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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 5.

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PATHOGNOMIC.

"Wit bought is better than wit taught," says Oliver Optic. Some people can only learn by experience, and some people are determined to learn in no other way. The most remarkable thing in political circles at this time is the apparent satisfaction and unconcern of the bosses of the Democratic party machine in regard to the action of the farmers in 1892. They have sent out their orders to that portion of the press known to be servile to their wishes, and the result is that such papers are beginning to teem with the expression of a sentiment that those not willing to yield their adherence to Alliance principles should be read out of the party. It is plainly evident that the intent is to drive all who can be driven into the third party movement. And when that result is pointed out they smilingly say that a third party will throw the election into the House, which will make a Democratic President a certainty. So universal has this condition become that a certain line of bitter attack upon Alliance principles as worthy of complete political intolerance is pathognomonic of the itch for gain that accompanies the servile tools of the bosses that distribute Wall street's campaign fund. The following is a sample of this kind of literature, from a Tennessee paper:

The old soreheads of the two great political parties of the United States met in Cincinnati a few days since and organized

the third party, called the people's party. The wild ideas of the Alliance were engrafted in the platform of principles. The heresies of the Alliance, the sub-treasury plan and the government ownership of railroads, were indorsed by the new party, and everything was lovely. This is the third party about which so much has recently been said, and with which the political element of the Alliance has repeatedly threatened the Democratic party in the South and the Republican party in the North. In conformity to repeated charges and despite repeated and vigorous denial, the Alliance is a self-convicted and self-acknowledged political organization, having specific and well-defined political aims. It is merging into a party with another name, however, but that movement does not shift the responsibility of the step. The leading issues of the Alliance are indorsed by the new party, and its actions at Cincinnati the other day are loudly applauded by the Alliance throughout the country.

Continuing, the real object is disclosed by pointing out the remedy, as follows:

The fight against the centralizing tendencies of the Alliance can not be put off any longer. The Democratic party in Tennessee has quietly submitted to the growth of these new and dangerous ideas, and like a whipped cur has slunk away, leaving public affairs in the hands of that element. The Tennessean, in the last campaign, urged the Democracy of the State to force the issue and demand those seeking political preferment at its hands to state their views on questions of vital import, but the leading men of the party threw up their hats and cried themselves hoarse for "democratic organization." Through their aid there were placed in office men who believe in the principles of the third party but who had not the manhood and the courage to say so. Now, then, these fellows, warmed into prominent life by the Democratic party of Tennessee, will go with the third party movement and let the old party of their birth go the devil. This Cincinnati pow-wow will result in good, however, to the Democratic party, for the reason that it will draw to the new party the disturbing element in the Alliance. It is well that the third party movement has been devised, for through it the Alliance can fight for its pet schemes, leaving the Democratic party to work on correct principles and not have to embrace the hydra-headed monsters emanating from the secret sessions of that Order. Political intolerance also crops out:

The issues are clearly drawn. The leaders of Democracy must now either declare themselves for or against the sub-treasury plan and the other heresies of the Alliance. It is the dawn of a critical era and the issue must be met boldly, fearlessly and bravely. No man is fit for political preferment who has not the courage of his convictions.

The authors of this system are politicians, shrewd and successful, and there is both wisdom and method in it. Money has been of late years the most potent agent in deciding elections, and they propose to stick to the money side until the people show a higher degree of ability to stick than they ever have shown. The great mistake they make is in condemning all who adhere to "the sub-treasury" and the "heresies of the Alliance" as in-

sincere or cranks and fanatics, who are bent on destroying the party. The wholesale denunciation of all who say "the Alliance first and party second," and in impugning their honesty and motives, is an outrage and an insult that will do those who indulge in it no good. The Alliance asks for nothing but what it can demonstrate to be right and just, and the persecution of men devoted to a great principle, by kicking them out of their old political parties, will only force them to form new connections, based on equity and justice which may become more popular than these arrogant bosses think. As an evidence of the sincerity of Alliance men the following resolutions are presented, passed by Oak Grove Alliance No. 45, of the State of Alabama, and sent to ECONOMIST by its President, F. M. Woods:

Therefore be it resolved, That we, the members of Oak Grove Alliance in session assembled, do hereby set apart the 4th day of July, 1891, as a day of special thanksgiving to Almighty God for past and present blessings upon our Order and our people, and to implore a continuance of His mercy and favor to guide us to the consummation of this great work.

2. That all Alliances, churches, organizations and institutions who recognize Jehovah as God are most earnestly and solemnly requested to join us on this occasion in our efforts to exalt the God of the Bible and humble ourselves before Him.

3. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST and Alliance Herald for publication, and that a copy be sent Bro. S. M. Adams, State president, and that he be requested to confer with Bro. L. L. Polk, national president, asking him to issue a proclamation to the effect that the labor organizations of the nation may spend one of our national holidays in solemn prayer to Almighty God.

4. That the Alliances, primary and county, meet at their halls, or some convenient place, and spend the day in prayer and praise, and that 11 o'clock be set apart for a special appeal to God for His aid to carry on the work to its final consummation.

All papers who recognize God as the ruler of men and nations, and who favor good government, please copy.

Political demagogues do not set apart days for thanksgiving and prayer in behalf of their cause. And it would no doubt be well for the bosses to heed the warning and recognize the fact that the people are in earnest as never before, and that they can not be coaxed, bought, driven or bulldozed to forsake their principles.

In a letter dated February 2, 1883, Hon. F. E. Spinner, for so many years the treasurer of the United States, and whose peculiar signature on the greenbacks is so familiar to

the public, said: "The currency question lies at the very foundation of the commercial weal or woe of our people."

NATIONAL LECTURER J. F. WILLETS is doing excellent work in the field. Good reports follow wherever he goes. The Alliance needs a thousand just such men to advocate its cause.

HON. CLARKE LEWIS, Congressman from Mississippi, has announced his candidacy for the senatorship in place of Senator Walthall. Brother Lewis is a good man and will make a strong fight. He stands square on the Ocala demands.

THE Alliance in Maryland is thoroughly awake and proposes to take a hand in the coming campaign. It is growing rapidly.

MR. PUGH A LETTER WRITER.

Hon. James L. Pugh is a Senator of the United States Senate from Alabama, and as such might reasonably be supposed to have at least an average conception of the ills that afflict the people and of the remedies necessary to correct them. The following quotations from his recent letter written to the Farmers Alliance of Dallas county will show his conception of the situation, and the reader can judge as to the ability and candor of the Senator:

1. It is important to understand and agree on the evil or wrong we desire to remedy by legislation.

2. When we understand and agree on what we wish to remedy we shall be better able to decide correctly whether the remedy or measure proposed is the best that can be devised and put in the forms of law to remove the evil and correct the wrong.

First, then, it is alleged that the farmers, as the producers of food and the raw material for manufacturing, have no equal and fair chance in the markets of the country in disposing of their crops at reasonable prices; that the farmers are unjustly kept in the debtor class, and as such are made to submit to undue influences and exactions of the creditor class in high rates of interest and in great inequalities in financial and commercial facilities and accommodations, and in being deprived of the right of deciding when and at what price they will dispose of their crops; that the consumer of the farmers' crops dictates the prices for them and buys them at his will and pleasure, and when the farmer buys what he consumes he has as little to do with fixing the prices then as he had when he sold his crops; that this condition of inequality and undue advantage is imposed on the farmers by those who own the money of the country and regulate its circulation, and dictate prices and rates of interest. All these complaints are more or less well founded in the conditions and practices now prevailing, subject, however, to qualifications in the degree of blame properly chargeable to the debtor and creditor

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class respectively. Being in debt is not always, or in a majority of instances, an unavoidable condition, and it is not always a condition of disadvantage without compensating results. It is going in debt unnecessarily as an indulgence of extravagance that causes most of our troubles. If we owed no man anything that could have been avoided our indebtedness would be very much less and our condition very much improved.

Verily the mountain went to labor and brought forth a mouse! If Senator Pugh had studied purposely to dodge the necessity for the sub-treasury plan, and sought to give a reason for everything else in the world but that, he could not have done better, and yet he has the assurance to say in the very next paragraph:

Having, as you must admit, fairly stated the grievances and grounds of complaint, I will now examine the provisions of the sub-treasury plan, to determine whether or not it is likely to prove an adequate remedy, or any remedy at all, for the evils of which the farmers complain.

It makes no difference whether such misstatements as the above are made from design or ignorance, the effect is the same; they show the farmers who readily detect the dodge that the opposition will not discuss the principles of the sub-treasury plan. Senator Pugh offers a gratuitous insult to the intelligence of every farmer in Alabama when he tries to make them believe that the object of the sub-treasury plan is to inflate the currency and depreciate it so as to impair the obligations of debtors, and thereby enable them to pay. After giving a summary of the bill he says:

Crooked—“A practical illustration to show how work should it become a law. John Smith makes fifty bales of cotton which costs middling, and weighs 500 pounds per bale, worth 80 cents when stored. Smith owes debts, which he ought to pay, but he is unwilling to sell at 10 cents and he decides to store in the government warehouse, gets his receipt, takes it to the sub-treasurer and draws 80 cents on the dollar's worth of fifty bales, which gives him \$2,000 instead of \$2,500 he could get by selling, avoid warehouse charges, and the two per cent interest, and loss in weight, and close up his year's business without further trouble. But Smith stores, draws the \$2,000 and waits for the chance of selling at a better price. The cotton crop amounts to, say, seven or eight million bales. The manufacturers know the probable amount of the cotton crop better than the farmers. They will also know the number of bales stored in the government warehouses, and also know when the time will expire for the cotton to be sold by the government. All the farmers will not store, and those who do not will most likely sell at the market price. Is it reasonable that the manufacturers and the speculators will pay higher prices than the quantity of the cotton will justify simply because the supply is withheld from market by artificial and temporary expedients? Can the farmers hope to make corners on their crops by storing them in full view of manufacturers and speculators for a fixed period and refusing to sell during that time? How much of any crop will be stored and withheld from market? Suppose \$4,000,000 bales are stored, and \$200,000,000 advanced to the owners of the cotton. How long will this cotton be kept in the warehouses unsold?

It is not unreasonable to say that the amount of new treasury notes that would be issued and advanced on stored crops under such a law would reach, in round numbers, \$750,000,000. This vast sum of money would be thrown into circulation within two or three months, and within eleven months every dollar of those treasury notes would be returned to the treasury and canceled and destroyed. What effect would this sudden and enormous contraction of our circulation have upon the price of labor, the production of truck farms, and all other commodities that come into market from the farm after the withdrawal from circulation of the \$750,000,000 of treasury notes?

If the above estimate be granted as reasonable, the reply is that there would be neither inflation nor contraction; no inflation because that is not equal to the regular yearly contraction produced by the marketing of the crop. That is to say, the crop season opens with \$1,000,000,000 in circulation, and the same demand outside of agriculture that has existed

on the market have upon the price? If it puts down the price the owners will stop selling, so that it is pretty certain that the bulk of the cotton stored will not be thrown upon the market until the eleven months expire and the government forces a sale. The eleven months will expire and the bulk of the cotton stored thrown on the market two or three months before the next and new crop begins to come into market. What effect will forced sales of all the cotton about the same time, and the new crop coming in to increase the supply, have upon prices? Under such conditions of supply and demand, is it likely the farmer will get as much for his cotton as he was offered when it was stored? If he only gets the 80 cents on the dollar he received and loses the 20 cents more he could have got when he stored, and pays interest and warehouse charges, he will not likely repeat the experiment.

This long quotation is given because it is fair to conclude that a United States Senator who has had the question before him for a year and a half will make the strongest argument that can be made on his side. But his argument is fully as absurd as the distress of the old maid found in tears who reluctantly admitted that she had just been thinking “how unfortunate if she should marry, and have a baby, and it should be a girl, and should get hold of the butcher knife and cut its little finger till it bled.”

Had Senator Pugh recognized the fact so often demonstrated by THE ECONOMIST, that neither the warehousing nor the lending of money were objects of the measure, but purely incidental to it, and that the plan would not directly benefit the farmer more than all other classes, he would not have made such egregious blunders. It is nothing but a blunder at this late day to try and turn the discussion into a *charade* of detail. The advocates of the measure desire above all things a full, free and fair discussion of the principles involved, and freely challenge all persons to meet them in such discussion both in the press and on the stump. They will not argue detail, because they do not contend for any system of detail, and are willing to yield any point of detail for the sake of harmony. The true position is that if all can agree on the principles involved there will be no doubt about finding practicable detail for carrying them out.

What effect would such contraction have upon the market value of the crops that have been stored after they were sold and delivered and were in the hands of the purchasers, when the sudden and unprecedented contraction occurred? Who would buy the crops in warehouses at a price forced up by their withdrawal from market and the temporary increase in the volume of circulation, when the same crops would certainly go down in price as soon as they were delivered to the purchaser and the treasury notes paid for them were immediately withdrawn from circulation. The government is to issue the treasury notes for the temporary use of the farmers who make the crops, and then bankrupt those who buy them by a sudden and ruinous contraction of currency.

The above shows one of the beauties of the bill. If any man tried to speculate he would get hurt, and he should get hurt. The produce would be bought and sold as demanded for consumption.

The letter concludes with an argument on the constitutionality of the question that does credit to its author, and which, owing to the space required, will be reviewed in a future number.

A REASON FOR POLITICAL CHANGE.

The Topeka (Kan.) Capital has the following laudatory statement

regarding the financial condition of Kansas:

The assessed value of the property of Kansas in 1861, was \$24,744,333; in 1865, \$6,227,200; in 1870, \$92,328,099; in 1875, \$121,544,344; in 1880, \$160,570,761; in 1884, \$248,846,811, and in 1890, \$348,459,943. The steady growth thus shown ought to suggest to eastern capitalists that Kansas is bound to progress despite all the climate and other backsets it has to contend with.

