once again be prosperous. Coal miners and iron workers instead of earning a miserable pittance, would be enabled to live as they deserve to, not on starvation wages and in huts and hovels, but with such environments as would enable them to have the comforts of a home.

But how shall all this be accomplished? However profitable to the farmer or Knights of Labor, reasoning and good, kind words will be of no more avail to the money lords and railroad kings than were the pleadings of our forefathers a century ago. They will heed them no more than the prophecies and admonitions of Moses were heeded or cared for by Pharaoh. We must use our ballots as plagues were used in the olden time, and I fancy that the ballots of the Alliance-men and the Knights of Labor will in the near future be as great a plague to our modern Pharaohs as were the locusts, the hail and the loss of their first born, to those who like our task-masters command bricks without straw. In all communities the wage-worker and bread-winner is in the majority. We hold the balance of power. This is true in city and country. We have not changed our principles, and we oppose partisanship as bitterly as when we were first organized. What better evidence could be desired, when our principles bid us leave both the Republican and Democratic parties? If any member looks back like Lot's wife, or like the children of Israel lusts for the flesh pots of Egypt, let them at our hands feel that we are estranged—let the loss of confidence—expulsion be the penalty. We earnestly hope that both parties may come to our relief. We shall see to it that the men that are placed in nomination of both parties have an opportunity to publicly pledge themselves for our principles. If they will not do so we will find men like a Cincinnatus of old, and in our might we will place them in power—we will not vote for either party or their representatives who will not stand for our principles, but will do as our forefathers did—have our Congress, our Senate, the Presidential chair, as well as our Governors and Legislatures, filled by farmers and Knights of Labor, and no longer with Plutocrats.

The new revolution is declared on, and monopolists and a subsidized press may make the most of it. Day is dawning. Our watchmen are proclaiming our principles of liberty and freedom from the chains of slavery, from the lakes to the gulf, from ocean to ocean, and when our red letter day comes, and come soon it surely will, we will see to it that only the brave and the true shall occupy places of trust, if the parties with which we have voted do not repent in sackcloth and ashes and turn from the error of their ways.

## THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Public attention is once more directed to this department of Government service by a disagreement among the scientific gentlemen connected, or rather interested in the work of this bureau. The exact status of this department has never been fully understood, nor has the benefits arising from the money spent in its maintenance been clearly defined. Its functions have been somewhat erratic, and no one appeared able to determine just where they began or at what point they terminated. It is an institution that has cost the producers of the present age

more than \$10,000,000 to have some so-called scientific gentlemen describe in unpronounceable terms what they guess might have occurred in some of the ages past. For the year 1883.....\$436,000  
For the year 1886.....\$391,000  
For the year 1887.....\$689,000  
For the year 1888.....\$503,000

There is a twin brother to this, called the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which is nearly twice as expensive. Space is given this statement for the purpose of showing the folly and extravagance of our Government. Similar follies and extravagances are certain to follow an overflowing treasury. In fact the condition of our national treasury is and has been for years a standing bribe for all such expenditures. When will the people learn wisdom and wipe out a public policy that permits such wasteful conditions? A surplus may be less difficult to manage than a deficit, but in a national treasury, where it has been placed by being taxed from the people, and with no method of returning it to the people for circulation except by appropriations, all kinds of jobs, corruption and follies may be expected.

WHENEVER gold is going out of England more rapidly than it is coming in, or, when the bank of England wishes to increase its reserve in gold, it simply increases the rate of interest; this not only stops the export of the coin but brings it to the bank. And when there is an abundant supply of coin at bank the interest is lowered. Thus by noticing the bank of England's rate of interest a perfect idea is obtained of the condition of the money in its vault. The recent sharp advance in rates of interest by the bank of England is said to come through fear of too much speculation in American property.

THE farmers of Kansas are petitioning their Legislature for a three years' redemption clause in mortgage sales. This is the one effectual method of check-mating the voracious mortgage system. Now let them punish usury by imprisonment and loss of entire debt, and mortgage evictions would to a large extent cease.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

### THE REFORM PRESS.

#### The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

The Journal of the Knights of Labor (Philadelphia) contains a vigorous article over the signature of T. V. Powderly, who replies to an insinuation from a Treasury department official that the members of the Grand Army of the Republic may yet be called upon to participate in another civil war. Space forbids quotation of the whole:

Soldiers of the Grand Army, the solicitor of the Treasury told you the truth when he said your work was not yet done; but when you pick it up again, if you would save the nation you fought for, you will join hands with the Farmers' Alliance and the Knights of Labor in driving every speculator off our soil. When you enlisted and went to the front you left father, mother, wife and child behind at home. In many places you left scarce enough food or money with the ones at home to keep them from want for a fortnight. You cast off every selfish consideration, cut the heart-strings that bound you to your families, and blocked with your bodies the pathway of those who aimed at the nation's life. Your country lacked for money to pay you; you could send nothing home to supply the wants of your families. President Lincoln raised a loan from those who sent substitutes to the front, and for it from 20 to 40 per cent was demanded for its use. A full legal tender paper dollar was issued that bore the stamp of the American Republic on its face, and then the descendants of the thieves whom the Son of God drove from the temple of old besieged Washington with the old cry of "usury, usury, usury." The exception clause was inserted to stop their clamor, and with a single, cowardly, golden dollar as their backer, two hundred and eighty-five cents went out to do the work that the full legal tender paper dollar had previously done. You received pay in that "wore of traitor hands;" you had debts to pay and could not do it. You gave mortgages on your homes and received the two-hundred-and-eighty-five-cent dollar from the hands of the men who stayed at home, and whose patriotism was rated at from 10 to 40 per cent. In the party of the future the old soldier of the Grand Army will be treated as a citizen, not as a mendicant; in the party of the future the man who tills the soil will own it, and not the man who deals in mortgages; in the party of the future "worth, not wealth, will be the standard of a national greatness."

Proclamation is made (by Andrew J. Carothers for one and R. M. Humphrey for the other) that the two colored alliance organizations are now consolidated and to be known as the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Co-operative Union, with headquarters at Houston, Texas. Thus following in the line of consolidation by the organizations of white farmers, this noble work has been done. The following proclamation we clip from the organ of the order, The National Alliance (Houston, Texas):

Whereas, in the Providence of Almighty God the great leaders of the opposing colored alliances have this day met and, sacrificing their own interests and all personal ambition, have agreed to unite and consolidate our jarring and discordant orders into a single grand alliance; and whereas, our dissensions heretofore have divided our churches, broken up our schools, embittered our communities and created discord in our families; and whereas, less than three years ago our order came into existence without a membership and with an empty treasury, and we now have a million members, with business activities in more than twenty States, exchanges permanently established in half a dozen great cities, and we are everywhere enjoying the greatest good will and the hearty co-operation of the white inhabitants of all the States. Wherefore it well becomes us, the recipients of such countless blessings and boundless prosperity, to remember the Almighty Giver of all good, and humbly to look up to Him from whom all our strength comes.

The Knights of Labor and the Farmers' organizations have at last realized the truth. They see that they have been robbed, and they know that if this nation is to be perpetuated, if it is to live for the people, it must be taken from the hands of its enemies and given into the hands of its friends. Two millions of farmers, representing the food centre of the world, are united. Is it likely that they would so suddenly organize and stand up to be counted on the side of a people's currency, a people's means of transportation, and a people's solution of the land question, if these things were wrong?

The Solicitor of the Treasury must have had before his eyes the vision of a new party—a party which will stand squarely upon the doctrine of "equal rights for all men, special privileges for none;" a party which will have the courage of its convictions and will strike at abuses instead of grasping for power; a party that will stand upon the Constitution of the United States in issuing the currency of the nation; a party that will compel corporations to obey the law as individuals do; a party that will make the words "American citizen" loom up as something to be respected; a party that will count every vote in secret for the man for whom it is cast; a party that will not hypocritically snivel about civil-service reform and practice the opposite; a party that will not only stand at the port of entry to guard against foreign invasion, but will watch the doings of the traitors at home and protect the people from their intrigues and machinations. Will the Knights of Labor and Farmers' Alliance form such a party as this? Is what must have flashed through the Solicitor's head. I cannot tell whether we will

have such a party in the near future, and it is as well not to hurry the movement in that direction; but members of the Alliance and Knights of Labor must vote for their principles and not against them, or this nation will cease to exist. I know that I will be charged with being a politician because of this, but I believe the time has arrived to begin laying the pavement for the people's walk to Washington. I care not by what name the party be known; and if saying this brings censure, then it were better to be censured in such a cause than be praised for remaining silent.

I have watched the trend of events for the past few years, and many times have been censured by friends for not taking this or that course—many times have I been accused of attempting to keep the Knights of Labor out of politics, of disconcerting a new party. I have always advised Knights to be politicians, but not traders. I have opposed turning the order into a party, and have had good reasons for it. The order can live and do good work as an educator; and its members, those who are voters, can be a portion of a grand party that will count among its parts those who are Knights, members of Farmers' Alliances, Trade Unionists and reformers generally. The order must exist as an educator, but that need not delay the preparations for the coming of the new party. Of one thing rest assured, the new party will not come until the people are ready for it; the people will not be ready for it until they know why it is necessary to have such a party; and when that time comes there is no power vested in Powderly, whether he be General Master Workman or private member, that will retard its progress.

In the party of the future the old soldier of the Grand Army will be treated as a citizen, not as a mendicant; in the party of the future the man who tills the soil will own it, and not the man who deals in mortgages; in the party of the future "worth, not wealth, will be the standard of a national greatness."