Almost at the same time the Census Bureau gives out the information that the recorded indebtedness of the State of Kansas amounts to over \$232,000,000, about \$161,000,000 mortgages on farm lands and \$71,000,000 on city and village property. The census gives 1,427,000 as the total population of that State. This would show a mortgage indebtedness of \$162 for each man, woman and child in Kansas, or \$810 for each average family of five persons. It would seem from this statement that the “eastern capitalist” had already got in his work. At the reported rate of interest this amount of indebtedness requires not less than \$20 in tribute for every inhabitant of that State. But the half has not yet been told. This mortgage indebtedness is at least equaled as an estimate for chattel mortgages, deeds of trust, bills of sale, notes and other debts of like character. This would give \$232,000,000 more, which added to the real estate mortgages would make a total of \$464,000,000, or over \$324 per capita of real and personal indebtedness, and \$1620 for each average family. This vast sum is nearly one-third greater than the entire assessed valuation of the State. The rate of interest in Kansas is understood to be all the “traffic will bear” which, with blood money for renewals, bonuses, etc., would make it not less than 15 per cent, or \$69,600,000 on the whole. The people of Kansas produced last year:

55,269,000 bushels corn valued at.....	\$28,187,241
28,195,000 bushels wheat valued at.....	21,709,842
31,269,000 bushels oats valued at.....	11,882,302
Total value.....	
	61,779,385

Here, then, is the situation. The “eastern capitalists” are demanding \$69,600,000 for the use of their money while the entire product of the three great staples of Kansas, reckoned at prices greatly in excess of what was received by the producers, will pay but \$61,779,385, or \$8,820,715 less than required. Out of the other products must come taxes and family expenses, which will absorb nearly, if not quite all. What hope remains? Absolutely none. The plain facts are the State is bankrupt and the people ruined. The people of Kansas are honest, industrious and frugal; they occupy one of the gardens of the world; they have labored hard, very hard, economized very closely, and yet the result has been poverty and distress. The people are not to blame for these conditions, they have per-

formed their part faithfully and well, and as a reward for their continuous efforts the entire State would not sell at auction for enough to pay its indebtedness. The old party papers have strenuously denied the facts made plain by this statement, and have charged the people themselves with being at fault. This position must now be abandoned and some other excuse rendered. This condition proves that the causes for the late political rebellion in Kansas were well founded, and that the farmers were not blind to their perils or ignorant of the necessity for a change. It proves that the farmers have discovered through the Alliance their true condition, and that the assertions of the politicians to the contrary were wholly false. The disclosures of the census regarding the distress and burdens of the people, imperfect and unsatisfactory as they are, will lead up to a political revolution all over the nation.

“THE NATION'S FINANCIAL NEEDS.”

Money to-day is as plentiful as it was scarce from the middle of last September until the middle of January. There is a visible surplus of it, which is as bad a thing in its way as a financial depression, for it leads to reckless investment, and to the tying up of funds where they can not be reached when the hour of need comes again. The currency which was required to move and market the crops last fall, to redeem the immense amount of securities thrown suddenly upon the market, has been realized. It has found its way back to the financial centers. The vaults of the bank are crowded with it. Loans on good security are in demand. Real estate has a good market value. There is evidently all the money in the country that the country needs, if not more than is best for a conservative management of business affairs. This is the change that has come about, not by inflation, but simply as an incident to the changes of the seasons. Now what is the prospect that lies ahead? We see no reason to expect anything different the coming fall and winter from what has happened at that time of the year in the past. There will be, in all hum, probability, another monetary scarcity. It will not, doubtless, go to the extent of that of a year ago, for the failure of the Barings and the marketing of American securities, to relieve European distress, is not likely to occur again. But our domestic needs will be just the same. There is no promise of a heavy crop yield. We may have in the neighborhood of 500,000,000 bushels of wheat as our product. Will any one sit down for a moment how much ready money it will require to purchase this, transport to the central markets and get it to the consumer? We may have in the neighborhood of 2,000,000,000 bushels of corn to dispose of. How much money will be needed to handle that? We may have over 8,000,000 bales of cotton to market. A large portion of this has not only to be transported long distances, but nearly the whole of it must be disposed of to factories in New England or old England. These are but three principal items. Add to them the other products of the soil, and the live stock and meat products, and there is an almost inconceivable total of food commodities, the bulk of which is to be moved to market within a few months of the year, and all of which must be carried, in its transfer from hand to hand, and from market to market, by corresponding financial facilities. Is it not the absurdest idea that ever entered a man's mind that this volume of business can be done with the same amount of currency that suffices in a time of active production and light marketing, like the summer season? And is it not just as absurd to have millions of money lying idle through the summer, hunting for employment and getting itself permanently invested so as to be unavailable in the hour of need, as it is to clamor for more currency issues when the time of

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State. This act makes a radical change in the matter of selecting electors; that has been the subject of much comment and should be read by all:

A bill to provide for the election of electors of President and Vice-President of the United States and to repeal all other acts and parts of acts in conflict herewith.

Section 1. The people of the State of Michigan enact that at the general election next preceding the choice of President and Vice-President of the United States, there shall be elected as many electors of President and Vice-President as this State may be entitled to elect of Senators and Representatives in Congress, in the following manner, that is to say:

There shall be elected by the electors of the districts hereinafter defined one elector of President and Vice-President of the United States in each district, who shall be known and designated on the ballot respectively as eastern district elector of President and Vice-President of the United States at large, and western district elector of President and Vice-President of the United States at large; there shall also be elected, in like manner, two alternate electors of President and Vice-

President, who shall be known and designated on the ballot as eastern district alternate elector of President and Vice-President of the United States at large, and western district alternate elector of President and Vice-President of the United States at large, for which purpose the first, second, sixth, seventh, eighth Congressional districts shall compose one district to be known as the eastern electoral district; and the third, fourth, fifth, ninth, eleventh and twelfth Congressional districts shall compose the other district, to be known as the western electoral district. There shall also be elected by the electors in each Congressional district into which the State is or shall be divided, one elector of President and Vice-President, and one alternate elector of President and Vice-President, the ballots for which shall designate the number of the Congressional district and the person to be voted for therein, as district elector and alternate district elector of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Sec. 2. The counting, canvassing and certifying of the votes cast for said electors at large, and their alternates, and said district electors and their alternates, shall be done, as near as may be, in the same manner as is now provided by law for the election of electors of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Sec. 3. The Secretary of State shall prepare three lists of the names of the electors and alternate electors, procure thereto the signature of the governor, affix the seal of the State to the same, and deliver such certificates thus signed and sealed to one of the electors on or before the first Wednesday of December next following said general election. In case of death, disability, refusal to act, or neglect to attend, by the hour of 12 o'clock at noon of said day, of either of said electors at large, the duties of the office shall be performed by the alternate electors at large, that is to say: The eastern district alternate elector at large shall supply the place of the eastern district elector at large, and the western district alternate elector at large shall supply the place of the western district elector at large. In like case, the alternate Congressional district elector shall supply the place of the Congressional district elector. In case two or more persons have an equal and the highest number of votes for any office created by this act as canvassed by the board of State canvassers, the legislature in joint convention shall choose one of said persons to fill such office, and it shall be the duty of the governor to convene the legislature in special session for such purpose immediately upon such determination by said board of State canvassers.

Sec. 4. The said electors of President and Vice-President shall convene in the Senate Chamber at the capital of the State, at the hour of 12 o'clock at noon, on the first Wednesday of December immediately following their election, and shall proceed to perform the duties of such electors as required by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The alternate electors shall also be in attendance, but shall take no part in the proceedings except as herein provided.

Sec. 5. Each of said electors and alternate electors shall receive the sum of \$5 for each day's attendance at the meeting



HON. JERE SIMPSON, OF KANSAS.

where he is engaged in farming and stock-raising.

Originally Mr. Simpson was a Republican, casting his first vote for the second election of Abraham Lincoln, but during the past twelve years has been voting and affiliating with the Greenback and Union Labor parties. He twice ran for the legislature on the independent ticket in Barber county, but was defeated each time by a small plurality. He was nominated for Congress by the People's party, and elected by the aid of the Democrats, who endorsed his nomination, receiving a majority of 7,400 votes over the Republican candidate in a district which two years before showed 15,000 Republican majority.

greatest activity returns? The fact is that by no possibility can we adjust the volume of our present money, money that goes out and stays out, to our commercial needs. Those needs are great at one time and little at another. What we require, what we must have if we are not to suffer perpetually from alternating stringency and oversupply in the money market, is some form of currency that will adapt itself, in volume, to the changing needs of the greatest producing nation on the earth. This is the real financial problem. That problem does not deal with aggregate money volume, or with the coinage of silver. When it is solved it must be in some way that will distribute the circulating medium over different portions of the country, and through different seasons of the year, according to the necessities of each section and each commercial emergency. It will be solved by the creation of a form of money which, while absolutely safe, can be brought into existence when and where it is wanted; and which will disappear absolutely when and where there is no longer any need for it. For it must not be forgotten that to have too much money at one time and place is just as bad for business, in the long run and in its general effect, as to have too little. These are the considerations, apparent to every thoughtful student of the currency question, which lend weight to the suggestion of Mr. Atkinson for an issue of clearing-house certificates. Suppose such a plan were carried out. We should then know that, when the crops were to be moved, the clearing house districts in the territory where the demand for money arose would be able to issue, for tempo-

MICHIGAN ELECTORAL LAWS.

Below is printed the act recently passed by the Michigan Legislature governing the electoral vote of the

of the electors as above provided, and 5 cents per mile for the actual and necessary distance traveled each day in going to and returning from said place of meeting, the same to be paid by the State treasurer upon the allowance of the board of State auditors.

Sec. 6. All acts and parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Approved May 1, A. D. 1891.

GOOD READING.

The following is an extract from a speech of Thaddeus Stevens, in Congress, February 22, 1862. It is good reading at this particular time:

I have few words to say. I approach the subject with more depression of spirits than I ever approached any question. No personal motive influences me. I hope not at least. I have a melancholy foreboding that we are about to consummate a cunningly devised scheme, which will carry great injury and great loss to all classes of people throughout the Union except one. With my colleague I believe that no act of legislation was ever haled with as much delight throughout the length and breadth of this Union, by every class of people without exception, as the bill which we passed and sent to the Senate. Congratulations from all classes, merchants, traders, manufacturers, mechanics and laborers, poured in upon us from all quarters. The boards of trade from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee, approved its provisions and urged its passage as it was. I have a dispatch from the chamber of commerce, Cincinnati sent to the treasurer, and by him to me, urging the speedy passage of the bill as it passed the house. It is true there was a doleful sound came up from the caverns of billion brokers and from the saloons of the associated banks. Their cashiers and agents were soon on the ground, and persuaded the Senate with but little deliberation, to mangle and destroy what it had cost the House months to digest, consider and pass. They fell upon the bill in hot haste, law John and deformed it, that its father would not know it. Instead of being a beneficent and invigorating measure, it is positively mischievous. It has all the bad qualities which its enemies charged on the original bill and none of its benefits. It now creates money, and by its very terms declares it a depreciated currency. It makes two classes of money, one for banks and brokers, and another for the people. It discriminates between the rights of different classes of creditors, allowing the capitalists to demand gold, and compelling the ordinary lender of money on individual security to receive notes which the government had purposely discredited. All classes of people shall take these legal tender notes at par for every article of trade or contracts unless they have money enough to buy United States bonds, and then they must be paid in gold. Who is that favored class? The banks and brokers, and nobody else.

Women in the Alliance.

BY HATTIE HUNTINGTON, OF LOUISIANA.

Among the savages the women are kept in a state of hopeless slavery, the lower the tribe the more degraded the women. This is also the condition of women among the pagans. No matter with what injustice she is treated, there is no obligation of law or custom to protect her. Man is her master, and he may maltreat, sell, imprison, or bury her alive, and it is all right as far as the community is concerned. The highest boon, the civilization of Rome or Greece—if such a one-sided development can be called by that name—could confer upon woman, was a state of perpetual minority. Man was her master in the full sense of the word. She was allowed no religion but that prescribed by him; and little or no instruction, except in certain kinds of work. The marriage vows were chiefly binding on the wife; she had no control of her children, even in widowhood; the father could sell, or imprison

them without regard to their age or condition. Contemplate for a moment the moral status of a government that would sanction a decree to slaughter the infants. Harrowing as the idea is to the mind in this age, it was done by the civilized pagans to perpetuate their power, and compel the masses to submit to tyranny. These nations built up a splendid civilization on one side and tore it down on the other. They trained the men from their earliest youth, by the strictest discipline, to develop every muscle of their bodies, every intellectual talent, inculcated noble moral principles, and employed superior methods to direct the course of human life, for a portion of the inhabitants. But the egotism, prejudice, and brute force, that were predominant factors in their governments and oppressed the industrial classes, and kept women in a state of mental and moral imbecility, nurtured the elements of national decay and ruin. That which deteriorated and demoralized these classes reacted upon the upper classes and they all went down together. Thus the vanished nations of the world passed away. Nations, whose power and splendor and glory have been extolled to the skies by song and story. Nations, whose very ruins after the lapse of centuries excite the highest admiration, and baffle the imagination of the greatest scholars of this age. There was no stability about their governments and they passed awry. Their renowned statesmen did not look well to the laying of the foundations, and when they were destroyed, the splendid superstructures which they supported tottered and fell. And those gigantic temples, finely chiseled marble and superior works of art which perpetuate their names and remind us of many of their errors, should also warn the present generation of the shoals upon which these famous governments were wrecked. Every violation of a Divine law is sin, and if a nation breaks the Divine law with a set purpose and the full consciousness of the wrong, is it any wonder that annihilation is the result? The state can not put on armor against the workings of retributive justice any more than an individual can. The highest eulogy that can ever be pronounced upon any nation will be that there is no discrimination in its jurisprudence against any class of good citizens. Until such a nation exists, we can not hope for the approach of the millennium.

The Mosaic account of our first parents leads one to infer that the Creator's ideal of a perfect Eden was for both sexes to have equal dominion in the world. All things were created before man except woman, and although she was placed at the top of the ascending scale, she was not given authority over him, but God said: "let them have equal dominion over all the earth." In the Old Testament we read of some exalted types of womanhood in the Jewish nation, who were active participants in public affairs under the direct approval of God. Miriam shared with Moses and Aaron the work of instructing Israel. Deborah was a judge and exercised supreme authority in religious, civil and military affairs. Huldah understood expounding the law so well that the King sent for her, instead of the wise men of the kingdom, to interpret the lost book of the law when it was found in the temple. This queenly Esther's influence defeated

the power of money to massacre the Jews, and broke Haman's neck.

But the corrupting influence of the rich and powerful pagan nations, crept in the pure religion of the Jews, and they departed from their early teachings, and the status of woman went down. At the coming of our Saviour she was trampled into the dust by the iron heel of oppression. His teachings elevated her for a time, but his golden rule was not in accord with pagan ideas, it gave the Marthas, Marys and the common people too much liberty. Such a doctrine was odious in the aristocratic Roman; it was deemed unfriendly to the public peace, and therefore it was unlawful to preach it, and every effort was put forth to suppress it. The leaders of the reform were put to death, but this did not repress it. And fire and sword were employed for centuries to strike the new religion out of existence, but without success. They cry from every quarter "still they come." The success of Christianity was an offense to paganism, and something must be done to return the sceptre of dominion. Then they changed their tactics and pretended to be converted to Christianity; and a new code and a new policy was introduced by these cunning, avaricious pagans, and finally a compromise was effected—then came the tug of war. All Chrisendom was shocked at the atrocities practiced in the name of Christianity.

After the union of the church and state, woman was again relegated to the background, for then the christianized pagans had the power to formulate doctrines and creeds to suit themselves. One wing of the church taught the pure religion of Christ, and the other wing was corrupted by paganism. The latter employed scripture terms so artfully as to deceive the people. They selected a clause here and there in the Bible, that had only a temporary and local application, and built a creed upon it to further their own selfish purposes; their object was to check the practical operation of the pure religion. Among the foremost of these was Paul's "keep silent" clause, which applied to only a few ignorant women of Corinth who disturbed the services with their idle chatter. It was proclaimed that it applied to all women in all time, and in spite of the opposition of all the best Christians, a seal was put upon women's lips, and none but men were allowed to speak in public; she was not even permitted to raise her voice in prayer at church, and was even thought to be unworthy to sit in the sanctuary with men; and their oppressors followed them and made the usual demand of unjust tribute, which they refused, and went to war, and won their national independence, which was left a rich heritage to their children. They established a government of the people, giving all classes of citizens equal opportunities to live; capital was not placed above labor in its structure. Under the beneficent influence of republican institutions the pagan prejudices began to grow weaker, and new fields were opened to women. Their old enemy contested every inch of ground they won, but in spite of his predictions of failure the American women came to the front and proved to the world that they were competent for almost any calling, and that they do not lose their dignity and refinement by attending to business. In fact they have exploded every theory christianized paganism ever advanced in re-

gard to woman. All this has been done without her relinquishing any of the sacredness of woman's high estate, and she still commands the admiration and respect of the world. The noble example of American women has caused the false chivalry, that extends such high protection to woman, as to forbid her the exercise of her powers, and encourages an inertia that makes her the most helpless creature in the universe, and leaves her to perish from her inability to take care of herself—to grow into disfavor.

History shows that the system which ground woman into the dust also oppressed the industrial classes of men. It seems the secret of pagan success in winning supremacy and compelling man's submission to unjust laws, was to give him full authority over woman, and while he was swaying the scepter of dominion over her head in trivial matters his national liberties were bartered away. This was his weakness, and they took advantage of it and made him a slave. The middle ages found the industrial classes in a most pitiable condition, especially in France. Oppressions and abuses had paralyzed trade and commerce as well as agriculture, which was hampered by feudalism, and when mediæval chivalry extended a friendly hand to woman it also protected the industrial classes, which gave a stimulus to industry, and sent a wave of prosperity over the land in spite of feudalism.

The chief objection offered in opposing the translation of the Bible from the Latin into the English language was that it would enable women and the laity to read it, which would be disastrous to family and State and entail untold misery upon the whole race. Since the Lutheran reformation, which was the result of the people reading the Bible, the world has slowly opened its eyes to the pure religion of God as enunciated in the Scriptures, and woman has been permitted to go beyond the limits the christianized pagans prescribed for her, and her condition is constantly growing better, but still there are clouds of pagan prejudices overshadowing her pathway. All along the ages the good she has accomplished has been by dint of her personal influence in spite of oppressions. In spite of the cruel decree to slay the infants she raised up a Moses and the Messiah; and she has always been the mainstay of the churches. Her heroism under adverse circumstances has furnished an everlasting theme for the poet and historian, but the names of illustrious women that illuminate the pages of history were the exception not the rule. Had the conditions been favorable for her advancement there would not be so many sad chapters in the history of the world.

It is to woman's influence that we owe the discovery of America. Here our fathers fled from the persecutions of christianized paganism, and risked their lives among savages and wild animals to be free. Their oppressors followed them and made the usual demand of unjust tribute, which they refused, and went to war, and won their national independence, which was left a rich heritage to their children. They established a government of the people, giving all classes of citizens equal opportunities to live; capital was not placed above labor in its structure. Under the beneficent influence of republican institutions the pagan prejudices began to grow weaker, and new fields were opened to women. Their old enemy contested every inch of ground they won, but in spite of his predictions of failure the American women came to the front and proved to the world that they were competent for almost any calling, and that they do not lose their dignity and refinement by attending to business. In fact they have exploded every theory christianized paganism ever advanced in re-

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When the times grew so alarmingly hard that the people could not pay their debts, and the farmers began to be turned out of their homes, after years of hard toil in the effort to pay their indebtedness, and forced to occupy bare tenant huts and work for a master, there was a strong suspicion it was a symptom of national disorder. And when the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union diagnosed the case, they found there were germs of decay in every fibre of the national system. They found that, while they wore the blue and the gray a few years ago, grasping greed had clutched the notion by the throat, and had turned the government into a machine to manufacture millionaires and tramps. There was a wide difference, however, in the ratio, for at the heels of every machine-made millionaire there was an army of machine-made tramps. And it is the unanimous opinion of all thinking people that if things go on thus it is only a question of time when the majority of the people will be on the tramp list.

The Alliance is now trying to find remedies for these national ills, and so far it has had phenomenal success in all its undertakings. The blue and the gray have been blended into one color, which is the distinguishing badge of the Order. There is now no North and no South, but one grand, glorious country, where a common suffering has brought the industrial classes into closer relations, and they have gained fuller knowledge and have a deeper sympathy for one another, and we are working in harmony against a common enemy.

Lasting, national prosperity comes through the cultivation, growth and elevation of all classes of citizens. Women are citizens, and have "life, liberty and property to defend and transmit," and are governed by the laws the same as men, and therefore have a right to discuss all questions that affect the welfare of the family and the home. To be truly womanly does not imply that we shall be idiots. An "idiot with the Greeks" was one who cared nothing for the public interest, but was devoted to the pursuit of private profit, regardless of the welfare of the community.

It is said the voice of the people is the voice of God, and we should remember that women are people. Let us thank heaven we are living in an age where purer thoughts and higher aims animate the hearts of men than in ye olden times.

We should point with pride to that noble type of manhood, which is willing for woman to receive due recognition and take her proper place in the world's affairs. Such a man may be rough and uncultivated, but he possesses the spirit of manhood, which is willing for woman to do that, then they could not, and would not, carry the State if a third party was organized.

In order to understand each other we must know and take into consideration each other's environments. Not to mince matters and beat around the bush, the question in South Carolina has been, not between Democrats and Republicans, but a question of white supremacy or negro domination.

The white race of South Carolina have been Democrats ever since the organization of that party. The negroes after the war were organized by a band of robbers, and were told that they belonged to the Republican

roundings, in order to combat the evil that is liable to overtake them in life. The objects of the Order are to secure mental, moral, social and financial improvement. These can only be attained through an education received in the Alliance by attending the regular meetings and reading and studying Alliance literature.

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I desire to offer a few thoughts in regard the third party question. It seems that this question is disturbing the minds of our people in the different sections of the country. I am not in favor of, and think it would be exceedingly unwise for the Alliance and other labor organizations to form a separate political party. That would be partisanship, and would sooner or later destroy us as an organization. We would soon become the prey of demagogues and unscrupulous politicians. History proves the fact that all political parties soon become corrupt, and ours if we form one, will not prove an exception to the rule. I believe that our mission under God is to purify, and accomplish our ends through the parties already in existence. It matters not whether our Congressmen are Republicans or Democrats, if they are in

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

If our senators and congressmen from South Carolina won't support our measures let us turn them out, no matter who they are and what may have been their record in the past. Let Kansas, Georgia, Texas, Ohio, and every other State that can do the same thing, and all will be well. We have been kept apart by the "bloody shirt," and by designing politicians fanning the flame of sectional animosity. The force bill was for no other purpose than to rekindle sectional hate. But these politicians might as well make up their minds to the fact that they have lost their grip on the masses. We can read their handwriting, and can see no reason why the farmers of Ohio and South Carolina should hate each other; but we can see many reasons why kind and fraternal feelings should exist between us. Such men as Foraker may as well hush up. We of the South will think none the less of our brethren in the North and West for any ugly things he may say. And a great many ugly things are said by Southern politicians that just go in at one of our ears and out at the other. What a man says who is holding a big fat office must be taken with a great deal of allowance. The Alliance men of the South are doing their own reading and their own thinking. And we intend to do our own voting, and the time-serving politicians may as well make up their minds to stand aside and let the procession pass by. Our grand organization is passing through the most critical period of its existence. Our cry should be, "Save us from our friends." We have more to fear from the rashness of imprudent, intemperate men in our ranks than from all our enemies on the outside.

Class Legislation No. 3.

By E. B. TURNER, BROAD RUM, VA.

We have now seen how the bonds were sold, or rather we may say assigned, to the possession of the favored class; we have seen how the currency was destroyed and the greenbacks, which were the bonds belonging to the people, were burned. Let us look a little deeper into the inevitable effects of such legislation. The bonds being fixed upon the country, an interest-bearing obligation, makes the masses of the people constant contributors to the bondholders. That interest having to be paid each year, whether it be a prosperous or an unprosperous year with the people, puts those who receive it beyond the reach of circumstances, while it makes those who have it to pay more hopelessly their bondsmen. Droughts may come, floods may come, cyclones may come, but they touch not the income of the bondholder; disease, pestilence and famine may come, they may sweep the land of prosperity and sprinkle it with graves; all business may fail, but the interest on those bonds must be paid. The children of the people may go untaught, half clad and hungry, their fields may be barren and their granaries empty, but this interest abates not one single cent. To those who receive it is all one whether there be prosperity or adversity. If enjoyments fail at home they can go abroad to this place or the other, it matters not, their income is unending. Taxes may increase or diminish, it matters not, their property is untaxed. They may be fools or wise, industrious or lazy, no matter, the government must provide for them. Now, what of the property which has to pay this unending interest? Every thou-

and dollars of currency converted into bonds made that property less valuable, because its value was fixed by the money in circulation, and that is \$1,000 taken out of circulation. Thus, when this immense amount of bonds was given a corresponding amount of value was destroyed in the property of the country besides the money destroyed; when half the circulating medium of the country was destroyed, not only was the country poorer for the loss of that half, but also for a loss of one-half the value of all her property, real and personal. Land which had been worth \$50 per acre became worth only \$25; cattle which had been worth \$60 became worth only \$30, and the loss was heavier yet when we consider incomes arising from aught save interest on money loaned. A farmer's gross receipts from 1,000 bushels of wheat was reduced from \$2,000 to \$700, while the cost of making it was scarcely reduced at all, and the interest or taxes which 30 bushels of wheat had paid, it now required to pay, and the interest and the cost were not at all diminished and the taxes were increased to pay the interest on property which had ceased to be tax paying, and had become interest bearing. Every dollar paid in interest and taxes cost not only thrice as much of the products of labor to procure it, but it had a threefold power over those products after it was paid. The relative size of debt with reference to property, was immensely increased; indeed, where a man owed one-half the value of his property before the contraction, the value of his interest in that property was entirely transferred to his creditor, whose interest alone was considered, while the interest of the debtor, be that debtor the nation, the state or the individual, was ignored. It discriminated against all engaged in productive enterprises, and placed a grand premium upon shirking idleness. Yet, the greatest evil has not been mentioned, which was the clogging of the wheels of industry, for lack of a medium of exchange. Where property existed, and existed in plenty to be worth twice or thrice the amount of money necessarily demanded, even at the prices at which things were sold when sales could be made, sales could not be made for lack of money; debts were obliged to go unsettled while interest accumulated. People suffering for the necessities of life were obliged to do without, while those who owned or made those necessities suffered because they could not sell them. Words fail me to adequately describe the injustice, inconveniences, and miseries produced by this most infamous destruction of values; while it made new obligations to be borne, and I know not by what arithmetic to calculate the relative advantages given the favored class over the masses of the people. They were first given an increase in dollars, and then those dollars were magnified into eagles. There was not one single legitimate business which was not injured, and the Bible-cursed, God-condemned usury was given supremacy over all. Yet, this is a republic and the people reign! Ah! do they? And these things were never made an issue before the people. Had they been, what man by his vote would have halved his property, doubled his taxes, quadrupled the interest he had to pay, impoverished the colored men are Republicans. I am a farmer, and I was elected as such over another Democrat who was a lawyer and

"The price of liberty is eternal watchfulness." The people had ceased to watch, and all this evil was brought upon them for fear that they might grow voluptuous and idle," because "to live was too easy. No fear that thirty thousand pampered government pets, who have been made to own one-half the wealth of the nation, would grow "voluptuous and idle." No fear that they would become a contaminating element in the land, shining examples of glaring vice, placed by their wealth beyond the power of the law to control or punish.