Our Opinion (McPherson, Kan.), speaking of the compact between the Farmers and Knights of Labor, says:

In this declaration there is that which will stay the rising tide of monopoly, despotism, and corruption that now threatens to engulf all our free institutions and debauch and dwarf the manhood of our race. The principles set forth above make the platform upon which Our Opinion has always stood, and upon which to end it will continue to stand. On this line we will make our fight. We will make no compromise; we will allow of no evasion. The battle lines are drawn. The forces of monopoly greed on the one side, on the other the champions of human freedom, each ranged in battle array. Around these principles, set forth above, which are the bonds of union that bind together the two greatest representative organizations of the common people in all the world—twin giants engaged in a common struggle for right against the mightiest wrongs that hell doth breed—all organized industry is rallying, and all honest, upright, liberty-loving sentiment among the people is crystallizing, sworn and determined to emancipate labor from the grasp of organized oppression. The battle is on. Let cowards skulk to the rear; only stout hearts deserve to be free.

Climax (Mo.) Advocate is responsible for the following:

After a fifteen days session Congress adjourned over the holidays. We suppose that that body took advantage of the present prosperous condition of the country (see President's message) and voted themselves a resting spell at the expense of the people. As the administration has determined to reduce the surplus, this is proof of the external fitness of things.

Assemble yourselves at your churches and places of worship promptly at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continue your devotional exercises until 2 o'clock, P. M.

Finally, all organizers, trustees, superintendents, secretaries and others, no matter to what alliance they have heretofore belonged, are charged to read this proclamation in the lodges and congregations, and see that it is published to all the people. Let your meetings be conducted soberly. Spend no part of this, your sacred day, about the streets nor in idle gossip.

The Chicago Sentinel gives good fun in the following:

For years we have been telling the people that the "tariff" discussion is simply a dog fight gotten up between the leaders of the two old parties to distract attention from the plundering politicians. In this light please read the following verbatim report, including "applause" and "laughter," of a portion of the proceedings before the Congressional committee of Ways and Means. The scene is laid in the committee room. Present, the committee and witnesses in behalf of the Sugar Trust. Testimony is being taken on the matter of paying a bounty to sugar-makers or keeping up the tariff on sugar. Gov. Warmouth of Louisiana is on the stand and is afraid Republicans are going to reduce the tariff. The following is the report.

"Mr. Flower—And yet you are worse scared about what this Republican Congress is going to do?"

"Gov. Warmouth—I am not afraid that the Republican Congress will interfere with any industry of the country. [Applause]."

"Mr. Flower—Have you read the Senate bill?"

"Gov. Warmouth—Oh, that was presidential year! [Laughter.] The Mills bill was introduced to elect Mr. Cleveland and I have no doubt the Senate bill was instrumental in bringing about the election of Mr. Harrison."

"Yes, that was 'presidential year.' 'Ha! ha! ha! How we fooled the people with the tariff talk in the 'presidential year' with our dog fight over the tariff bone, eh?' And then imagine Gear (Rep.) of Iowa and Flower (Dem.) of New York poking each other in the ribs and chuckling themselves red in the face saying: ' Didn't we pull the wool over the eyes of the daphool people in that 'presidential year' though?'"

"Mills bill was introduced to elect Harrison." And as soon as the election was over the whole business was stopped. Not another word about the "tariff" till now—just as the great campaign of 1890 is coming on for the election of Congressmen. From this time until next November the "tariff" will fly thick and fast. The sham fight has begun! Let the eight million numbskulls who voted the Democratic and Republican tickets "form a ring" and stake all they are worth on whichever dog that they think is going to win. It may be the "free trade" dog; it may be the "high tariff" dog. So that it is a right smart dog fight and "our dog" chews the "other dog" all up, no matter whether corn is 15 cents a bushel or not; no matter whether there is any bread for the children or not; its a rattling old dog fight, anyway!"

Our Opinion (McPherson, Kan.), speaking of the compact between the Farmers and Knights of Labor, says:

In this declaration there is that which will stay the rising tide of monopoly, despotism, and corruption that now threatens to engulf all our free institutions and debauch and dwarf the manhood of our race. The principles set forth above make the platform upon which Our Opinion has always stood, and upon which to end it will continue to stand. On this line we will make our fight. We will make no compromise; we will allow of no evasion. The battle lines are drawn. The forces of monopoly greed on the one side, on the other the champions of human freedom, each ranged in battle array. Around these principles, set forth above, which are the bonds of union that bind together the two greatest representative organizations of the common people in all the world—twin giants engaged in a common struggle for right against the mightiest wrongs that hell doth breed—all organized industry is rallying, and all honest, upright, liberty-loving sentiment among the people is crystallizing, sworn and determined to emancipate labor from the grasp of organized oppression. The battle is on. Let cowards skulk to the rear; only stout hearts deserve to be free.

The Dexter (Kas.) Free Press, says:

Will the great and glorious statesmen and political leaders that were floated to their respective positions at the head of our Government on the wave of "protection" make one strenuous effort to rescue the oppressed laborer from his perilous condition. If they will, they can find no better opportunity to glorify themselves, than some of the much needed "protection" around their down-trodden subjects. We will wait and see; watch and pray.

Independent American (Creston, Iowa) gives the facts in this way:

These are hard times. The pinch of poverty is felt in hundreds of homes. The merchant who has not already failed, sees his bills coming due; his creditors becoming more urgent and the hours shortening when approaching bankruptcy may overtake him. The farmer sees his hogs going at a sacrifice, his oats selling at 16 cents, his corn going at 20 cents, his hay at \$2.50 a ton, and in

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The Kingman (Kan.) Journal asks a very pertinent question:

This does not seem to be a good time for railroads to boast of their increased earnings. The farmers who are marketing their grain and stock below cost will naturally indulge the query; why this prosperity of railroad interests when we are losing all the time? By and by the farmers, as a class, will get sense enough to study the cause of their losses, and, as sure as they do, they will locate the same—find out that their losses are the railway companies' great gain.

The Alliance Tocsin (Locksburg, Ark.)—no doubt correct:

Congress has done nothing of any importance yet. A discussion of the tariff question has been in progress for several days, but no action has been taken. If the tariff is revised it will be in such a way as not to interfere with the manufacturer. No burden will be taken from the masses, and within a few years are rich. Explain, if you can.

The Clark County Democrat (Clark, S. Dakota) puts it in this way:

The uniting of the two great organizations, the Farmers' Alliance and Knights of Labor, at St. Louis, is benefiting the people in more than one way, and the greatest benefit will be in creating a desire among the people to learn the object of these two great organizations; a desire to learn cause them to read and study the questions which will ultimately lead to an intelligent vote, and an intelligent vote will everlasting go hard with the monopolies. Ignorance is what the monopolies enforce upon the working class, and the less knowledge upon the running of the Government the more easy can the votes be controlled by money. There is no doubt that the times are growing harder each year for the laboring class, and yet this same class do not consider as they grow poorer a few men are becoming possessed of more riches. Laws that will make a few rich and many poor are wrong and should be changed. The Farmers of the Northwest know they work hard, deprive themselves of the comforts of life, raise good crops, get nothing for them, and each year brings them less prospects, and why such a state of affairs? It all must come from bad laws that are made by the monopolists of the United States, who have control, and the only way to remedy the law is for the laborers to combine and oust the plunders, put in honest men, and demand honest legislation.

The Alliance Tribune (Topeka, Kan.) furnishes the kind of figures that interest:

According to the Capital the corn crop of Kansas this year was 276,541,338 bushels. Wheat, 36,573,963 bushels; oats, 60,000,000, and other things in proportion. Twenty-five years ago this crop would have brought, corn, \$276,541,338; wheat, \$73,161,990; oats, \$30,000,000; a total of \$379,703,328. The value of this crop in 1889 was \$62,771,498.20, a difference of over two hundred dollars for each person in Kansas in a single crop. If that three hundred and sixteen million has stepped out of the farmers' pocket into somebody else's by some hocus pocus legerdemain, it is about time somebody began to look a little out. Where did it go to any how, and how did it get there?

The Farmers and Laborers Union Journal (Batesville, Ark.):

Farmers, do not become indebted. Debt is the great lever by which the enemy of honest labor and fair remuneration will crush you. If you are indebted to a merchant he can compel you to sell only to him, just when he wishes and at his figure. This credit system is a premeditated scheme of our merchants to control prices and labor. Avoid a debt as you would avoid the deathly co-bra.

Los Angeles Nationalist asks:

If, as we must admit, labor alone can produce, capital at best merely facilitating production, why should we look on complacently and permit capital to distribute the proceeds?

Gerard (Kas.) Herald:

Corn is being used for fuel in quite a number of Northwestern counties in Kansas, in consequence of its cheapness. Corn being 15 cents a bushel while coal is from 25 to 30 cents.

Progressive Farmer (Raleigh, N. C.):

The cigarette manufacturers have arranged for their agents to go on the floors of the tobacco warehouses and exercise the right to fix, absolutely, the price they will pay for the farmers' tobacco and take it. Suppose the farmers could store their tobacco in Government warehouses of 80 per cent of its value, which certificates should be a legal-tender in all transactions, then such a conspiracy for robbing them would be impossible. The Government places the control of its currency in the hands of men and loans them its credit on evidences of debt at one per cent—it holds whisky three years for its owner, if he so desires—it rushes to Wall street and pours out ten millions of dollars of its gold in one day to save the stock gamblers from wreck, then why can't the Government extend some protection to the farmers?

Peoples Signal (Marlin, Tex.):

For every millionaire the law creates it makes a thousand paupers and cringing sycophants, and these are *per se* anarchists and consequently a menace to the government which created them.

The Texas (San Antonio) Tribune contains the following sound nugget:

The Dexter (Kas.) Free Press, says:

What is the result of such ignorance and neglect? It is this: That while our system of production of wealth has been in a thousand ways improved our system of distribution has been perverted and corrupted by legislation to such an extent that the stock gambler becomes a millionaire, while the industrious producer is pauperized by his operations. If all citizens and legislators were well versed in domestic and political science such conditions could not obtain for a day, but the evidence of their existence only emphasizes the necessity of giving more study to the sciences named.

The Tribune (Celeburne, Tex.); why not?