Vile Methods.

By GEORGE C. WARD.

George W. Shell, a Congressman-elect from South Carolina, and one of the first fruits of the Alliance movement in that State, has been interviewed by a Washington paper as to the prospects of a third party or Alliance party in the next presidential election. He talks very freely and very frankly. Mr. Shell was one of the organizers of the Farmers Alliance, and still one of its chief leaders and managers, and these are his words: "We are Democrats first and Alliance men next." We have only to command this to those who are not "Democrats first." The movement was of Democratic origin for the express purpose of being engineered in Republican States. It was organized by Polk & Co. in Kansas, in Iowa, in Nebraska, in the Dakotas and in Minnesota, but in no Democratic State North. Mr. Shell has spoken very opportunely.—Kansas City Journal.

KANSAS CITY, MO., April 28, 1891.

Hon. George W. Shell:

Dear Sir: The above paragraph appears in the Kansas City Journal of this date as an editorial. Such paragraphs are just now being very industriously circulated in Republican papers, concerning prominent Alliancemen in the Southern States, with the end in view of scaring Alliancemen in heretofore Republican States back into the Republican party. Will you very kindly write and inform me whether or not you used the words or expressed the sentiments attributed to you in the above paragraph. I trust that you will be able to reply to me that the above statement is a lie out of the whole cloth.

Yours truly,

GEORGE C. WARD.

LAURENS, S. C., May 5, 1891.

George C. Ward, Esq.:

Dear Sir: I am just in receipt of your favor of the 28th ultimo, forwarded through Dr. Macne. The utterance attributed to me, a copy of which you furnish, is utterly false. I said just what is contained in the inclosed alleged interview given in New York, April 26. I qualified the expression, "the white people of South Carolina are Democrats from necessity." I am a Democrat, as well as an Allianceman, and will vote all the while with the Alliance representatives in Congress whenever it is compatible with the interests of the toiling masses and in opposition to cliques, combinations, trusts and monopolies, come from whatever source they may. I thank you for calling my attention to the distorted paragraph, thereby giving me an opportunity of correcting the misrepresentation.

Yours fraternally,

GEORGE W. SHELL.

The following clipping was enclosed by Mr. Shell:

New York, April 26.—George W. Shell Congressman from South Carolina, was at the New York hotel Thursday accompanied by Capt. Dial, a prominent banker of his State. Mr. Shell succeeds Congressman Perry of the Fourth district. He was chairman of the committee which conducted Tillman's campaign last fall and is a member of the Farmers Alliance. He has been prominent in State politics for many years, and for several terms has been clerk of the court in Laurens county. He told a New York Times reporter that he was a Democrat, notwithstanding that he was a member of the Farmers Alliance. "The Alliance is strong and is growing steadily," he said, "but when it comes to politics there are but two parties in South Carolina, Democrats and Republicans. The whites are Democrats and the colored men are Republicans. I am a farmer, and I was elected as such over another Democrat who was a lawyer and

not so eligible to membership. But I shall vote as a Democrat. I do not endorse all the principles of the Ocala platform."

Since the formation of the plutocratic Demo-Republican party in South Carolina by the fusion of the Democrats with the Republicans, Mr. Shell doubtless realizes the fact that the "common people" of South Carolina, both whites and blacks, are forced to become third party men "from necessity."

The "Crushing Out" Idea.

Alliance Advocate, Louisville, Tenn.

The fiat has gone forth. The national banks have assumed control of the old political parties and directed that the Alliance be forced to stand alone as a third party. They forget, however, that if the Alliance Democrats and Republicans in their respective parties go to the primaries that they are numerically strong enough to control the workings thereof. Do they expect to be able to buy up the farmers of the country by taking advantage of their oppressed condition and holding them in thrall by threats and glittering promises, as heretofore? Oh, no! They realize that the poor worm has at last turned, and that the farmer is thinking for himself, and that his thoughts are turned to his own hard condition and how to improve his opportunities to secure a fair amount of relief for himself and his family. Hence the edict goes out that the farmer must be led or forced into a third party, and the two old parties unite to crush him out of political existence. And the city press has been bought up and are one and all united in an effort to turn the attention of the farmer to the high offices and great wealth awaiting him as the reward of independent political action. But the farmer will not be thus led from the enemy. He will be at the caucus and at the convention, and his voice will be raised in defense of his home and his family. If there is to be a third party formed let the bankers and monopolists organize it, and let them come before the American people defending a platform erected on the national banking system of to-day. Ye gods, what a spectacle they would present to the taxpayers of America.

I trust that you will be able to reply to me that the above statement is a lie out of the whole cloth.

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GEORGE W. SHELL.

That Democratic Collar.

Industrial Educator, Fort Worth, Texas.

Below we give a fair specimen of

the party collar. It comes from

Washington, D. C., therefore it must

be genuine. It must be authoritative

because it is printed in the National

Democrat, the official organ of the

party. Look at it carefully:

Let Democrats everywhere remember

that it is their duty as Democrats to hold

their opinion on all such questions as the

currency subject to the decision of the

next Democratic convention, and then go

in and elect the man who is nominated,

whoever he may be. That is genuine De-

mocracy, and that is the position of the

National Democrat.

Gov. Tillman may be excusable for

not keeping up with Alliance litera-

ture, but I think he is inexcusable for

giving out for the press anything that

is calculated to hold up to ridicule

the Order of which he is a member,

or any of its hard worked and poorly

paid officials, who are working for the

advancement of our people.

Will It Be a Victory?

Alliance Watchman, Marshall, Mo.

Is there to be an easy victory in the great battle that is now being fought between the friends of an honest government on the one hand, and the people's oppressors on the other? No. It must and will be a hard struggle, in which one or the other of the forces must suffer defeat. It is for freedom upon the one hand, and oppression and slavery on the other. It is for the solution of the question, Shall the toiling millions have the benefit of the fruits of their labor, or shall they be held in bondage by the money power, content to eke out a miserable existence for them and for their children's children which shall follow them?

The enemies of the reform move-

ment are all powerful, both in patron-

age and financial resources. They are

same mistake that I believe Gov. Tillman has made.

Secondly, I am surprised that one, a member of the Order, who has the reputation of thinking well before speaking should show himself up as being so ignorant on the development of the organization, and the almost solid endorsement its demands are receiving at the hands of the members. I do not go into an argument relative to the merits or demerits of the sub-treasury; that has been worn threadbare long since. I may add right here, by way of parenthesis, that the first position taken by Mills, Carlisle and others, that the plan was unconstitutional, has fallen flat. Evidence and precedents to the contrary have been unearthed, which forever silences these arguments. Let us take up the governor's position and see if the facts warrant any such conclusion. He is quoted as saying: "Some leaders may foist it, but the rank and file, the reading, thinking members utterly refuse the absurd provisions of the scheme."

The Ocala convention was composed of delegates elected by each State Alliance; it unanimously endorsed the sub-treasury plank. I thought it might be of interest to your thousands of readers to know just how much confusion he has caused in our ranks. His war upon us has been bitter, indeed, but the old gun wasn't loaded right. The recoil of the old blunderbuss was what did the work, for his arguments were so weak that he failed to make any new converts, and it had a decided reaction by way of making all of our members stronger in the faith than ever. I have been able to hear from four subs which held meetings since Mr. George spoke at Ripley, this county. These four Alliances are located in a radius of 10 miles from Ripley, and this is the result: The first initiated 3 and balloted on the application of 6; the second initiated 12; the third initiated 20; the fourth initiated 3 and balloted on the application of 23; so you can see, as far as Tippah county is concerned, that the great "George raid" has done us more good than harm, for it caused the people to think earnestly about the matter, and as Mr. George offered them no relief they sought it where they at least had hope. We need but one thing to boom the Alliance in this section, and that is for Mr. Mills to pick up the old song where George dropped it and re-stump the district. We believe when he has finished his work that the people will be ripe for anything that offers relief, and we will scoop every farmer in the country.

W. H. Green, secretary Itawamba County Alliance, writes from Cardwell, Miss.:

As Harry Hinton says, Mr. ECONOMIST, at our meeting in April, Itawamba County Alliance endorsed, or rather re-endorsed, the St. Louis and Ocala platform and declared that we would not support any man for office who did not plant himself squarely upon the same. Endorsed Hon. Barksdale to succeed Gen. George and Hon. Clarke Lewis to succeed Gen. Walhall in the United States Senate. It is surprising to note the rapid stride of the Alliance in this county. I do not mean in membership, though the membership is increasing; but I mean the stride is surprising in an advance, in knowledge of the situation and condition of the people. The Alliance can and should be proud that they are commanding or engaging attention for the first time in the history of the country since the good old fathers let loose the reins of this government, and this, if nothing else, should be sufficient to encourage them to go forward and upward, and the day will soon come when we will realize and see the fruits of their labor. Gen. George is making a canvass of this state in which he is opposing the sub-treasury bill. On this bill it seems that the General has changed his mind. At first he said the bill was unconstitutional; now he says it is not; (but it is said a wise man will change his opinion but a fool never does.) The General made a speech in this county on the 15th instant, in which it is said he consumed three hours, the writer of this did not hear him; very much regret it, but circumstances prevented. He is quoted as saying that L. L. Polk championed the bill before the Senate committee, and that Mr. Polk said the farmers from 1850 to 1860 were more prosperous than they had been since 1860 to the present. Gen. George said he believed every word as true nevertheless.

Strong words are needed to-day. The eyes of men must be opened if not in one way then in another. The duty of every voter is to read, think and form his own opinions on the currency and all other questions and express them, then bolt the platform and ticket whenever he disagrees with them.

The enemies of the reform movement are all powerful, both in patronage and financial resources. They are

FROM THE PEOPLE.

Sample Parcels of What the Mail Brings The Economist Every Day.

FROM KENTUCKY.

S. W. Young, secretary Cumberland Farmers and Laborers Union, Leslie, Ky., has adopted a plan to put THE ECONOMIST in the hands of his people. He writes, inclosing the addresses of twenty-two secretaries:

I have written all the secretaries in this county that I have requested you to send THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and asked them to distribute them and try to get the members to subscribe. I find it is only those of the Order who read and are informed that make good members. Please send a lot of sample copies to each of the following addresses.

FROM MISSISSIPPI.

C. P. Wantell, Falkner, Miss., writes facts and reason therefor:

Inasmuch as Senator George has stumped this district against the Ocala demands, especially the sub-treasury plank, I thought it might be of interest to your thousands of readers to know just how much confusion he has caused in our ranks. His war upon us has been bitter, indeed, but the old gun wasn't loaded right.

The recoil of the old blunderbuss was what did the work, for his arguments were so weak that he failed to make any new converts, and it had a decided reaction by way of making all of our members stronger in the faith than ever. I have been able to hear from four subs which held meetings since Mr. George spoke at Ripley, this county. These four Alliances are located in a radius of 10 miles from Ripley, and this is the result:

The first initiated 3 and balloted on the application of 6; the second initiated 12; the third initiated 20; the fourth initiated 3 and balloted on the application of 23; so you can see, as far as Tippah county is concerned, that the great "George raid" has done us more good than harm, for it caused the people to think earnestly about the matter, and as Mr. George offered them no relief they sought it where they at least had hope. We need but one thing to boom the Alliance in this section, and that is for Mr. Mills to pick up the old song where George dropped it and re-stump the district. We believe when he has finished his work that the people will be ripe for anything that offers relief, and we will scoop every farmer in the country.

W. H. Green, secretary Itawamba County Alliance, writes from Cardwell, Miss.:

The panic of 1873 was precipitated by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., but for the real cause of which, and the hard times that followed, we refer to the words of John A. Logan:

"The circulating medium has been contracted \$1,018,167,784—John A. Logan, Congressional Record, page 139, Appendix for 1874."

In support of this statement Gen. Logan referred the Senate to a book written

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 - - \$1.00 PER YEAR.

Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are reasonable for circulation. 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 following is the resolution unanimously adopted at the national meeting in St. Louis:

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 and read the paper as one of the best means of education in the way of industrial freedom.

Reaffirmed at Ocala as follows:

Resolved, That this Supreme Council renews its thanks to C. W. Morrison and his associates in said paper, and will do all we can to urge them onward in the good work of education.

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.

N. R. P. A.

WANTED.

A county agent for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST in every county in the United States. Applicants must furnish letter of recommendation from officers of the County Alliance, and must agree to take the field and canvass for the paper and sell our literature. A special agent's commission will be given when above is complied with. Write us for further particulars. Do not write unless you mean to do, and expect to work for the good cause.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Always inclose evidence of the fact that you are a member in good standing. Address

NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL LECTURER J. F. Willets, will fill appointments as the following times and places:

MISSOURI.
Clinton, Henry County, June 10.
Springfield, June 11.

MISSISSIPPI.
Senatobia, June 17.

Granada, June 18.

Durant, June 19.

Jackson and Brookhaven, June 20.

Meridian, June 22.

Macon, June 23.

Aberdeen, June 24.

ALABAMA.
Jasper, Walker County, June 25.

East Lake, Jefferson County, June 26.

Montgomery, June 27.

Calera, Shelby County, June 29.

Athens, Livingston County, June 30.

THE following bundle of Alliance information postpaid to any address on receipt of one dollar net at this office:

1 copy Philosophy of Price.
1 copy Handbook of Facts.
1 copy Some Ideas.
1 copy History United States Dollar.
3 copies Power of Money to Oppress.
3 copies Sub-treasury Plan.
3 copies It is Constitutional.
3 copies President Polk's Speech.
1 copy Harry Tracy's Speech.
3 copies National Economist.

Frequent calls for Alliance literature have induced THE ECONOMIST to make the above offer, which barely covers the cost of printing and postage. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington D. C.

Now for a show of hands all round!

Recently the reform papers of Minnesota published a detailed and itemized report from the secretary of the campaign committee of the people's party of that state, showing the receipts and expenditures for the entire

campaign—who contributed money, and who were paid money—the entire amount being less than \$3,000, with which, such was their fervor, they conducted a campaign casting nearly 60,000 votes out of 241,000 in the state; electing one of the five congressmen, and defeating three others of the dominant party; electing also a large share of the county officers, and enough wide-awake, brainy legislators to exercise a controlling influence on state legislation. The last issue of the Dakota Rival, the official organ of the South Dakota State Alliance, contains a similar statement of receipts and expenditures of the independent State Central Committee of that state for the campaign of 1890. Readers will remember that South Dakota led the fight for independent action, calling the first independent state convention, and after a gallant campaign, in an overwhelmingly Republican state—changing a Republican majority of 32,000 in 1889, into a 10,000 minority in 1890—all of which was accomplished with an expenditure by the committee of \$1,869.52, with an exact and itemized account of who contributed, and who it was paid to and what for. This is right; reformers may well be proud of both the showing and the spirit of the committees. It is the people's money, expended in their interest and they have a right to know how it is expended. It is now in order for the Democratic and Republican state and national committees to do likewise. There is a dawning suspicion in the minds of the people that large sums are improperly contributed and expended by those worthies, and in order to retain the confidence of the people they should be able to show how the funds have been handled.

THE old party leaders have omitted one important factor in their calculations regarding the proposed campaign of education. They have not taken into the account that 9,000,000 mortgages that are leading a propaganda among the people, ceaseless in their efforts and marvelous in their results. These 9,000,000 mortgages scattered throughout the country on the average of one to every seventh man, woman or child, can do more in the line of teaching the people the need of radical reforms than the whole combined subsidized press can explain away. These 9,000,000 mortgages take no vacation, never disagree as to methods, are united in a single effort, and always conclude their labors with a moral application that is never forgotten. As an educator the mortgage has no equal.

THE following paragraph, clipped from an article in the Washington Star on the perquisites of government officials, contains food for thought and good material to spice up reform editorials:

SENATOR FENTON, of New York, introduced a bill December 23, 1861, "granting public lands and loaning the credit of the government to the People's Pacific Railroad, to aid in the construction of a railroad from

the Missouri river to San Francisco." The above is recommended to those who have constitutional objections to loaning money direct to the people. In another form, after several manipulations, it passed, and the government has lost and will lose the round sum of \$200,000,000. The next Congress will no doubt loan its credit to the Nicaragua canal scheme and lose another like amount; but, as Senator George says, this is constitutional, it is for the public good, with a half dozen or more beneficiaries representing the public, but to loan that to the people direct would be unconstitutional, undemocratic and impracticable.

THE propaganda fund is not growing as rapidly as it should. This is doubtless owing to a want of information regarding its necessity. Money is required to pay for paper, postage and printing. There are no millionaires connected with this reform movement, to devote large sums for this purpose. Consequently it must be made up, if at all, of small sums contributed from the many. A few dollars goes a long way in sending out literature, and the people are loudly calling for it. Will not the brethren aid in this matter? A little from each will furnish a fund sufficient to meet this demand, aid in the education of the people upon Alliance doctrine, and thereby materially help the cause.

THE News repeats here what it said months ago. It then stated that whenever the question of the constitutionality of the sub-treasury bill should be discussed the strongest argument against those political leaders who opposed it would be found in their record in voting in favor of various measures that were unconstitutional when measured by strict Democratic doctrine.

The above is taken from the Meridian (Miss.) News, and would indicate that matters are never "measured by strict Democratic doctrine," except at such times as the suffering and distress of the people are being discussed. When trusts, corporations monopolies are being considered the "measure of strict Democratic doctrine" is not applied. This agrees with the record of both parties.

HON. W. H. F. LEE, congressman from Virginia, in a recent interview, said:

As to our policy in Congress it seems to me there can be but little doubt. What we should do is to simply assume a state of masterly inactivity. We should attempt at present no beneficent legislation, as that would only be giving the Republican Senate a chance to divide honors with us.

STRAWS are said to show which way the wind blows. In like manner the careless utterances of partisan newspapers may disclose the truth of partisan thought. A sample taken from the Washington Post is here given:

It is much to be questioned whether either of these two parties is in danger of disruption or defeat by reason of the new organization, and least of all the Republican party. If such a contingency were to occur, it would be entertained as the disbandment of the Republican party the remnants would be far more likely to fall to the Democracy as a choice of evils than to the Cincinnati movement by natural selection.

The natural outcome of a third party victory would be to drive the plutocracy of both the old parties together.

In fact, the leaders of these old parties are interested in each other's success to a greater extent than the average observer discovers or the general public is aware of. It is for their mutual interests that the people will continue divided and that sectional strife shall continue. Because of this such measures as the force bill and the tariff are continually brought forward.

THE following paragraph, clipped from an article in the Washington Star on the perquisites of government officials, contains food for thought and good material to spice up reform editorials:

The Senate's great hold is the contingent fund, which is made to cover a multitude of expenses such as might be considered rather of a personal than of a public nature—for example purchasers by the

quantity of "pond-lily wash," quinine pills, street car tickets, snuff, olive oil, Italian cosmetic, castor oil, alcohol, salts of tartar, hair tonic, brilliantine for senatorial moustaches, court plaster, etc., ad infinitum. The published account of the secretary of the Senate, Gen. McCook, for the last fiscal year includes, among numberless other similar things, a grocer's bill for supplies furnished the Senate during July, August and part of September, 1889. This bill, paid by the nation, contains very many small items which, summed up, amount to 714 pounds—nearly half a ton—of granulated sugar, 40 cases of apollinaris, 23 boxes of lemons, 5 dozen bottles of ginger ale, 1 lemon squeezer, and 1 tin can. What the tin can was for it is impossible to say, but the use of the other things may be faintly guessed at, especially in contemplation of supplementary accounts, which include spoons, strainers and tumblers by the gross. And, mind you, the grocer's bill referred to only covers seventy days, from July 5 to September 14. An apothecary's bill for a like period, also paid by the nation, is for \$651 worth of supplies furnished the Senate, items of which are 6 dozen combs, 39 select mop sponges, 50 select hand sponges, 3 bath sponges, 2 fine toilet sponges—no wonder Senators are clean—500 quinine pills, 2 powder puffs, 1 bottle Humphrey's specific, 1 kip of chamois skins, 1 dozen cologne, and so on. But these are only a few of the thousands of small senatorial perquisites supplied by amiable tax payers. If you after "perks," be a Senator.

THE Nonconformist (Winfield, Kans.) comments upon the press dispatches in regard to the recent Cincinnati Convention:

The Industrial Union (Lamar, Mo.)

is the official organ of Barton County,

and is ably edited and well conducted.

It never misses a chance to strike a blow for the cause.

In his interview on the currency question, Senator Carlisle says that he has experienced no marked change of heart, though he predicts the speedy passage of the free coinage bill and announces that he will not vote for it in the Senate. The Encyclopædia Britannica gives the following account of the matter:

"After the recoinage of 1606 the guinea passed at 21s. 6d. At this ratio, silver was undervalued and was accordingly exported to continental Europe and to India.

The loss of the silver coins aroused public attention, and the matter was submitted to Sir Isaac Newton, whose answer was given in the 'third representation.'

He proposed to reduce the guinea from 21s. 6d. to 21s. as an experimental measure.

In saying that he would heartily advocate the free coinage of a dollar's worth of silver, he makes use of the same subtle sophistry with which the Eastern money monopolists are blinding some of our Southern bankers and business men.

The sense of equity is strong in the average mind, much as human nature has been abused, and the idea of coining a light-weight dollar is naturally repulsive.

This feeling, the goldbugs adroitly play upon. For some time they have been harping on the idea that free coinage will put in circulation a flood of cheap coins,

nominally containing a dollar's worth of silver, but in reality carrying something like 25 per cent less.

The people who advance this argument do not undertake to say that the market price of silver would remain the same under free coinage, for they know it is not true. They cunningly ignore that fact.

The great law of supply and demand, according to their view, has nothing to do with the price of silver.

Now, what would be the effect of free

coinage? There are in round numbers 60,000,000 of people in the United States, and 60,000,000 in Central and South America, all using silver.

According to the law passed by Republicans, we are now coining at the rate of \$60,000,000 a year. If Spanish America, with the same population, should coin the same amount of money, the coinage of North and South America would be \$120,000,000, which is three-fourths of the world's supply.

The other \$40,000,000 would be needed to supply the partial silver coinage of the Latin Union, with 150,000,000 people, and the demand of India, China and Egypt, with several hundred millions more.

The idea is assiduously cultivated that those Oriental nations are going to swamp us with their silver as soon as we begin free coinage.

The fact is that China has lately been calling on the outside world for more silver. More silver is needed to move the increasing crops of India. Then,

If America does the same, silver will be in demand, instead of a drug in the market.

For nearly twenty years the natural use of silver has been prohibited throughout a large part of the civilized world.

It was done because that policy enables England and Germany to fleece India, China and Egypt in the exchanges.

By demonetizing silver they depressed it, and so cheapened in their own markets the silver coin which buys wheat and cotton in India and Egypt.

At the same time, manufactured goods shipped from England or Germany to India, Egypt or China, are sold on a gold basis and bring a larger price in silver. Thus England and Germany does the same, silver will be in demand, instead of a drug in the market.

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At the same time, manufactured goods shipped from England or Germany to India, Egypt or China, are sold on

APPLIED SCIENCE.
In Agricultural and Rural Economy.
EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEV.
Woodstock, Md.

DOUBLE TAXATION.

Trusting perhaps too far to the patience of our readers, we ask a final brief hearing on the matter of double taxation, the purpose being to draw attention in Alliance circles to the incubus of general taxation, federal, state, and local, of which the last-named is very commonly the most grievous. The burden of public expenses, enormous and frightful as it is, rests mainly on real estate, and is borne mainly by people of moderate means and by poor people. Its crushing weight falls upon productive industry and the owners of modest homes; upon agriculture and the rural professions which serve and depend upon and live by agriculture, rests the largest share of all these burdens. The rich, the great, the "coupon clipper," the gold bug, the stock gambler, the millionaire-denizens of "the street," these escape taxation by statutory exemptions, by "various subterfuges," by smuggling devices, by frauds upon the revenue.

The special purpose of this paper is to show that by statutory exemptions which narrow the taxable basis, excessive levies, excessive rates, and excessive assessments are thrown upon all property included in the basis. And that by false assessments a huge over taxation is levied upon the poor; the rich have the benefit of all exemptions. Brethren of the Alliance, these things ought not to be. Yours is the power, and yours the duty to right such wrongs. Your duty will not be done, whether to yourselves, to your order, to society, or to posterity, until you have exerted all your powers and brought to bear all your energies and resources in that behalf. In some places good farms are now taxed above 30 per cent, about one-third of their rental value. This writer knows of farms taxed \$100 that could not now be rented for \$300 money-rent. It is unheard of, it is unprecedented in the history of the world; it is not just, it is not right, and it ought not to be tolerated. With the circulating medium contracted to the present point of terror, the taxes have not been reduced; they have been increased. Well-might a good brother in righteous indignation exclaim

"agriculture is perishing between two thieves, double taxation and intense contraction!" Instead of more money and less taxes, the rule has been more taxes and less money. We are armed, my brothers, with a potent weapon; to wit, the ballot. If we do not win this fight, there will be nobody to blame but ourselves. Is the matter of false assessment and wholesale exemptions, which produce over assessments, exaggerated? A meeting of taxpayers of various parties in Philadelphia, stated by resolution that only small houses, such as are occupied by workingmen, are assessed at full value, assessments decreasing as the property increases in value, and on big property falling to one-half actual value, and in some cases much lower. The following are some examples given. A store assessed at \$170,000, yet one of the trustees of the property recently swore the lot, without the building, is worth \$288,000. Girard Life Mutual Insurance Company's building and lot, assessed at \$450,000, the lot cost \$570,000,

and real estate agents swore it was worth \$700,000. For Keystone Bank building \$475,000 was offered and refused, it is assessed at \$240,000. Other properties, worth \$75,000, assessed at \$25,000, etc. A similar state of facts is found to exist in all large cities, and when you come to farms the case is worse rather than better. In Maryland nearly all great estates are taxed much below actual cash value; lands in general throughout the State, assessed twenty years ago, are greatly overtaxed, the assessments being, with the exception of the great estates, fully 30 per cent above actual cash value to-day.