There is a strong element in and out of Congress in favor of repealing the internal revenue tax on tobacco. No other production of the soil pays a tax; why should tobacco? The revenues of the Government are large enough to dispense with the injury of the producer. Such a measure may pass the lower house of Congress, but it is extremely doubtful if it can be passed through the American House of Lords. The passage of such a measure would mean death to the national banks and money syndicates—and these have a strong grip upon the Senate. That body is largely composed of millionaires, and those who owe their election to the money power. The Senate does not represent the labor, but the wealth of the country.

The Appeal (Bevier, Mo.) tells what is becoming apparent all over the land:

The strongest and most forcible sign that the people are ready and eager to be educated on reform measures is that they are discontented with their present condition, that they see how low and degrading is their lot in life.

Colorado (Pueblo) Workman gives this item:

There is an English syndicate organized in the two Dakotas with \$10,000,000 capital to rob the farmers of those States of their lands, and the citizens of North and South Dakota, true to the "spirit of the times," have elected two of the directors of the concern to the United States Senate.

### The Sub-Treasury Plan.

The sub-treasury plan presented for consideration by the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union at the St. Louis meeting is receiving marked attention by the reform press. The system stands investigation and criticism even better than its friends anticipated. In fact, many outside journals have commented favorably upon its propositions.

The report has been published in full in so many papers that the people are being thoroughly posted upon its principles. It is to the great mass of producers that this question is presented, with the hope and expectation of a careful candid examination and a conclusion based upon exact justice to all. It is expected that money and monopoly will attack it, and political aspirants will seek to ridicule its objects, but it is to the calm judgment of the producer and the sense of right always possessed by labor that the plain tasks for a hearing. The following are some of the press comments of the system. The Advocate (Topeka, Kan.):

In another column will be found the report of the committee on the monetary system adopted by the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union at the meeting that assembled in St. Louis December 3, 1889. This is presented as "the key to the solution of the industrial problem of the age." It will constitute the basis of the demand that will be submitted to Congress by the joint co-operative committee on legislation from this order and the Knights of Labor; and the recognition of this demand will be insisted upon in the name of 4,000,000 of voters. The opposition of monopolists and speculators to this measure is to be anticipated, and it remains to be seen in whose interest the sympathies of our legislators are enlisted. We expect to have something to say upon this question hereafter.

The Butler Local News (Butler, Mo.):

Twenty years of contraction, lowering of wages, increasing debts and the extremely unprofitable prices received for farm products, has opened the eyes of the people and they propose to drive out the "mortgage night-mare" if possible. How can they do it? By having the Government make our money. How are the people to get it, is asked! By erecting public buildings, and by loaning it direct to the people at a low rate of interest. We have enough "promise to pay" paper, we want money, made and stamped by this free United States of ours, that is worth 100 cents on the dollar, and that will pay all debts both public and private.

The Lansing (Mich.) Sentinel:

The demand for Government buildings in each county, to be used as storehouses for farm produce and for which the farmer is loaned 80 per cent of his product value at one per cent interest, requires a definite act of Congress, and such a Congress must be first elected. This is a grand step, let us all move in that direction.

The Anvil (Castroville, Tex.):

There will be a bill introduced in Congress, at an early day, to establish sub-treasuries, and in connection with these, storehouses and elevators, in all counties that raise a given amount of agricultural products. The object of this movement is to supply the farmer with the means of procuring advances on his crops, at a low rate of interest, and thus prevent the forcing of crops upon the markets, that invariably break down prices to the injury of the producer. Such a measure may pass the lower house of Congress, but it is extremely doubtful if it can be passed through the American House of Lords. The passage of such a measure would mean death to the national banks and money syndicates—and these have a strong grip upon the

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The Use and Abuse of Public and Private Credit.  
By T. D. HINCKLEY, OF HOYLETON, ILL.

Much has been said to our farmers about the abuse of their private credit. Many of the evils of which we justly complain are laid at the door of our credit system of doing our private business. The men who talk in this manner are no doubt prompted by an earnest desire for our welfare, and, so far as their intentions are concerned, are worthy of all respect, but being fallible human beings they may possibly err in judgment. The common trend of their argument shows that they believe that there is no necessity, or at least very little necessity, for the use, even under existing conditions, of our credit system. That our farmers can, by a little self-denial, soon place themselves in a position to do all their business on a cash basis. It seems to me that it is time to call a halt to the wholesale denunciation of our credit system and turn the channel of thought in another direction. Let me ask, Why do farmers go in debt? Some, maybe, because they have to; because, perhaps, "unhappy disaster followed them fast and followed them faster," until they were obliged to mortgage the future in order to live in the present. Others because, they, perhaps, are cursed with the vice of covetousness and want to buy more land than they have any use for. But, throwing aside the instances where mere covetousness prompts and sad misfortune compels the incurring of debt, and the fact remains that many farmers who are neither compelled by the one nor prompted by the other curse go in debt. Let us waive all argument as to the advisability or the necessity of this procedure on their part, and for a moment inquire into the reason why their act of going in debt should subject them to the disastrous effect which experience has taught us almost invariably follows such acts. Why should the farmer who borrows money with which to build himself a house or barn or other improvements incur by so doing a risk which may ultimately end in his bankruptcy? His act may have been prompted by the not altogether selfish desire to provide a shelter from the inclemencies of the weather for the dumb animals under his care, or it may be that his act was inspired by the natural desire to make the lives of his dependent loved ones more comfortable and their surroundings more pleasant than they formerly were; but whatever the motive prompting his act, it would be utterly impossible for him to accomplish it without benefiting others besides himself. The carpenters employed upon his building, the nailers who produced the nails he used, the lumber men who produced the lumber, the transporters who were employed in bringing him the necessary material, these, with a host of others which the thoughtful mind will readily suggest, were all benefited by his act of building. Then why should his act of borrowing the money, without which he could not have done the other act which was of such general and widespread benefit, subject him, of all the beneficiaries, to the depressing risk of bankruptcy? Suppose, instead of building, he invest the money in improving the quality of his stock. Here again others are benefited. The breeders of the improved stock, the transporters of it, these are benefited, regardless of the outcome of his venture, while, if his enterprise proves successful, the benefit of improved stock will accrue to others as certainly as to himself; if it proves a failure, the penalty of bankruptcy would be borne by himself alone. Now why are these things thus? Because they are

right? Is it right that men should be hindered from doing that which will result in general benefit? Certainly not. Then why are they hindered? It certainly is a hindrance to the inauguration of such enterprises that men know if they borrow the necessary capital the result is likely to be disaster to them. The reason why these things are so will be found in the fact that since time immemorial men have regarded the medium of exchange, the thing we call money, as being of much more importance and of much greater value than the things for which it can be exchanged. Not always and under all circumstances is this the case. The shipwrecked mariner, cast upon a desert island along with tons of money, when nature begins to press her demands for food, will gladly exchange it all for a crust. The citizens of a beleaguered town, soldiers tramping a burning desert's sand, have been known to forget their love of money. But the shipwrecked sailor, the beleaguered citizens, and suffering soldiers once returned to their normal position will immediately rebegin the slavish worship of the thing which failed them completely in their hour of greatest need. Whence comes this subtle power with which inanimate metal or paper may be endowed? From God? From nature? From any of the extraneous indefinable sources from which we derive our being? No. It is the creation of man, as much so as the contemptible (in our intelligent estimation) Chinese joss, and is an object much less worthy of the worship of man than the saurian monster to whom the Hindoo mother sacrifices her offspring. And yet the crocodile worshipers of India descend to no greater depths of degradation in their senseless worship of their scaly gods than do we in our debasing worship of mammon. Every infant cast by its Oriental mother into the crocodile's gaping jaws has its duplicate a hundred times over in the little lives which go out during the heated term in all our large cities. The sacrifice in the one instance is no more the result of the stupid worship of the crocodile than is the sacrifice in the other instance the result of the selfish worship of the god of mammon. The reason why men are such slavish worshipers of money—an object of their own creation—is because in creating it they endowed it with certain powers which are the direct attributes of omniscience itself. They gave to it the powers of procreation not of its own species or kind, but of other things of much more value. Money itself is of no value to man; he can't eat it, drink it, nor wear it, but he can exchange it for any or all of these things; but it is not in its ability to act as an exchange medium that it displays its power of procreation. What it then does is simply to make it possible for two widely separated producers of different kinds of wealth to exchange the product of their labor without coming into contact with each other. Thus, if I sell a bushel of wheat for \$1, and with the dollar procure a dollar's worth of cloth manufactured at Lowell, the dollar simply acts as the medium by which my wheat procured the cloth I desired. If I have a thousand dollars and loan it to my less fortunate neighbor at 8 per cent, then I am employing the procreative power of my money for my benefit. The power of my thousand dollars to beget value will not be displayed in the eighty dollars interest which I will receive, but in the power of the eighty dollars as an exchange medium to procure me the necessities and comforts of life. The eighty dollars will not represent an addition to the wealth of the country. What they do

represent and all they represent is my power to command eighty dollars' worth of corn, cattle, or hogs, or other products of value created by the labor of my unfortunate neighbor. To be sure the return will come to me in money, but it will first go from his farm in the shape of some of the products of his labor.

Thus the procreative power with which our laws clothe our dollars is not displayed in their power to beget other dollars, but in their power to command the generative source of all wealth—labor. Our government, then, has bestowed upon money two separate and distinct functions: First, to act as a medium of exchange; second, to accumulate the product of labor. The first of these is its only legitimate business. In our present highly complicated state of society money is not only useful, but it is absolutely indispensable to the transaction of business, and it is this latter fact which, under certain circumstances, makes it possible for money to seem to perform the natural functions of self-propagation. It is a common saying that "money makes money." The absurdity of this statement is only apparent to one who remembers that money, whether gold or silver or paper, stripped of its power as an exchange medium, is absolutely dead matter, as much so as a last year bird's nest. What the man who makes the statement really means is that the law which gives to money its power as an exchange medium, and which at the same time presumes to limit its quantity by some arbitrarily fixed standard, gives to the one who possesses it the power to compel those who do not possess it—and who must have it in their business, and who are debarred from applying to the Government, which is the source of its supply, by the fact that the arbitrarily fixed limit has been reached—to pay him tribute for the use of something which is as much or more their creation as it is his.