In an address before the Landlords' Protective Association, Mr. R. E. Wright, of the Baltimore bar, said: "The effect of such misgovernment has been in most cases to leave a debt so enormous as to stagger the resources of the present generation and entail upon future ones a burden the startled imagination faintly hopes they may be able to bear. This indebtedness has, as a rule, increased faster, and much faster, than either population or property values, while the rate of taxation has constantly increased."

These words of Mr. Wright are just and true. Everywhere the case is the same, and yet is equally true that everywhere throughout the entire country the property of the poor is assessed above its value, and they are taxed on all they possess; whereas the property of wealthy corporations and individuals is always and everywhere assessed far below its value, and much of it, on one and another false pretense, exempt, or by fraud unpenished, is allowed to escape the assessor.

Everywhere this worthless taxing power of government is administered so as to favor the rich and oppress the poor; everywhere government allies itself with the strong and conspires and combines with them to trample upon the weak. But false legislation and mal administration combined reach their acme in bold and scandalous inequality of taxation in remitting a large percentage of the tax for prompt payment and imposing a penalty in the way of usurious interest after a certain date. The practical operation of which is that the rich who keep bank accounts send in their checks and get a release of 5 or 6 per cent of their tax. The poor who have to wait for the results of their toil before they can squeeze out of the living of their families the amount of their tax, are penalized, and also have to pay the 5 or 6 per cent deducted from the taxes of the rich; for far be it from the State to forego one jot of its revenue. This is refined cruelty. It is a bold, infamous, bare-faced robbery of the poor for the benefit of the rich by the State. It is just that. Defending Mr. Mill's essay on government against the tremendous attack of Lord Macaulay, that great English writer, Mr. Bentham, makes the following remarks: "History is nothing but the relation of the sufferings of the poor from the rich, except, precisely so far as the numerous classes of the community have contrived to keep the virtual power in their hands, or in other words, to establish free governments. If a poor man injures the rich the law is instantly at his heels; the injuries of the rich toward the poor are always inflicted by the law. And to do this to any extent that may be practicable or prudent, there is clearly one postulate required, which

is that the rich shall make the law." Here in America we are said to have established free government, do the rich make the law here? Have we lost the substance of free institutions while retaining their forms and name? Have we grasped the shadow of free government while the substance has lapsed from our hands? Have we a name to live, and are dead? Here of all places, the rich despoil the poor by laws which they have made for that very purpose. Whosoever will look into these matters for himself carefully, thoughtfully, conscientiously, well scarcely fail to reach the conclusion that public expense has been carried to a point far beyond all possible needs of good government; that this extravagance constitutes an unbearable burden laid on the shoulders of all branches of productive industry, and more than all other agriculture; that the whole power of the national department of agriculture is to take hold of questions relating to the science of plant nutrition, and leave fooling with idle trash alone. Why does not the Secretary of Agriculture organize a division of experimental culture and put it to work?

HAY AT THE SOUTH.

From time to time accounts are published of remunerative crops of hay grown in the planting states of the south.

Intelligent effort in that direction is here and there beginning to be put forth. Gradually the great animal industries are gaining a foothold there. That this is the true direction in which those states may find profitable diversification of their agriculture, there is no doubt. It can not be too often urged and repeated that any system which will put back on the fields where cotton is grown, a larger part of the seed should receive encouragement. This can be better done through the feeding of animals than by any other means.

EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

A subscriber writes to ask an opinion on the question, "How long ought an experiment station to be allowed after organization to be able to exhibit some important results for the benefit of agriculture?" It may take several years, we think, to perfect any important work. In some lines of investigation it will require many years to reach definite conclusions; but with the handsome endowment these stations now have, if within one year after organization no evidence of capacity or intention to undertake any important work has been put before the public, it may be suspected that no capacity for such work exists.

To the question, "Why does corn give larger yield and make heavier ears with rows six feet apart and corn three feet apart in the drills than with rows four and a half feet and corn four feet in the drills on land of the same nature and fertility?" no certain answer can be made. The distances named are much too wide for the heaviest yield in the true corn-belt of this country. As far south as Alabama the habit of growth of corn is very

different from what it is in the latitude of Maryland and Virginia. At the South the plant makes much more stalk and leaf and much less grain than in the true corn-producing States. It may be inferred that the roots also branch more widely and probably ramify and feed nearer the surface, and so each plant requires more root-space in the soil to feed in. In rows six feet apart the roots on opposite sides of adjacent rows can only spread three feet until they encroach upon the feeding area of the plants in the next row. A great many ideas might be advanced, plausible and probable, but our information as to plant nutrition is different soils is as yet too indefinite to enable any one to speak with confidence on the subject. We repeat once more, that the duty of agricultural experiment stations and of the national department of agriculture is to take hold of questions relating to the science of plant nutrition, and leave fooling with idle trash alone.

Why does not the Secretary of Agriculture organize a division of experimental culture and put it to work?

THE JOURNAL OF MYCOLOGY.

The above publication, issued by the Department of Agriculture, and edited by the chief of Division of Vegetable Pathology, is received. It describes not only scientific research with regard to the various diseases of fruits, grasses, and field crops; but what is more to the purpose for the practical man, it gives plain, practical directions for the application of remedies. How to make the solutions; the cost of them per gallon; the apparatus for spraying; its cost and mode of using it, and the successful results of treatment, with the whole cost per acre and per tree, are given with admirable simplicity of detail. A work of very great value has been accomplished for agriculture, and especially for the specialties of horticulture and pomology. The promise is moreover bright for great benefits to the great staples, and even indirectly to the animal industries of every kind. Especially are all branches of animal industry interested in the systematic study of poisonous smutts which affect both cereals and grasses.

Signs of the Times.
Atlanta Constitution.

After all is said that can be said, it must be admitted that the convention at Cincinnati fairly represented the farmers, the toilers and the masses of the great west. This conference makes it plain that the people of the west will make financial reform, with the free coinage of silver, the leading issue of the next campaign. The fact also looms up that the West has no hope of relief from the Republican party, and due warning is given that it will not act with the Democrats if that party nominates a presidential ticket in sympathy with the plutocrats of the East. The convention had its differences of opinion, but it was solid on the financial question. When General Weaver pointed out the danger of having a Democratic presidential candidate put forward by the money kings he made a profound impression, and Ignatius Donnelly excited great enthusiasm when he raised the cry of the plain people against the aristocrats. Now, nobody can mistake the meaning of these signs of the times.

The officers elected by the Fourth District Alliance were announced in the Mirror of last week, and are as follows: J. W. Pitts, of Shelby, president; H. C. Randall, of Dallas, vice-president; J. M. K. Quinn, of Talladega, secretary; B. W. Groce, of Talladega, lecturer; B. C. Harrison, of Dallas, assistant lecturer; Rev. F. M. Woods, of Shelby, chaplain; J. W. Tumlin, of Cleburne, doorkeeper; L. H. Reynolds, of Chilton, assistant doorkeeper; J. D. Smith, of Calhoun; J. H. Wilson, of Talladega, and A. G. Duke, of Chilton, executive committee.

The officers of the Ninth District

are: (B. W. Taylor, of Jefferson, president; J. T. Smith, of Hale, vice-president; P. F. Parker, of Blount, secretary; D. L. Brown, of Bibb, lecturer.) Hon. S. M. Adams, president of the State Alliance, Capt. R. F. Kolb and Hon. L. W. Turpin were in attendance upon the meetings, and received a cordial welcome from the members of the Alliance and by the citizens of Calera. Addresses were delivered by Captain Kolb and by President Adams, and the greatest enthusiasm in the cause of the Alliance was manifested on all sides.

Resolutions were adopted endorsing

the Ocala platform and requesting the governor to reappoint Hon. R. F. Kolb commissioner of agriculture. The Alabama Mirror was adopted as the official organ of the Fourth district, and its representative received the names of a large number of new subscribers in both districts. The Alliance Herald was also strongly endorsed, and several earnest speeches were made commanding it to the confidence and support of the brotherhood throughout the State. The NATIONAL ECONOMIST, the organ of the National Alliance, so ably edited by Dr. C. W. Macune, at Washington, D. C., received the highest encomiums. On the whole, the prospects for the Alliance were never brighter in this State, and the greatest unanimity prevails. With one accord the members of the Order are marching together, each feeling the magic elbow-touch of a true and tried Alliance man by his side, and confident of victory in the grand struggle upon which they have entered—a reform in the agricultural, political and financial methods, both in the State and throughout the country. The grand armies of the Alliance and of the other great agricultural and industrial unions are deeply in earnest, and while they do not propose to ostracize or boycott any individual or political organization, they are marching on to the goal of their determination, and will brush aside all such as are found in the way of progress and reform.

The Alliance adjourned to meet at the call of the president and executive committee.

The Sub-Treasury.
Correspondence, Meridian, (Miss.) Standard.

As there is being so much said pro and con about the sub-treasury bill, and especially as it is heralded by its opponents as a wild and unheard

of scheme and nobody but a lot of cranks or knaves would have thought of or advocated it, I just want to ask all such if they have taken the time to study the intentions or practicality of it or jumped at conclusions simply because it was introduced by men who have heretofore been heavers of wood and drawers of water? The prime intention of its organizers was to increase the circulating medium to something like the needs of trade. That there is need for a larger amount of money in circulation is admitted almost universally. The only issue seems to be what means can be brought about. The Alliance suggests the sub-treasury, and the hue and cry is "unconstitutional, pernicious and class legislation," but the only substitute that is offered is; work harder, consume less, and don't create an overproduction. I don't know how it looks to the disciples of the above doctrine, but it seems to me that you couldn't follow one without disobeying the other. Listen, work

ing the advice of leaders (or rather intimates that they are) simply because they advocate the measure, that is a mistake. The reason they take the advice of such men, we will say as Burkitt, is not because it comes from Burkitt, but it is because we find him in hearty unison with us; he is not our master but our worthy servant, faithfully doing the work we gave him to do.

The Cincinnati Conference. New York Herald.

The National Union Conference which began its sessions in Cincinnati yesterday is not to be poh-hooed away as an insignificant gathering of cranks and soreheads. Party leaders, Republican or Democrat, who look upon it with indifference or treat it with ridicule, fail to see its significance and its warning. Admit that the interests represented are diverse, even incongruous and discordant; that visionary schemes may be favored and extreme demands made. It may be that no practical agreement will be reached, no platform adopted, no third party formed. All this signifies nothing. The real significance of the event is rather in its origin than in what may be its immediate results, in the causes which have led to it rather than the effects which may now come from it. From this point of view the gathering on the banks of the Ohio, representing as it does the Farmers Alliance and the Knights of Labor, to say nothing of other organizations, is more significant than any so-called third party movement we have had in this country for years. The greenback, the prohibition, the woman's suffrage and even the labor cause have appealed to special classes of limited numbers. They lacked the elements of national strength, and consequently of national achievement. Different from all these is the movement now looming up with growing importance especially in the West. We have said that its significance is in its origin, its cause. That cause is party politics. It is a deep seated grievance felt by the farmers and the wage earners of the country in consequence of the shameful disregard of their interests and welfare shown by the party in power. The organization of the aggrieved classes is a practical protest against such party management. As the grievance affects agriculture and industry the scope of the movement may be as broad as the nation, as general as the masses. It is not surprising that this state of affairs has come to pass. Indeed, it is but a natural result of recent Republican politics. For years that party lived on its war record. Since this means of existence failed it has kept itself in power by running the party for political revenue, for the possession and distribution of offices. The notorious McKinley tariff law was enacted for the benefit of monopolists and trade barons rich enough to supply campaign funds. The scandalous pension legislation is explicable on no other ground than a bid for the soldier vote. The force bill was an outrageous attempt to further party ends in the South. The unparalleled extravagance of the Billion Congress was simply political jobbery. While the interests of agriculture and industry and the welfare of the masses generally were thus trampled upon or ignored by a Republican Congress, Republican organs and stump speakers were laboring to gull farmers and wage earners with assurances of blessings to come. They

were to be larger markets and better prices for farm products, more employment and higher wages for labor, cheaper prices and less burdens for the consuming masses, more money and better times for the people generally. Well, farmers and wage earners have begun to see for themselves how much truth there is in these representations. They are realizing that while they got but empty promises the substantial advantages of Republican legislation went to capitalists and manufacturers who could make the most liberal deposits in the party treasury. Hence the Farmers Alliance, which has shown its power in several Western States and can point to swelling ranks in nearly every State of the Union. Joined with the forces of labor and other organizations it may prove a factor in coming politics more potent than many affect to believe. Of course it is not expected that a third party, if one should be formed next year, would elect its candidates. It might, however, carry enough enough States to throw the choice into the House, which would insure the election of a Democratic President. But whatever may be the immediate effect of this new uprising, the movement is not going to disappear while the cause which started it exists. Either the party in power must look to the interests of the farmers, workingmen and the masses generally, or these classes will combine for their own protection.

The Abolition of Private Corporations.

Alliance Herald, Montgomery, Ala.