The power then which limits or arbitrarily restricts the supply of money is the source from whence it obtains its procreative attributes which seem to make it the production of itself instead of labor, as all other necessities are. Since money is of no earthly value except as an exchange medium, and since its value as an exchange medium may be artificially enhanced by the restriction of its volume, the question naturally occurs, what power or authority shall presume to fix the amount of currency upon which the business of any country shall be transacted? Evidently justice would answer, this power should be invested entirely and absolutely and only in those who produce the things which it is desirable to exchange, and it is because wealth producers the world over have permitted themselves to be robbed of this power that money has such an enormous, disproportionate and altogether artificial value. It is because the thoughtless or ignorant workers have allowed a few non-producing, train-wrecking schemers to impudently assume the right to regulate the amount of currency to suit themselves that we have a condition of things existing in this country under which to incur debt to any great extent, is to invite bankruptcy. I have asked the question, Why should a man who borrows money to use in a manner that will benefit others as well as himself incur by so doing the risk of financial ruin? The answer is simple enough. Money itself is nothing but credit. It is an emblem of the people's faith in themselves. Its only real value is in the labor necessary to create the dies and produce the paper or the metal or the leather upon which the

people elect to stamp the emblem of their faith in each other. Our Government in its dealings with national banks estimates this value at one per cent, and it generously provides them with money at its real value, that is to say, at cost. But since our Government will loan only to certain men and on a certain kind of property money at cost, the class of men who are fortunate enough to own that kind of property have it in their power to restrict the supply, and as a matter of course to artificially enhance the value of their peculiar kind of property as well as the value of the very money which Government furnishes them. Now the man who desires to build a house or barn and must borrow the money to pay for the material and the labor. Not being allowed to borrow, as the national bankers are, from the Government at cost, he is obliged to go to a bank or other private source for his means, and the supply being limited he is forced to pay whatever rate of interest money commands, and every cent he pays more than one per cent he will have to gain by his ability to scheme or through the misfortune of his fellowmen, or be ultimately and inevitably forced into bankruptcy. The men who condemn our farmers for going in debt haven't studied matters as closely as they should. It is true that in individual cases farmers may keep clear of debt, but it is equally true that the ability of these few to keep out of debt comes entirely from the utter inability of the great mass to do so. It is as impossible for all farmers to follow the well-meant advice of some of their leaders to "keep out of debt" as it is for all the horses engaged in a race to come out ahead.

## HOW IT WORKS IN MISSOURI.

The Clark County (Mo.) Democrat goes into a description of how the people are taxed in that county. Just such manipulation is common, and furnishes the means whereby what is known as "the court-house ring" sometimes gets in its work.

We have endeavored through the Democrat to remind the people that they were being grossly swindled through the workings of a few political manipulators whose sole object is to become rich upon the earnings of the farmers. We have given facts that cannot be successfully contradicted, and have done so in a much milder manner than the vampires deserved. We wish again this week to call the attention of the taxpayers to some of the privileges granted to a few to feast upon the products of the hard-working farmer, leaving the farmer nothing while the few are becoming rich. Every farmer in the county knows the banks wherein the county money is deposited pay no interest. Yet they have many a thousand dollars of the county money to use and loan to the farmers at usurious interest each year. Now we will give you a problem to solve, and when you have it solved please send the Democrat the result. We will say that there are ten farmers whose taxes will average \$30, and they had no money with which to pay it. The banker (who has plenty of county money) says "certainly. I can let you have \$30, providing you have good collateral. The note is drawn up accompanied by a mortgage upon two hundred dollars worth of property—note draws three per cent a month interest. The first man gets his \$30, goes to the court house and pays his taxes. The clerk takes the \$30, puts it in a shot bag, hurries to the bank and deposits it for the county. Just

then in comes the second farmer to borrow \$30 to pay his taxes and is compelled to go through the same maneuvers as did the first, and so on with the ten. The banks loan the same \$30 to each of the ten farmers at the low rate of three per cent a month, which amounts to \$10.80 a year that each farmer has to pay for the use of \$30 of his own money, or \$108 the ten farmers give the banker for holding a mortgage upon their property. Not only ten farmers have been subjected to the skinning act, but a great many more are compelled to on account of the way these same skinners manipulate the affairs of the county.

Again, some poor fellow who is compelled to work hard for his living becomes in some way possessor of a county warrant amounting to say \$50; he is in need of money to pay a debt and must have it, so he goes to one of those great political leaders who are always ready to help to take care of the county, and who has the county money, and asks him if he will cash the warrant. The manipulator says he will but must discount it at the regular rate (which in Clark county I believe is twenty per cent); the poor fellow must have the money so he takes his \$40 and pays his debts. The banker puts the warrant into his safe and lets it draw eight per cent interest until he feels like cashing the same; when he does cash the warrant he draws \$50 and eight per cent and he paid the \$40 out of the county money, and thus it goes, the county money is used to defraud the farmer out of his hard earnings.

We hope that the few pointers we are able to give may cause the farmers to think about the way they are being hoodwinked and compelled to work hard for no purpose but to make a few rich. We will try each week to give some facts that we hope will open the eyes of the farmers before the next election when they can remedy matters if they see fit, but our space prohibits us from giving any more this week.

The reports of the Treasury of the United States now contains two items, the full import of which might well be impressed in this connection. The statement is made that there are nearly fifty millions in banks for which the Government receives no interest, placed there to relieve those pets of the party managers in case of need, and to collect tribute in case of inclination that way. To this may be added a like fund of nearly forty millions charged as being in the hands of disbursing officers, for which the Government is supposed to be secured by the official bonds of those same disbursing officers. It is a fact that this money is in the vaults of the banks, and the fact that the banks profit by using it in their discount business probably causes some delay in the settlement of claims against Uncle Sam. It can be seen at a glance how the banks make this use of nearly ninety millions of dollars profitable. It is not only the "court-house ring" of the counties who profit by using the money of the taxpayers without interest. The plan is worked from the smallest political jurisdiction to the largest, and is one of the small parts in the grand system by which money is made an instrument of oppression to the people. That a privileged few should receive money without interest and be allowed to charge whatever they may choose

to exact for its use by the people is a representative abuse of the present financial system.

JOHN STUART MILL says: "When one person lends to another, as well as when he pays wages or rent to another, what he transfers is not the mere money, but a right to a certain value of the produce of the country, to be selected at pleasure; the lender having first bought this right, by giving for it a portion of his capital. What he lends is so much capital; the money is the mere instrument of transfer."

Harry Tracy's Appointment.

Harry Tracy will lecture at the following times and places in Texas:

- Georgetown, Monday, January 27.
- Round Rock, Tuesday, January 28.
- Kyle, Wednesday, January 29.
- San Marcos, Thursday, January 30.
- Lockhart, Friday, January 31.
- Manor, Saturday, February 1.
- Elgin, Monday, February 3.

Chilton County (Ala.) Alliance.

This County Alliance entered the new year by unanimously adopting the following:

Whereas, the financial policy of our Government is a fraud, and run in the interest of the speculative class, at the expense and to the detriment of the productive class, and whereas neither of the political parties offer a remedy adequate to our necessities, and the two parties that have been in power since the war have pursued practically the same financial policy. Hence, realizing the necessity of a change in our financial system, that the wealth-producers of our nation may have an equal showing with other classes.

Therefore, be it resolved, That we, the members of Chilton County Farmers Alliance of Alabama, approve of and most heartily endorse the report on the monetary system adopted by the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union while in session at St. Louis, Mo.

Notice.

To the Colored Farmers Union of Louisiana:

Arrangements have been made with T. A. Clayton, State Agent of the Farmers Union of Louisiana, by which the Colored Union of Louisiana can trade through the agency and receive all the benefits of cheap goods without the expense of a separate agency, and thus unite the financial strength of both orders. It will certainly be to the advantage of both, and as both organizations are working for the same objects, the Colored Farmers Union will co-operate with the Farmers Union whenever it is possible to do so.

A. L. PLUMMER, Secy.

Gen'l Supt. C. F. U.; Funny Louis, La.

Obituary.

At a regular meeting of Redwood Union, No. 428, East Feliciana Parish, La., held December 6th, 1889, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the heavenly Father has in his inscrutable wisdom removed from our midst our Bro. John Sullivan on the 27th day of November, 1889,

Therefore, be it resolved, that while we bow with submission to the will of Providence, we hope that his loss to our order is his eternal gain. Over our brotherhood settles a pall of sorrow; a link is loosened in the golden chain; a jewel has dropped from our coronet of friendship, love, and truth; a place is vacant in our hall; but another voice has gone to join the immortal of heavenly sons, sweet voices whispering of a better land.

Relentless death could not thy hand forbear To rend that holy band of union dear,

Nor thy insatiate dart a father spare,

When helpless ones implore thy pitying care,

Oh! couldst thou not revoke that stern decree, That snatched from earth a father, husband, friend,

That crushed the ivy as it felled the tree,

And made the pliant shoots in sorrow bend.

Be it further resolved, that our Union hall, and charter be draped in mourning, and our members wear the badges for (30) thirty days, and that these resolutions be spread on the minutes of our order, and that a copy be sent to the NATIONAL ECONOMIST for publication.

W. E. WALTHALL, Secy.

A. J. ROBERTS,

B. DUKE, Com.

# The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS  
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## QUANTITY AND NOT KIND.