Judge N. M. Hubbard, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, recently delivered a speech from which the following extracts are taken. The question discussed is one of the greatest importance; and the adoption of the remedy proposed, one of the most urgent demands and an essential requirement to annihilate trusts and destroy combines. He says:

The subject given me is corporations. All private corporations for pecuniary profit should be abolished, except only those of a quasi-public character, such as railroad, telegraph, telephone, insurance, banking corporations and the like; and these should be under the control of public law, or else owned and managed by the government. Railroads are already under the control of the public law. The short reason is that corporations destroy individual competition in the acquisition of wealth. . . . Fifty years ago steam machinery had come into such general use that one skilled operative could do the work of five at hand labor, now, one person does the work of sixty at hand labor and the end is not yet? The State of New York has over 100,000 private corporations for pecuniary profit, and new articles are being filed at the rate of 10,000 each year. In Ohio there are 8,358 such corporations; 3,000 of these were organized between 1851 and 1880. Between 1880 and 1885 2,372 were organized. Iowa has 6,000 private corporations, one-half of which have been organized within the past six years, and over 1,000 within the past year. I believe there are not less than one-half million of private corporations for pecuniary profit in the States of this union. These are exclusive of railroad, telegraph, telephone, insurance and banking corporations. The total number of railway corporations in the United States is 1,778, and less than 1,000 of them are engaged in the active operation of railways. These wholly private corporations have invaded every kind of business from tooth-picks to coffins, and from roasting peanuts to building railroads. Not only is nearly all manufacturing, but the wholesaling of dry goods, groceries and hardware is fast going into the hands of corporate bodies. Business avenues for young men in the future must consist largely of corporate clerkships. During the last half century we have been producing wealth so fast that little atten-

tion has been paid to the equal distribution of it. Nobody can get into a corporation without money. It is an organization exclusively for those who have capital. Neither the farm products of next year nor the wages of the mechanic for to-morrow will buy shares in a corporation. There are many objections to private corporations for pecuniary profit. A private corporation is an organized appetite for money only, and has nothing human about it. It sees distress without an emotion of pity; it gives nothing to the poor; it pays no rent; it sends no children to public schools; it does not attend funerals or weddings; it cannot weep; it cannot even laugh; what use have we for such animals? But if it should be admitted that the abolition of private corporations will seriously disturb the business of the country, is it not better to stand the shock now than to postpone it until the shock may destroy the fabric of the government itself? Railway corporations and others of a public character must remain because they are for the use of the public until the government shall see fit to own and operate them. But they must be controlled (not destroyed) by public law. I believe the only remedy and the only method to settle the vexed controversy between labor and capital is to restore individual judgment, individual responsibility, and individual competition in all the business of the country. The States have all reserved the right to abrogate and abolish all corporate charters, and the quicker they exercise this right the earlier we shall have an equitable distribution of wealth of this country. Let us unsyndicate all the syndicated money of the capitalists now in private corporations and put it into the hands of those who win it, so that every man, woman or child may compete for it. Mr. Jefferson's guarantee of an equal race in the "pursuit of happiness" is already destroyed. Is it not better to take the chances of distributing the business of the country by calling a halt now, than go forward in the present great production of wealth if the greatest share of it is to be for the sole benefit of those who are already too rich? Private corporations must finally suffer the fate of human slavery—must be abolished. They both lead to the same and—the despoiling of the many for the benefit of the few. Let us hope the revolution will be peaceful.

Here is the gem of the whole speech. It is short and everyone should commit it to memory. Repeat it to your neighbor and in your Alliance. When its truth is realized and laws are made to distribute wealth better—more justly, more humanly, then the Alliance victory will be won:

The happiness of our people does not depend on the greatest possible amount of wealth, but rather upon an equitable division of it.

What Austria Can Teach Us.

The New Nation, Boston, Mass.

In Austro-Hungary the government owns not only a considerable part of the railroad system, but also telegraphs and telephones, which are operated in connection with the post-office, as they ought to be in this country. Telephones cost \$20 a year, as against from \$90 to \$120 in Boston. The telegrams cost at least 5 cents, with an additional charge of two-fifths of a cent a word, so that a ten-word telegram would cost 9 cents, as against 25 cents in this country. Nor are these and the postal department the only branches of public service which are conducted by the minister of commerce. Under his supervision, and included under the same head, the postoffice is the postal savings bureau, which is at once a national system of savings banks, national banks and clearing houses. This was established in 1882, and has been a tremendous success. Deposits may range from 20 cents to \$400. The deposits cannot be attached or garnished unless the depositor is bankrupt. The money is invested in government securities, and interest is paid on deposits.

That portion of the service which we would naturally designate as national banking, the cashing of checks and performance of clearing-house functions, is also very popular, and extensively patronized. Deposits are unlimited, but a check must not exceed \$2,000. A permanent deposit of \$40, bearing no interest, makes one a member of the check and clearing department. In connection with this, the postal bureau carries on a brokerage business in government securities, buying and selling them for customers for small brokerage fees. There is one more line of business done by the postoffice department, and that the parcel post, essentially an express business. The government maintains a schedule of rates for packages weighing 10 pounds up to 100. For example, a 10 pound parcel is conveyed 59 miles for 12 cents; a 50-pound parcel is carried the same distance for 63 cents. In case of loss, the declared value of the article is paid by the government. The packages are delivered at low rates, 6 cents for one weighing 11 pounds or more. The parcel post does not pay expenses, but is maintained for the public good. These interesting facts appeared in the February report of United States Consul Julius Goldschmidt, who is stationed at Vienna.

The Alliance.

Pacific Union Alliance.

It is an attitude at once dignified and encouraging when men and women who are compelled to struggle for bread are at the same time battling for a principle. Such a position holds the physical, intellectual and moral powers of humanity in a complete and ennobling equipoise. No part of our nature is warped and distorted, while symmetry and strength ennoble our being and dignify our achievements. Thus situated in conflict we are ready, and in victory we are considerate. It is not presumptuous in us to say that this is precisely the position occupied by the Alliance forces at the present time. Our mission is not merely to better our financial and temporal condition, but to call back the people to a renewed consideration of the principles of liberty and justice. The best elements of the country are being awakened to the fearful fact that we are, as a nation, drifting away from our moorings. Indeed it cannot be otherwise. Never yet in the history of our race has the world been led astray by following the guidance of the tillers of the soil. No class of the community stand so close to the forms and forces of nature, and none are taught by voices and impulses more inspiring and reliable. What may be wasting in brilliancy of accomplishment, is more than supplied by the sequences of experience. They may not all be exactly scientific in formulating the technicalities of expressed desire, but they seldom if ever fail to base their demands on the broad and immutable principles of human freedom and prosperity. When, therefore, an element like this calls the nation to a new awakening to turn a deaf ear to their appeal is the greatest misfortune and folly. Moving as they do under the overpowering conviction of the justice of their cause, to attempt to turn them back to a condition from which they have escaped would be as unwise as it would be difficult and dangerous. To arrest the avalanche-rush of awakened millions like these, if it might

be thought desirable, will be found to be absolutely impossible. They are moving toward what they feel to be their rights, and no barriers interposed by partisan hate or monopolistic greed will stop their onward progress. Over these frail obstacles their tread will be like the resistless march of a storm. Every wise man will be quick to settle it in his mind that conditions that make it necessary for one-half of our people to suffer from want, that the other half may enjoy a surfeit of luxury, cannot much longer continue. We are not able to definitely tell through what forms of commotion and conflict we may be able to pass in reaching our purpose; but if need be, a sterner and more determined conflict than history knows must precede the day of final triumph. Vainer than a dream is the expectation of arresting this onward movement. The entire country has heard the shout of the advancing hosts, and the hour of deliverance is near at hand.

Interest in Advance. Industrial Union, Kokomo, Ind.

Many of our people do not know that the interest on the public debt is paid in advance, but the following joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to anticipate the payment of interest on the public debt," was passed March 17, 1864:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to anticipate the payment of interest on the public debt, by a period not exceeding one year, from time to time, either with or without rebate of interest upon the coupons, as to him may seem expedient; and he is hereby authorized to dispose of any gold in the treasury of the United States not necessary for the payment of interest of the public debt: Provided, That the obligation to create the sinking fund according to the act of February 25, 1862, shall not be impaired thereby.

While the above law is not perfectly clear as to its meaning, it was interpreted so as to allow the shysters to collect the interest one year in advance, which they did. The interest was payable in gold. Now let us see how it figures out. A capitalist, with a million dollars in gold, bought \$2,850,000 in greenbacks, with which he purchased 6 per cent bonds. A year's interest on these bonds amounted to \$171,000 which was payable in gold. That \$171,000 in gold would buy \$407,350 in greenbacks, which would purchase more bonds. The interest in gold on those bonds for one year was \$24,441, which would purchase \$69,656.83 in greenbacks. This could be invested in bonds, and the interest in gold amount to \$4,179.44, which would purchase \$1,911.40 in greenbacks. So, without drawing any more interest, the capitalist has got \$3,338,920.40 in bonds for one million; and the interest he can still draw in gold is \$714.66. This was the effect of legislating for the rich by putting the exception clause on the greenback and making a class of preferred creditors. The soldier that shouldered his musket and went to the battlefield was paid in a depreciated money, while the capitalist that bled the government was favored by special legislation.

A Whole Sermon in a Single Paragraph.

"Kansas farmers who remember the corn they parted with for 10 cents a bushel will look at the 68½ figure with eyes filled with honest mist."—Kansas City Times.

The above paragraph conveys a powerful argument, from an unwilling source, in favor of a sub-treasury plan. If the corn the Kansas farmers sold for from ten to fifteen cents a bushel is now worth 68½ cents, who gets the margin of from 53 to 58 cents? If the provisions of the sub-treasury bill were now in force the corn available in the United States would be the property of the farmers who produced it, and the raise of prices would insure to the benefit of the farmers instead of to the profit of bulls and bears and grain speculators. It would seem as if a few more object lessons and practical illustration such as this should cause the Alliance to rally to the support of the sub-treasury bill.

GEORGE C. WARD.

North Dakota Independent, Grand Forks.

REMEMBER THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST when seeking for Alliance information.

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics from Organized States.

The Linden Standard (Tex.) is doing good work for the order. It says:

A great deal depends upon who and where a measure originates as to whether it is acceptable among politicians. Had the sub-treasury bill originated in a democratic convention it would have been received as the grandest piece of statesmanship ever concocted. But alas! It originated in a Farmers Alliance and as a natural consequence politicians and demagogues turn up their noses and pretend to ridicule; yet not one of them has ever brought a plausible argument against it, much less offer something better in its place.

O yes; they can assert that it is unconstitutional, class legislation, etc., but not one of them dare undertake to prove their assertions.

The laboring, toiling multitudes of this great country say that it must go or something better. Now gentlemen if you don't want the sub-treasury bill bring out something better or shut up.

The Faulkner County Wheel (Conway, Ark.) says:

"Paternalism" is the cry with which the enemies of the Alliance and labor are opposing the Alliance demands. Now, let us cram this assertion down the throats of the puppies that talk that way. Paternalism is the acts of parents in providing for the welfare of their offspring and a responsibility belonging to parents. When the government gave millions of acres of land to corporations, those were acts of paternalism. When the government gives or loans anything without receiving an equivalent, that is an act of paternalism. A citizen of paternalism is a subject and has no more voice in the control of public affairs than an infant has in the control of the family. A paternal government undertakes to provide for the wants of its subjects, and make laws, rules and regulations to control them without asking the consent of its subjects. It says what shall or shall not be done. Now, when the government loans its money on produce or land, that is and will be a friendly act, for which the borrower pays; there is no paternalism about that, for the borrower has deposited and pledged far more value than he has received money. There is none of the elements of paternalism about it, any more than if a man should loan another \$30 and take security on a bale of cotton or a horse. Some poor little crack-brained editor or politician imagined he had made a ten-strike when he shouted "paternalism" at the Alliance. It has no more relation to the issue than did the crowning of Tituba Titmouse in answering an opponent. It is a term used without argument, and in fact amounts to an admission that they can not meet the question at issue with reason.

The Caution (Miss.) Progress says:

The sub-treasury scheme has a object to accomplish—the lessening of the money pressure. This result will the scheme accomplish, and that to without a sub-treasury in every county.

The Farmers Advocate (Carlestown, W. Va.) says:

Representative Hooker, of Mississippi, will not admit the probability of the Alliance defeating Senator George for re-election, but he does admit that the Democrats will have a fight to defeat the Alliance, and that for the first time in that State the Democrats are to organize clubs in every voting precinct in the State. This last statement speaks for itself. From Alliance sources we learn that the election of an Alliance man as successor to Senator George is considered almost a certainty.

Oregon Alliance Herald (Pendleton, Oregon) says:

A prominent loan agent said to us the other day that one good crop with fair prices would destroy the Alliance. Ha, ha, that's good. The farmers have been having good crops on the average for many years, and yet the Alliance became a necessity. We should like to ask if one good crop, with fair prices, will destroy railroad extortions? Will it equalize the burdens of taxation? Will it stop usury extortions? Will it do away with child-labor? Will it give work to the millions of idle men in the country at remunerative wages? Will it give the millions of female employees living wages? Will it destroy the sweating system in our factories? Will it compel the idle parasites to go to work and earn an honest living? Will it prevent the monopolization of life's necessities by a handful of our population? Will it destroy speculation in land, the heritage of all God's children? Will it destroy speculation in the food products of the world? Will it destroy trusts? Will it prevent the lockout of honest working people, thereby forcing up prices by the limiting of output? Will it supply school facilities for the millions of children now crowded out? Will it destroy the jobbery that now exists in every branch of the public service, wringing millions out of the people to satisfy the greed of a lot of slick schemers? Will it secure an equal and exact administration of justice to all people alike? Will it shorten the hours of toil? Will it correct all or any of the damnable ills that have grown out of the past political administration of this country? No, not one, and the people know it; and the dirty spawn of hell, who are inventing methods to prevent the onward march of the army of social and political reform, may as well return to their dens

vention to nominate a governor and State officers whose election will be a rebuke of this outrage, and a demand for just and sensible management of our affairs.

The Faulkner County Wheel (Conway, Ark.) says:

Why is it that the metropolitan press have maintained a graveyard silence on the issues presented by the Farmers Alliance? Because they plainly see that a simple discussion of them would open the eyes of the people, and they would quickly hurl some of their demigods from place and power. They will never discuss issues, they only throw a little tariff sand to blind the people.