It is generally supposed that all this discussion in and out of Congress, through the press and among the people, regarding bimetalism, mono-metalism, gold basis, silver coinage, and paper money, is for the purpose of determining what shall be used as money within our national boundaries. This conclusion is but partially true, because, like every other proposition touching finance, the real object is always concealed while under discussion. Next to that of the Creator, the oldest and most unchanging idea among the human race is silver and gold as money. The superstition which attaches to these two metals has cost humanity much of its suffering and misery. Before the introduction of modern methods of exchange, these metals because of their scarcity were convenient and useful, but that they should at this late day, amid the rapid progress of the present time, receive homage from the people as in bygone ages, is one of the unaccountable freaks of our civilization. Designing men, knowing that the quantity of the circulating medium is the real lever, and that the kind or quality of such medium is a matter of absolute indifference, have, for the purpose of oppressing the people through its manipulation, continued the worship of these metals as money. And while the people in their innocence are discussing with earnestness the kind of money to be used, those who understand the "power of money to oppress" are guiding this controversy into such channels as will lead to the limitation of amount. Under cover of furnishing the people with a particular kind of money, modern financiers are really defining the quantity. There is not a single phase connected with the circulating medium of the present that is not founded upon quantity and not kind as the prime object. With the exception of gold, all the other varieties of currency are limited in amount by legislation. In every bill touching currency discussed by Congress, much more time is given to the consideration of quantity than kind. In all recommendations to Congress from the Treasury department, the question of the amount of currency always occupies a prominent place. By the limitation of legal-tender money the

debt paying power of the people is also limited, and by lessening the amount of both legal and non-legal currency the demand for checks, drafts, etc., is increased.

To such an extent has this proven true, that at the present time 97½ per cent of all business transactions are made with artificial currency, such as checks and drafts. This kind of currency is most oppressive and expensive, and carries with it a species of slavery that is both demoralizing and degrading—demoralizing, because it takes from business men their independence, and teaches them the power of money to make distinctions in society; degrading, because when once understood, either servility and slavish deference, or despair and desperation follows.

The war made upon the legal tender greenback is based upon the fact that it can be increased in volume, and not because it is made of paper. If laws could be made limiting the number of paper dollars beyond any possible contingency to a certain amount, all this discussion about gold and silver as money would cease at once. But if the right be recognized that the Government can make out of paper one dollar, it can make as many more as it may desire. This proposition is clearly set forth in the legal tender decision.

If the material out of which money is to be made can be confined to gold and silver, one or both, then the supply will depend, first, upon the chances of mining, and, second, as to its being worth more to use as money than for other purposes. Besides this, the amount can be controlled by purchase or sale. The eminent Scotch economist, Prof. McCulloch, says upon this point:

**DIVERSIFY INDUSTRIES.**  
The doctrine of diversified industries has been taught in this country since the days of Hamilton, and has been the theme of political economists from the time of Adam Smith. The advocates of this system base their theory upon two propositions:

1. It is a safeguard against crop disasters, because if the one production happened to be wheat, and a bad season should be met, all would suffer; while if more than that one product had been depended upon, wheat might fail and the balance prove remunerative.

2. It enables the producer to be more independent by reason of making on his own land, as nearly as possible all that is consumed at home, both in production and care of family. Other reasons are urged, but these two are the most prominent.

Another class argue, that all production should be urged and perfected where nature has most kindly prepared the way. If in a certain locality cotton can be made, it should be urged to the highest point of cultivation. If in another section corn or wheat is the natural product, to force production in that line should be the prime object. To go through the whole list of products and assist nature to do her utmost, and when done, permit a full reciprocity of exchange, are the main principles of this doctrine. The first system is the fullness of cold-blooded selfishness, looking only to the individual, while the second recognizes that a kind Providence never provided a condition that was not intended for man to take advantage of for the benefit of all. The first eliminates as far as possible the idea or reality of bargain or sale, while the second depends almost entirely upon a continual exchange.

The ultimate success of the one would be attained when all exchange ceased, while the complete triumph of the other would show an entire interchange of commodities, or a return to absolute barter. The one isolates and removes from the society of others as a natural sequence, while the other

receives and must have exactly the opposite conditions. Unaided by other factors a partial success in either case is worse than complete failure, because it leads to future trials in the vain hope of success. There are factors, however, which, if properly applied, would make either one of these propositions a success: Cheap land, cheap transportation, and cheap money. Land is cheap only when its cultivation brings a reward. Transportation is cheap, when it brings no better income than other business ventures, and money is cheap when it is the incident, the instrument of exchange, and not the object. No matter how diversified our national industries may be, or how abundant may be the reward of labor in gross production, unless these three conditions obtain an unjust distribution will follow, which in the end brings wreck and ruin. The people are suffering to-day from a system made up of both these propositions improperly combined, and bound hand and foot by dear money, dear transportation, and dear lands. Without these conditions, industries may be diversified to the utmost extent, and yet, something will step in and separate industry and prosperity. It is a mistake to urge the people of the cotton belt to raise less cotton and more corn. The cotton crop is the only sure money crop left to the United States. More than seven-tenths of the entire cotton of the world is made in the cotton belt of our country. Instead of undertaking to diversify industries, let the people of that section devise means whereby a fair price can be obtained for what they now produce. Let them stand together and demand a just remuneration for their labor, or let the world want for cotton. This is far easier and a much better plan than that of raising corn. One single experiment of this kind would enable the planter to buy his corn to a much better advantage than he could possibly make it. The real object sought in diversifying industries is to make the products of labor cheaper. That is exactly what the farmer, laborer and planter should try to avoid. It is not cheap products that will benefit, it is dear products that bring a reward. While the people are laboring to diversify their industries in order to reduce the price of their products, they are forging the chains which in the end will bind them to a relentless system of wage slavery. Dunning, in *Philosophy of Price*, says:

1. The degradation of every nation is measured accurately by the amount of the products of its labor given in exchange for a dollar, or unit of their currency. The poorest, meanest, most servile and abject nation and people always have, and always will, barter the greatest amount of their products for a dollar.

2. The civilization, grandeur, position and social status of every nation is gauged absolutely by the amount of the necessities and comforts of life that a day's labor will purchase for its people.

I bring as proof of these assertions the wages received and position occupied by the people of every nation on earth. These propositions are too plain to be disputed. Compare the low wages of India, Egypt, China and many other countries that might be mentioned, with the wages paid for labor in the United States, England, France, Germany and other like countries, and then note the difference of their standing among the nations of the world. The proof is absolute and positive.

For further proof that diversified industries unaided by the factors above enumerated bring no reward, a glance at the condition of the State of Michigan is requested. No other State in the Union possesses as great a variety of important industries, among which are the greatest copper mines of the world, extensive iron and silver mines, stone, slate and marble quarries, important fisheries, immense forests of pine and hard-wood timber, salt industries that furnish one-third of the salt used in the nation, a prolific fruit belt, and a large section of as good farming lands as one finds anywhere. Yet in spite of all this diversity Michigan is loaded down with indebtedness, and the farmers alone are paying in annual interest \$4,636,265.81 upon their mortgage indebtedness. This is taken from the report of the Bureau of Labor for 1888. If these deductions and references prove anything, it is that, no matter how much industries may be diversified, if not supplemented by other conditions it is a complete failure. It is urged by those who are non-producers and who desire to purchase the products of labor cheap.

It is said that ex-Comptroller of the Treasury John J. Knox has been heard before the House Committee on Banking and Currency. This gentleman is president of a prosperous national bank, and he no doubt looks forward to the time when its corporate existence will terminate with the trepidation which characterizes the coward when he confronts the certainty of corporeal extinction. Just now these thrifty institutions are in the position of a well-defended criminal moving for a new trial, and hedging on the law's delays before the final end which is recorded against them by the verdict of a court. And it is very human on the part of a great many men to make bets that they will or will not re-charter, just as many men will be found to bet that one convicted of a great crime will or will not hang. Mr. Knox gravely argued that the continuance of the present system was necessary, and that inasmuch as the bonded debt of the country was rapidly being extinguished, he would favor a plan by which the bonds of other governments might be used as collateral for the national bank currency. The payment of a premium by the American people upon the debts of aliens is thought to be good financial policy—by the man who is to get the premium. It is not known how far the ex-Comptroller represents his class, but certainly no man in America is better qualified to estimate how far the people can be induced to submit to the juggling feats whereby the credit of the country is made to enrich a combination of small membership but great power.

The board of trustees of the Kansas Alliance have directed the removal of the office of the State secretary, J. B. French, from Burton to Hutchinson, where Room 3 has been secured in the News building.

## RAILWAYS,

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

NO. 38.

## THE FORMS OF COMBINATION.

The forms of combination which have been made between the railways, as in other industrial combinations, have varied widely in the course of their development and history. The same differences in organization continue as between various combinations in different interests according to the circumstances of each. It is well to understand the nature of the various classes of combination and their respective strength in the study of the history of all of them; but the important point which is to be enforced by the review and classification of them is the clear recognition of the single purpose which runs through them all.

Professor Hadley, in "Railroad Transportation," gives as good a division of the different forms which combinations had taken to any prominent degree up to the time when that work was written; and in reviewing them we need not do better than to adopt his division into the four forms of (1) agreements to maintain rates or prices, (2) to divide the field, (3) to divide the traffic, and (4) to divide the earnings. To these must be added a fifth form of combination, which has become one of the most prominent features of industrial organization during the four years that have elapsed since the publication of Professor Hadley's work.

1. The agreement to maintain a fixed rate of charges for any staple or service is simply one not to let the competition between sellers result in the reduction of prices that is generally produced by that force; in order to gain the benefit that is universally sought after by business men under free competition of quick sales and small profits; or, what may as naturally arise from the circumstances of the case, but is somewhat less frequent, it is the agreement of the buyers of any commodity or service not to pay more than a fixed rate. Such agreements constitute the simplest form of combination, the one first resorted to in most cases, and the one shown by experience to be the most evanescent. In railroad combinations it extends as far back before the time when combinations became a prominent issue as when any two or more railroads competing at any point sought to prevent their competition from reducing rates. The "presidents' agreements" of 1874-75 were prominent examples of the form of combination applied to the entire competition business of the trunk lines; but long before that similar agreements had been made to control the rates at the different competitive points taken singly. In trade and commerce the resort to such agreements extends so far back that it is hardly possible to set a date for its begin-

ning. An old English case, of the date of Henry V, shows that such agreements were resorted to then, and Coke's decision in a case of his time shows that they continued then. They are capable of being applied to the smallest as well as the greatest departments of trade. Two storekeepers, selling in competition, can agree that they will not sell calicos, sugar, or illuminating oil at less than fixed prices; or that they will not pay more than certain figures for butter, eggs, or grain. Two Wall street kings may agree that certain stocks which they control shall not be sold for less than a certain figure, or that they will not pay more than a certain rate for securities which corporations or governments desire to negotiate through them. The labor organizations are agreements not to take less than a certain rate of wages, with especial effort taken to cultivate the feeling that the injunction is binding. But while the form of combination by simple agreement is at once the easiest of attainment and the most universal in applicability, it has so little cohesiveness and is so weak against the inducements of competition that it rarely amounts to much more than agreement to hold prices at about the level which would be fixed by natural competition. It can only be effective in forcing prices much beyond the normal level where there are but two or, at the most, three competitors. Two railroads have been known to maintain such an agreement for a considerable time. When there were three it was generally found that one would, after a time, seek to get ahead of the other two by cutting down rates a little. When there were four owners, the duration of the agreements has hardly ever been as long as the time occupied in making them. A proposition was mooted at St. Louis last year that all the growers of wheat should agree to hold their product at a stated price. This would have been a combination of this sort if it had been put into force; but nearly every one can see that with some millions of competitors in that industry, the formation of such an agreement would not have affected the wheat market a quarter of a cent.

It is one of the noticeable features of these agreements that the nominal prices which they establish, with the hope of preventing competition, sometimes survive, with legitimate functions, long after the main purpose has been wholly abandoned. Thus at different periods, years before the era of more stable combinations, price-lists were agreed upon for the bar-iron trade, for various kinds of hardware, nails, wrought-iron pipe, glass, and the list might be indefinitely extended. The idea that these uniform price-lists could be used to keep prices at the figures named therein was promptly exploded; but the uniform price-lists still remain. Their convenience in making quotations, in transmitting orders, in briefly showing the fluctuations of the market by quoting discounts from the lists, has kept them in existence long after the attempt to sustain prices had

been abandoned; and the difference between the original idea and the prices fixed by competition is shown by the fact that market quotations in some of them are to-day one-quarter or one-fifth the list prices, or, in other words, the discounts from the lists are seventy-five and eighty per cent and sometimes more. Certain of these very interests are now attempting new combinations; but the overwhelming experience that they have had as to the evanescence of mere agreements is recognized by their effort to adopt more permanent organizations.

2. The division of territory is another method of combination. In this form the attempt is made to take away the inducement of competition to reduce prices by giving each member of the combination a monopoly over a certain district. It was the original corporate idea that the normal condition of railway organization was to give each railway exclusive rule over its territory; and there are certain curious survivals of that idea. The railway wars of 1885-86 were fought upon the claim of the Pennsylvania railroad that it would permit no competing railroad to encroach upon its field in Pennsylvania; and Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt denounced the West Shore people who trespassed upon the local traffic of the New York Central road as "robbers." This application of the terms "thieves" and "pick-pockets" to those who enter upon competition with the traffic heretofore controlled by the interest which does the denouncing, has very widely reflected the railway idea that the road has an exclusive and proprietary right in the traffic of certain localities and shippers; but it never yet restrained a railway from committing the same trespass on the desirable traffic of other roads. Perhaps for that reason it has had little vogue as a method of preventing competition between the railroads. It might be more accurate to say that having been fully tried by the original constitution of the railroads each with a monopoly of its local traffic, and having been wholly broken down by the mutual attempt of all to extend their competitive business, the uselessness of that sort of combination was almost generally perceived when more permanent combinations were sought after. The only prominent example of that sort within the present generation was the bituminous coal agreement of 1876, when it was agreed between the Pennsylvania railroad and Baltimore and Ohio railroad that no bituminous coal from the latter should be sold in the Atlantic or seaboard market between Cape Henlopen and Cape Cod, which was to be the district of the former road. Agreements between express companies have generally taken this form; and, as Prof. Hadley says, it is most frequently illustrated where different gas or water companies parcel off the different districts of a city, or where manufacturers in different cities agree to leave each one in the possession of his home market. But this form of combination is hardly less transitory than the agreement to

maintain prices. It rests upon practically the same basis, that of an agreement not to compete, which there is no means of enforcing and every violation of which represents a distinct gain to the violator. Each member sees in the business that is offered to him out of another's territory a clear addition to the profits that he draws from his own district. Each sees in every move made by the other an attempt to "steal," as our railway friends put it, the business belonging to him. He consequently retaliates by just the same encroachment on the territory of his rival. The result has been that the divisions of territory as a means of preventing competition are fully as weak and have been more generally abandoned than the simple agreements to maintain prices.

3. The failure of these simpler forms of combination led to attempts at the organization of some sort of a combination in which the inducements to compete were taken away. This took the form, in the vast majority, of "pools," which is the descriptive term for a union of business in one common total and its division among the members of the combination according to arbitrary and stipulated percentages. In manufacturing and business combinations this concentration of the business into a single total might be effected in a variety of ways. In the railroad there was, when the pool was that of the traffic, practically but one way. This was to assign a certain percentage of the business to each of the railroads forming the pool, and to keep periodical reports of the tonnage carried by each. At the end of each stated period, if any railroad is found to have exceeded its allotted percentage of the total it was directed by the pool commissioner or chairman to turn over during the succeeding period an amount of freight equal to the excess shown by the reports; the roads which had obtained less than their percentage being entitled to demand from the pool the diversion of freight necessary to make up their share. This is the "traffic pool" under which nearly all the railroads have been, at one time or another, combined in various organizations. It is the form of combination most widely in vogue during the past twelve years, and for that reason, as well as the fact that the advocates of combination are urging its rehabilitation, will form the main object of discussion in studying the question of combinations. But it must be taken in connection with its variation, viz:

4. The division of earnings, or the "money pool." In cases where it has been found difficult or inconvenient to adjust the percentages by diverting the traffic of one road to the route of its rival, the agreement has been made to rectify the difference between the stated percentages and the business actually done, by the payment in money from the road which had transported the excess of the earnings on such excess, and the receipt by the road which had carried less than its proportion of the entire earnings which it would have received if it had car-

ried its full percentage. This Prof. Hadley says in his book, is "the closest form of combination." While a closer form has become prominent since that work was written, it is true that the money pool was the closest form of pooling organization. Certainly so long as it lasted it appeared to take away all inducement to attract business either by lower rates or superior facilities. The railroad that secured increased business by such means would, under this arrangement, obtain no increased revenue; but, on the contrary, being obliged to pay over all the earnings on the excess of business, would have a dead loss of the expenses of carrying it. The railroad that held out no inducements to traffic, or actually drove business away, would lose nothing while the pool lasted. Its fixed proportion of earnings must be made up by the other roads, and if it actually kept business away, so as to do practically nothing at all, its profits would be greater by the fact that it would receive its revenue from the freight carried by other lines, while its expenses would be reduced to little or nothing.

The necessity that we shall in future articles go over in detail the history and character of pooling permits the omission of that branch of the subject here. It is enough to say that experience showed in many ways the failure of pools to carry out their purpose. While railroad policy has never yet made an actual attempt at seeking a more solid and permanent form of combination, the necessity of it in order to secure the corporate ideal of freedom of competition was widely avowed by prominent railroad men. In industrial and commercial combinations the transitory nature of pools has been fully established, and the more impregnable form of combination has been organized in such shape as to bring the people face to face with the question of organized trade monopolies.

5. Trusts.—The essential character of this combination is that while the pools sought to take away the inducement to competition by the union of traffic or production, the trusts attempt to take away the power of competing by the union of ownership or control. In other words, to form a pool a half dozen railroads or manufacturing establishments would put their business or production in one common total and divide the proceeds; to form the more consolidated and permanent monopoly the controlling interest in all of them would be placed in the hands of some central power, and each establishment must of course be run according to the orders of the central and controlling authority. The name arises from the fact that this concentration of control is generally attained by placing a majority or all of the stock of the different establishments in the hands of trustees, who hold it in trust for the shareholders, and are to operate the combined concern and distribute the profits among those whose stock is thus held in trust. Any purpose may be named for the object

The classification of the five forms of combination, viz., agreements to maintain rates and prices; to divide territory; to divide traffic; to divide earnings or revenue; and to consolidate ownership or control has thus been made the subject of this article in order to open the way to the discussion of the aim which they have in common, the influence which they seek to suspend, and the effect upon popular interests, if their common efforts should attain full success. It is the mapping out of the great question whether trade shall be ruled by great combinations or regulated by the democratic principle of competition.

## OFFICIAL.

OFFICE PRES. OF THE N. F. A. AND I. U.,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 16, 1890.

Appointments for the National Lecturer of the N. F. A. and I. U.:

Bro. Ben Terrell, National Lecturer, will visit the following named States on the dates given, and remain for the time specified:

Louisiana, February 1st to 15th.  
Texas, 22d February to 15th March.  
Arkansas, 17th March to 31st March.  
Kentucky, 2d April to 16th April.  
Indiana, 18th April to 2d May.  
Wisconsin, 6th May to 20th May.  
Dakota, 23d May to 10th June.  
Nebraska, 12th June to 24th June.  
Colorado, 26th June to 10th July.  
New Mexico, 12th July to 19th July.  
Indian Territory, 22d July to 30th July.  
Missouri, 2d August to 16th August.

The President of the N. F. A. and I. U. in each of the above-named States, is respectfully requested to arrange and publish appointments in his State for the Lecturer, in conformity with the dates above named, so as to enable him to deliver an address every other day during the time allotted to his State, and to forward the list of such appointments to this office. As it is impracticable for the Lecturer to make an extended canvass of any one State, it is hoped that such points may be selected, and such publicity given, as will secure the largest attendance of the members. Especially is it desirable and important that State, county, and subordinate officers and lecturers be present at his lectures.

L. L. POLK,  
Pres. N. F. A. and I. U.

NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION,  
Washington, D. C., January 3, 1890.

At an early day the Ritual, containing terms for the different forms of combination, to all of them alike, has much justification in the fact that they all aim at one thing. They have grown one out of the other, and are all prompted by the common desire to escape from the inconveniences of competition. Still the wide differences in their ability to secure that end, the marked contrasts in their strength and permanence, and consequently the extreme variation in the degree to which they have been able to affect the public interests by imposing monopoly prices for the controlled staples, renders it important to bear the distinctions in mind.

With the same purpose in view for all of them, the degree to which they are respectively able to realize their objects is as great as the range from innocuousness to the most grave abuses.

J. H. TURNER,  
Secretary N. F. A. and I. U.

ALL communications for L. L. Polk, President National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, or for J. H. Turner, national secretary, should be addressed in care of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## SOME USES AND ABUSES OF ALCOHOL.

An alcohol, of which there are many sorts known, is, from the chemical view, water in which a portion of the hydrogen is replaced by a hydro-carbon group. Ordinary alcohol, upon this view, is the hydrate of ethyl. It is produced by the fermentation of a sugary solution. Methyl hydrate is methyl alcohol, or, so-called, wood naphtha. Methylated alcohol is merely ordinary alcohol to which a certain portion of this wood naphtha has been added, whereby it is made unfit to drink, without being rendered useless for many scientific purposes. It is claimed that it is very easy to demethylate alcohol thus methylated, and so to defraud the revenue if methylated alcohol for use in the arts be untaxed. The difficulty and expense of the process are, however, greater than has been pretended by political partisans of a certain theory of revenue. It is a difficult and expensive process to make a beverage fit to drink from ordinary ethyl alcohol, except by fermenting the wine, brandy, and whisky-producing fruits and grains in the ordinary way.

Some fanatics advocate the absolute suppression of the manufacture of alcohol by penal statutes. Other persons, more reasonable, desire to prevent its manufacture and sale as a beverage; others, still, believe it more practicable to lessen the evils of drunkenness by the imposition of a very high license upon the traffic, with other restrictions as may be found practicable. In view of the great interest which attaches to these discussions, people ought to seek to obtain clear views of the nature and effects of the alcoholic beverages, both in health and disease. When we speak of alcohol as a beverage or medicine, we may agree to be understood as having reference to one of the common drinks and not to alcohol itself. What are the primary and the secondary effects of small and of large doses of an alcoholic drink? Undoubtedly alcohol is primarily a typical stimulant, increasing the functional power of the whole organism, and the beginning of this effect even precedes its absorption into the circulation. When taken into the mouth it at once stimulates by contact with the extensive network of nerves which lies upon the surface of that cavity; an action which is continued as it goes down the esophagus and after it reaches the lining membrane of the stomach. This locally stimulant effect is almost instantly extended by reflexion to all the great nerve centers in greater or less degree. The vessels are contracted; the action of the heart quickened and rendered more forcible; all functions including the cerebral is quickened, and a general feeling of warmth and glowing exhilaration follows. If the dose has been small and dilute the secondary effect of narcosis does not follow to an appreciable extent, but the stimulating effect continues with gradual abatement until the alcohol is eliminated from the system, and thus the natural standard is reached as it existed before the dose was taken. If, however, the quantity be large, which is a relative question, varying with the individual and the existing condition, then as soon as absorption has taken place narcosis is produced. What is narcotism? Complete narcotism is the temporary or permanent suspension of the powers of perception and sensation. The condition varies from the slightest disturbance of those

powers to their complete suppression, and in fatal cases their final extinction. When the alcohol is absorbed with the circulation, it begins to blunt the excitability of the nervous mass, and to dilate the vessels, thereby disturbing the functions of the brain, and first in order its highest function, the intellectual, which is the beginning of drunkenness. Gradually the blood leaves the arterial side of the circulation and stagnates in the venous side, black, loaded with carbon, and useless either to the support of tissue or of function. This is the end of drunkenness; the man or the woman, as the case may be, lies insensible in profound stupor, and is said to be dead drunk. There is an intermediate stage when the intellectual function is grossly disordered; the powers of the will overthrown, and the drunkard is for the time being a maniac and a most dangerous one to himself no less than to others. This stage of alcoholism raises a multitude of very grave medico-legal questions, in the solution of too many of which it is to be feared the drunkard has received the benefit of all doubts. Up to what point in any given case is a person drunk capable of that malicious premeditation and deliberate purpose which constitute the essence of capital crime? The answer is difficult; in most cases impossible. In every such case the responsibility of a juror and judge is painful and great. Here stands unmasked one of the most fearful evils of the abuse of alcohol, viz.: the drinking of it to drunkenness. Some persons appalled by this view are ready to declare that alcohol is always mischievous, and never does any good which can not be better done by other means within the reach of the modern medical man. No; not so. Circumstances there are when alcohol will save a valuable life when no other known thing will. Too often ever to forget the harrowing scenes this writer stood upon the battlefield, where every minute friend after friend was laid at his feet mangled, pale, exsanguine, gasping. In reply to the anxious question, where is it? The white lips move feebly, but there is no articulate sound. Does some theorist or fanatic urge, "give him a cup of coffee." Away with such folly. Death is staring the man in the face. Give him whisky or brandy, stiff and strong, and give it to him instantly. Before you can turn around he will be dead. Often has the writer saved a precious life by this means, and often has he seen a good man die for the want of it, and because there was and is no substitute. In every case of profound and dangerous collapse alcohol in some form is the sheet-anchor of the surgeon's hope, and there is no substitute. Every good surgeon knows that; no honest surgeon will deny it. In the alcohol habit we recognize an evil of enormous proportions. Never mind about the statistics; like the bones of the prophets, weird vision in the valley, they are dry, very dry. Those who delight in statistics are able to show very clearly what every man's own experience brings home to his own fireside, or the field of his limited personal experience, viz., that this evil is nearly or remotely connected with almost all the unnecessary sorrow and suffering and crime in the world. And when by special knowledge we are able to take an imperfect view and make an imperfect estimate of the effects of direct and indirect inheritance of the manifold evils that flow from this fountain, the conception becomes so astonishing and so appalling as we review the stupendous increase of the defective and parasitic classes that we stand amazed and stupefied by our own calculations and reflec-

## THE NUTRITION OF PLANTS.

We have pointed out the leading facts in the chemistry and natural history of the elements which nourish plants, and from which it is the office of the plant to build up that protoplasmic material upon which animals depend for their nourishment. It is more than doubtful if any element is capable of entering into the nutrition of any plant except in the nascent state. It must therefore enter first into chemical union with another element before it can enter into the nutrition of a living organism. The general nature of the alimentary materials of the plant kingdom is that they are inorganic compounds; compounds which are incapable of any of the manifestations which we call vital; which are not and can not become living matter until they are subjected to the influence of a pre-existing organism belonging to the plant kingdom. It is the opinion of the writer that vegetable physiologists have not obtained a clear view of these facts; nor have they as clear a conception as is desirable of the power of the plant as a living organism to subordinate to its own forces physical and chemical laws in selecting, absorbing, and assimilating the materials of its food supply. If we desire to reach right conclusions we must not permit ourselves for a single moment to lose sight of the fact that the plant is a living organism, and that the physiological forces of a living organism are not under the dominion of the laws of chemical affinity, nor the laws of mechanical force. On the contrary, the laws of chemical union and of mechanical force are under the dominion of the physiological forces of the living organism. They who teach that the laws of the forces, the aggregate effect of which is life, are merely the laws of chemical combination and of mechanical force do not teach the truth. The science of the nutrition of plants is a very great and important science as yet not well understood. It appears to be a matter about which we have probably to unlearn much error. It is usually said even yet that the alimentary materials from which the organic parts of plants are developed consist of carbonic acid, water, and ammonia, though it is now admitted that nitric acid also undergoes assimilation, furnishing nitrogen for the composition of protoplasmic matter. The writer is of the opinion that ammonia does not primarily contribute to the nutrition of plants, becoming available only subsequent to conversion into nitric or nitrous acid. That question remains in doubt. It is evident that the pro-

cesses of plant nutrition begin by the dissociation of the oxygen from the carbonic acid, the water, and the nitric acid, and by the assimilation of the nascent carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen so developed, recombining them to form new substances; and it is further evident that the transfer of these atoms from their chemical combinations to new substances is under the control of forces belonging to the plant as a living organism. We are not able to recognize the conditions capable of bringing about such transfers as chemical reactions. The resulting substances differ from chemical compounds by all that difference which exists between living and non-living matter. The properties which distinguish a living cell as the physiological unit, are derivable only from a pre-existing similar cell or organism, just as every living organism is derived only from a pre-existing similar organism in its entirety. Sulphur and carbon and phosphorus do not nourish plants, and these elements are derived in the physiological economies of the plants from their chemical compounds, from which they are disassociated by the physiological energy of the organs of the plant. Now, when we come to study the fertilization of soils and crops, we shall fail to reach sound conclusions unless we admit that the plant as a living organism is not a merely passive agent in the processes of its own nutrition, which is not carried on by the ordinary mechanical forces and chemical affinities. We have invented a somewhat diffuse terminology to convey our knowledge upon these questions, but it is far from satisfactory, as they know best who have studied these matters most deeply. Here we rest for the present, with the intention of returning to the subject in future numbers.

## THE MARYLAND FARMERS' ASSEMBLY.

This body met in annual session on the 8th instant. An opening address was made by Mr. Stake, the president, who is a lawyer, a politician, a State senator, and a farmer, and his address appears to have been of that character. Then followed various resolutions recommending legislation on various subjects, which were variously discussed and finally adopted. On the second day there was a speech by Assistant Secretary Willets of the national Department of Agriculture, which was long and interesting, touching many topics, but we think very much too optimistic. We do not naturally incline to pessimism. We do not love to be "sad as night merely for wantonness." But the state of agriculture and of country life is so bad that it could not well be worse. Nor is there any hope for bettering it by the flimsy and transparent quackery of a few pointless generalities with regard to the extension of the principles of protection to the products of agriculture. Which products, gentlemen? Which products? We demand a bill of particulars, which shall be something else than words which have no meaning, but only sound.

## SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

In a recent number of the Birmingham Age-Herald is an article on the above subject from the pen of Mr. W. B. Phillips, Ph.

He says:

Take the chemists now in business in Alabama, or the engineers, or the superintendent, of coke-ovens or furnaces, not one of them has been trained in this State. They come from Freiburg, from Columbia, from Lehigh, from Troy, from Boston; but not one from Tuscaloosa, nor Auburn, nor Greensboro, nor Marion.

Here is a grievously bad mistake for Alabama, marvelously rich in the natural re-

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

sources of productive industry. On more than one occasion in these columns we have dwelt upon the importance, the imperative necessity of having the young captains of this industry trained at home amid the traditions of the old South. This intellectual bondage to aliens is a most grievous thing. Mark, Alabama, the words of one who has opportunities to know what he is talking about, you are making a mistake, the fruits of which will prove very bitter in years to come. You have before you the article of Mr. Phillips, full of sound sense and timely warning. You have among you teachers like W. S. Brown and James H. Lane, but you have one such man at work where you should have ten, and you need not doubt it. Parsimonious views at this time with regard to your teaching force are fatally erroneous. If your industrial armies are to be both manned and officered by aliens, with whom will the glory and prestige of your State be lodged?

The Chicago Journal, in a vain attempt to account for the extreme demand for money, says that "the amount of money in circulation is larger than ever before, but the bulk of it is somehow lodged in the hands of bankers, capitalists and huge business or manufacturing combinations." Just how it can be in circulation and locked up in the hands of anybody does not seem to have struck this able financial editor. The hoary lie about more in circulation than ever before is a sort of habit of speech, and being repeated as a matter of course, like the cross-tailed R on a physician's prescription, may be construed as a sort of invocation to a higher power, or a compliance with a common superstition. The truth seems to be that there is really less money in the United States, outside the treasury and public depositories, than at any time in twenty-five years. Within that time the population has doubled, and the annual productive capacity increased in an even greater ratio. The year 1889 saw a decrease of probably more than one hundred millions of dollars in the quantity of precious metals in this country, going principally to pay interest upon foreign investments. The fact that the quantity of money makes the price of commodities seems to be ignored. It is the first impression conveyed by political economists, and upon it is based the entire theory and practice of price in exchange. Yet men who should teach the truth endeavor by repeating the stale lies of the contractionists, to prevent a logical conclusion by the people as to this grave matter.

If the truth were told there would be little need of groveling after reasons. To the common comprehension the fact would appear that the country is on the verge of a famine. The crops are bountiful as those of Egypt, when in the seven years of plenty the seven of drought were provided for. If food and clothing were all, or even the principal demands of the time and country, the people of this day and land would be the happiest and freest from care of any who ever lived. But the lean kine devouring the substance of the people are in the guise of usury, taxes, and tribute to aliens, and their name is legion. When the Government put it in the power of a privileged few to fix the volume of money, and by that means fix the price of every article going into the exchanges of the world, it was as though Pharaoh had ordered that the lean kine be left to trample the fields and feeding places of the fat. The famine which threatens is the need of a medium of exchange adequate to the wants of the people. As the children of Abraham were forced to leave the stricken land bought for them by their ancestor about the tomb of the mother of the race, so are the toilers of America seeing the homes they inherited sundered from them in satisfaction of the voracious appetites of the tithe-gatherers of the day. The sacrifice of home and freedom is imperatively demanded by the strain put upon the people to-day, as when Jacob was called to Egypt to take up the yoke which his people found so grievous in after years. The people are in the face of a dilemma. One horn implies such sacrifices as have never been imposed upon the haughty race from which they have sprung without protest. The other forces a determination to be represented in the commercial administration of the affairs of the nation, to the end that they may be freed from tribute to a class. Which shall be taken? With design, the declaration of many writers and editors convey the falsehood quoted above, and in sheer ignorance it is repeated by many others. It misleads, as it was intended that it should. More money is needed than in the history of the country. There is less in use. It is a plain duty of the administration to provide a currency adequate to the needs of the people. To be adequate the amount should be sufficient to enable any man possessed of an unquestionable collateral to secure sufficient for his wants at a rate of interest which shall be reasonable. To do this would require a certain flexibility in the quantity by which it shall respond to the demands of exchange. This flexibility should be responsive to the needs of users of money, and not, as now, to the will of lenders of money. The proposition of the farmers at St. Louis more nearly meets every contingency than any yet made. By its operation money would be most plentiful when products were fresh from the hands of labor, and the volume would contract with the consumption of products, going further toward keeping prices fixed than any device ever yet suggested. The reasonable rate of interest which would prevail would justify any legitimate endeavor in manufacturing or building, and it is easy to see that under its stimulus every idle man would become a producer of wealth and a helper in the onward march of progress.

Recent investigation concerning the assessment of millionaires shows that these wealthy people evade nearly all taxation. Senator Stanford, who is said to be worth \$100,000,000, pays taxes on only \$62,175 personal property, much of that being household furniture. Mr. Crocker, his partner, worth nearly as much, is assessed for \$64,300, \$45,000 of which is furniture. Claus Spreckles is taxed on but \$8,150 personal, and James G. Fair on \$4,425. The late W. H. Vanderbilt, worth \$200,000,000, was assessed on his household goods and houses. Russel Sage is down for less than \$50,000, and Cyrus Field less than that. In fact, the money of the country pays but little tax, while the farmer is compelled to even it up. Taxation if at all should be equal, and when once taken a correct accounting should be made of its expenditure.



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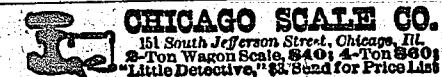


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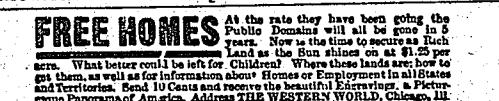
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NO. 20.

#### PURE POLITICS:

The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union passed a resolution at the last regular meeting expressing the sentiment of the agriculturists of this country in regard to certain reform measures of vital importance to them as farmers. They emphasized their determination to secure the adoption of these reform measures by saying:

We will support for office only such men as can be depended upon to enact these principles into statute law, uninfluenced by party caucus.

That class of newspapers conspicuous for being intensely and bitterly partisan have strongly condemned the Alliance for the declaration of this sentiment, claiming that it is undemocratic or unrepresentative as the case may be; Democratic papers claiming the former and Republican papers the latter. They also charge that it indicates a third party move.

These declarations and charges are a great injustice to both political parties and to the great farmers' organization they grossly misrepresent. A party or an organization can not thrive by doubtful methods any better than an individual can; disaster is sure to follow evil practices. Both the Democratic and the Republican parties were founded originally in the interest of the people; both desired to legislate for the greatest good to the greatest number, and both have assented to the doctrine that the will of the people is the supreme law. In the early days of this republic it was the ambition of the statesmen who figured as party leaders, to enact measures for the benefit of the people, but gradually and insidiously the doctrine has obtained currency in party practices, that the supremacy of the party is of greater importance than the welfare of the people, and acting on this principle corruption has been justified as a matter of policy, and statesmen as leaders in the party conflict have generally retired in disgust, leaving the wires to be manipulated by those less scrupulous who have flourished until they now constitute a distinct class known as professional politicians. These two great parties at first certainly believed and contended for the supremacy of the people, and the prime object of both was the same—good government in the interest of the people. True they sought to secure this end by different methods. One believed in a strict construction of the Constitution, and that the National Government was a confederation of free and independent States, each of which was supreme within its own borders, save and except such rights as it had ex-

pressly surrendered in the general compact called the Constitution. The other believed in a strong government with a sufficiently liberal construction of the Constitution to fortify the National Government with strength enough to be a source of assistance to any section or interest when necessary. The conflict of methods to carry out the same end has gradually degenerated into the modern party conflict of a disgraceful and unscrupulous scramble for party supremacy, that the spoils of office may be distributed among the henchmen. A man's fealty to the Democratic or the Republican party can no longer be regarded as an evidence of his devotion to the original principles of democracy or republicanism.

The farmers have suffered long and patiently from the evils that flow from class legislation; they have studied the situation and know exactly what is the matter and what the remedy. In deciding how to secure the application of the remedy there are but two methods from which to choose. It must be done by legislation, and they must choose whether it is better to secure that legislation by the organization of a new party for that purpose, or whether they will pledge the candidates of the party to which each belongs to these measures. A third party movement they postponed as perhaps a dernier resort in case the parties to which they belonged should refuse their reasonable demands for relief. They decided to leave the party fealty of every member of the order free to his own conscience, but that each would labor to secure these just measures from the party to which he belonged. At this point they met an obstacle in the shape of the party caucus; not the nominating caucus or any caucus in the elections, county, State or national, but the caucus of the members of Congress, while Congress is in session, that compels the members to vote directly against the plain interest of the people and in favor of measures that will perpetuate the party. The caucus makes the good of the party superior to the good of the people and protects a Congressman who has violated his duty to the people for the sake of the party from the vengeance of an outraged people by whipping them into line with the party lash. For an example of the workings of the caucus say a Republican member has introduced a measure in the interest of the agriculturist, and which may interfere with the business of the produce gamblers, who always contribute large sums to the corruption funds of the political parties. The measure is political in no sense, but it is calculated to benefit all

agriculturists in this country. It therefore is popular with the masses, and receives the support of two-thirds of the rank and file of both the Republican and Democratic parties, but when the Democratic caucus is convened it is shown that the measure is so popular that it would never do to let it pass when it was introduced by a Republican during a Republican administration, because it would tend to popularize and perpetuate the Republican party. For the same reasons it would be opposed by the Republican caucus when introduced by a Democrat. This caucus is the greatest enemy the modern party has. It is a set fast on the back of the Democratic party. The same is true of the Republican party. The true friend to the party will say, let corrupt practices be abolished and let right prevail at all hazards. The modern corrupt party ringster and the subsidized newspaper will hold the party caucus when introduced by a Democrat. This caucus is the greatest enemy the modern party has. 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