The Labor World (Boston, Mass.) says:

Food for reflection: It is claimed that there is not an acknowledged leader in either the Republican or Democratic parties who is not also the recognized counsel for some corporation or syndicate.

The Arena says:

Social problems are assuming giant proportions. The relations existing between capital and labor are daily becoming more strained. The stream of misery grows broader as colossal fortunes rise skyward. The poverty in all our great centers of civilization, as well as throughout the landlord and mortgage-cursed frontier, is year by year growing more terrible and more general. There have been 2,650 foreclosures of farm mortgages in Kansas during the past six months. In the city of New York there are over 150,000 people who earn less than 60 cents a day. Thousands of this number are poor girls who work from 11 to 16 hours a day. Last year there were over 23,000 families forcibly evicted in that city, owing to their inability to pay their rent. One person in every 10 who died in New York in 1889 was buried in the potters' field. These are facts which may well give rise to anxious thought.

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and await their inevitable destiny. A revolution is coming. A complete change in the political and social program is near at hand. The people are learning their rights, and parasitism is in danger. Those who toil must enjoy. The broadcloth brigade are nearing their Waterloo. The fellows who have no higher ambition than building a pyramid of dollars will find themselves shoveling muck in the near future. The honest brain-toilers of the world, the teachers, writers, etc., whose work makes mankind better and wiser, need have no fear. But the sharks called by whatever polite name must go. A government of, by and for the people will be a fact within ten years. If you are not in harmony with the inevitable you had better begin to hedge.

Farmers Vidette (Alexandria, La.) says: Plutocracy does not care who has a seat in Congress so it is used in the interest of monopoly. Plutocrats vote with both parties and win with either. While the office-seeker's organization is very patriotic in appearance, its patriotism extends no further than party lines. While the dogs are growling over the bone, plutocracy walks off after having eaten the meat.

Alliance Vindicator (Sulphur Springs, Tex.) says:

Farmers ought to quit talking politics so much. You are creating great disturbance. The politicians are very uneasy and you ought to have sense enough to know that it is wrong to disturb a man. Don't do it! Farmers, you are liable to throw some of these fellows out of a job and you know they won't work—they don't like to, no how. So just hush up and again allow the political atmosphere to get still. Of course the stench and filth will emit a rather unfavorable odor, but then your offfactories are used to such, so you don't mind it much, do you? Then again you will "bust up" the organization if you don't stop so much racket. Talk about how to farm, how to carry in chips, slop the hogs, etc. Learn each other what time of the year to look for screw worms, the best method of killing ticks, and how to mangle to keep your fences in out of the weather. It's a shame barns and fences to stand out and take the rain? No, it won't do. Don't do it.

The Citizen Adrian, (Minn.) says:

Twenty years ago it was estimated that the producing classes owned three-fourths of the wealth of the nation, to-day only about one-fourth of the nation's wealth is in the hands of the producing classes, yet the wealth of the nation has been doubled in the same period. They have lost, in comparison to the increase of wealth, two-thirds of their wealth in the last twenty years. The cause for this can best be found in a study of a few figures.

The Tribune, (Eldorado Springs, Mo.) says:

We trust the Farmers Alliance is on to the fact that in the Argentine Republic, which was run by the Alliance school of financiers, gold has gone to a premium of 272—Globe Democrat.

We trust the Globe Democrat, and all who draw inspiration from it, is "on to" the fact that gold in this country, once reached 280, and Alliance financiers weren't running things either, and neither are they "running" matters in the Argentine Republic, on the contrary at unfortunate country has fallen into the hands of the worst set of rascals and money-sharks on earth excepting only those who "run" finances in the United States.

The Aberdeen (S. D.) Republican says: One of the mortgage companies doing business in this valley, recently sold 85,000 acres of land to an English syndicate, which will put down artesian wells and irrigate. The land in question was chiefly falling into the company's hands through foreclosures. It is to be hoped the experiments may be successful.

The Western Advocate, (Mankato, Kans.) says:

New "trusts" are being continually formed. The salt trust has been organized at Saginaw under the name of the Michigan Salt Company, and there is now talk of combination of the different electric companies. Some people can see the benefit of co-operation.

The People's Advocate (McPherson, Kans.) says:

We note that several of our Republican exchanges speak in disapproving terms of the act of the legislature passed at its last session forbidding aliens to own land in our State. The chief objection urged is that land is much sought for by aliens as a safe investment for their colossal fortunes, and to forbid such investments is to deny our people the privilege of selling at the best prices, and to drive capital out of the State. Thus we see that these papers, true to the teachings of the party to which they belong, place the almighty dollar above the manhood of the State. Europeans now own many million acres in this country, and if the rule insisted upon by these Republican journals should prevail it will not be many years before

actions should be preceded by careful thought, seeking their own and no more, and who can doubt but some day the wealth producer shall receive his just dues.

The Raymond (Miss.) Gazette publishes a communication:

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they absorb the fairest portion of our domain. The philosophic mind which goes to the root of things, can even discern that two-thirds or more of the children who come into the world, are born trespassers or tenants at the will of some inexorable landlord. Their parents own no rod of land. The fox may burrough in the ground and the birds may build their nests in the trees, but where will man find a resting place for his head? No, let us have no alien landlord. If there must be a landlord class, let them be natives to the manner born, who may be touched by sympathetic emotions for their less fortunate kinsman.

Alliance Herald (Montgomery, Ala.) says:

The producers and laborers of this country do not need to be told that they are in the throes of bankruptcy and ruin. That is an ever-present, fearful reality that commands their attention too much. What they need is a remedy for these maladies by which they will regain their prosperity and redeem their homes from debt. This tariff racket that is continuously being made has been ringing in their ears for twenty years, and the profession made of its efficacy is all stuff. It has not done any good in the past, nor need anything be expected in the future. It is not what terribly high prices they are paying that is hurting so much as the annual formation of a syndicate of robbers to take their products at cost of production. That is the gang from whom they crave protection. If there is any other protection except the sub-treasury, name it and bring it forth. Until something better is offered they will adhere to that and press it to consummation.

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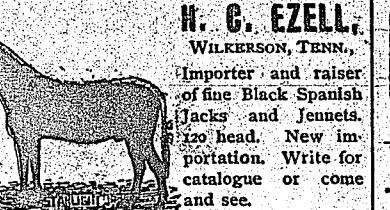
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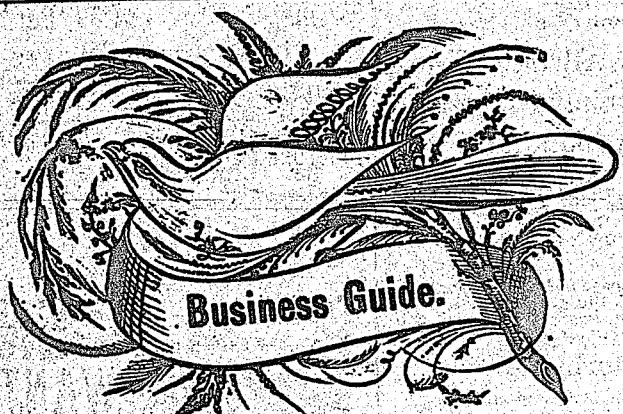
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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 5.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 13, 1891.

NO. 13.

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POLITICAL.

Never before has the national house been put in order for such an early campaign. The recent Cincinnati conference is by many of the partisan papers regarded as the signal gun of an active campaign. This is important from an Alliance standpoint, because both parties give as a reason for

their early activity that they "are conducting a campaign of education," and that it will take time and money properly and legitimately used. The reason this is of great interest to Alliance men, and should receive more than a passing notice from them, is that the education proposed by these active partisan papers of both sides is one in direct antagonism and opposition to the principles of the Farmers' Alliance. With the exception of the Atlanta Constitution and a few others, the great metropolitan press of the country is actively opposed to the

sub-treasury plan, the land loan bill, the free coinage of silver, the government control of railroads to the extent of ownership if necessary, and the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and consider them all subjects to be "educated" against. In fact, the "machines" of both parties now pretend, and will continue to pretend, to love the farmer while the object of their fight will be centered on his declared principles. This sounds strong, but it is a fact, as is now shown in Mississippi and Ohio. In the former State the Democratic machine has been worked to the utmost to demolish the sub-treasury and "other heresies of the Alliance," and in the latter the Republican machine is adopting the same methods.

The expenditures for pensions for the year ending June 30, as now officially stated, amounted to \$109,357,534. In the previous year we paid \$87,644,779.11, while in the year before that we paid \$80,288,508.77. The cost of the German army, it may be interesting to note, is for this year estimated at \$91,726,293. Besides our pensions our army costs \$30,000,000.

In 1872, silver being demonetized in France, England and Holland, a capital of \$500,000 was raised and Ernest Seyd, of London, was sent to this country with this fund as agent of the foreign bondholders and capitalists, to effect the same object—the demonetization of silver, which was accomplished.—Bankers' Magazine for

August, 1873.

"The best banking system the world ever saw" seems to be in a bad way just at present. The Comptroller of the Currency don't appear to control, and the whole thing is a "go as you please" affair after the people have deposited their money. The additional security to depositors claimed for this system over the old private banks is all a delusion and a snare, as shown by the recent Philadelphia failures.

be the only guides to party policy, and when they are supplanted by the "machine," the legitimate fruits of machine methods must follow. The fruits of the mild sway of reason and justice are prosperity and happiness, while the fruits of "machine methods" are corruption, crime, hatred and violence.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is the official organ of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, and it is therefore its duty to contend for the principles of the Order, and in such contention finding the chief adversaries to be the "machines" of the two political parties, conducting in concert a bitter war upon the Order as above stated, it becomes the duty of the national organ to fire back at these enemies of the people's great cause. This is an unpleasant task, and leads to a conflict fierce and terrible, in which THE ECONOMIST, on account of its devotion to its plain duty, is assailed and defamed in every possible manner. THE ECONOMIST has thus far withstood these attacks and fought simply on the defensive, contending honestly for the principles of the Order. The "machines" have in the north denounced it as a Democratic agent to disrupt the Republican party, and in the south as a Republican agent to disrupt the Democratic party; they have from both north and south accused it of trying to lead the Alliance into a third party movement, and denounced its editor as corrupt, venal and ambitious; and the people, recognizing the utter falsity of all these attacks, have sustained THE ECONOMIST and its editor throughout all this persecution for devotion to principle, until to-day THE ECONOMIST is in a more prosperous and more popular position than ever before, and it hereby announces a determination to fight in this holy cause from this on, not only in the defensive, as in the past, but in the aggressive. It will attack the "machines" of both parties; not the principles of either party, but the machines. This will be done for three reasons: First, it is the "machines" that are fighting Alliance principles; second, they are corrupt and without principle, and being so must be vulnerable and subject to complete destruction by the sword of reason and justice, and third, it is the duty of the official organ to return the fire that

the first specification against the "machines" is that they spent as a campaign fund during the last presidential election about twenty million dollars, that is to say, about ten millions of dollars each, and that neither has ever dared to make a showing to the public as to what they did with the money, or who donated it. It is a well established fact, of which abundant evidence is on hand to prove, that each machine requires from seven to ten millions of dollars to conduct a campaign. It is hereby further alleged that this large campaign fund is not donated by the rank and file of the party; that in fact the great common people give none of it. They are not called upon to contribute to campaign funds. The bulk of this fund in each party is donated by less than one thousand men.

The men who donate this money to the "machine" are not actuated by philanthropy, but give it as a business investment. (The proof of this will be circumstantial unless some of them confess.) Those who have furnished the campaign funds in the past have made it pay better than any legitimate investment ever paid. (The evidence of this is abundant and overwhelming.) The "machine" does not call upon the rank and file of the people for small donations, because it is the agent of those who make the large donations for the purpose of controlling the party upon lines conducive to their own financial purposes and schemes, which are in conflict with the best interests of the masses. The men who donate these large campaign funds do so with the distinct understanding

that the "machine" shall prevent any modification of the present financial system. The machine of each party is run in the interest of those who furnish the money to run it. Those who furnish the money do so for the express purpose of perpetuating conditions which enable them to gain wealth by the "power of money to oppress."

Alliance men should ponder well over the above indictment and specifications, and remember that, while the original principles of their old political party are just as true and grand as they ever were, it can never make a step in their behalf while it is dominated by a "machine," nor can any other political party. If a new party be formed, and it adopts machine methods, it will be as bad as any. True, there is an absolute necessity for a campaign fund, but it must be raised from those who are to be benefited by its use, and the fight of the two great "machines" upon Alliance principles, with all their money now distributing tons of campaign literature daily, creates a great and pressing necessity for some resource for campaign funds by the Alliance. Those to be benefited by the triumph of the Alliance principles are the people, and therefore the funds should be donated by them, each giving his mite, of which a record should be made and a statement published to the world at regular intervals, showing amount donated, whereby, and what every cent expended was used for. Many in their zeal may do more than their share, but all should support the cause according to their ability. THE ECONOMIST has, up to date, printed, paid the postage upon, and distributed, at its own expense, over fifty thousand pounds of reform literature, and many poor men have spent thousands of dollars' worth of time, but all this does not reach the necessity. The money is needed, it is true, but the *great necessity* is that the rank and file of the Order should make it their cause in fact and support it by individual contributions. THE ECONOMIST has received a letter from a good Alliance man in New York State, impressed with the necessity for the use of funds to pay the expense of lecturers and the distribution of literature, recommending that each primary organization donate one dollar to the propaganda fund, but that does not reach the necessity. If the need is simply to get the funds, then the methods of the "machines" will be the most successful, but that is not the great present need in this movement. The funds are very necessary, but the *great need* of the hour is for the rank and file of the people to make it distinctively their cause by making some sacrifices for it. And until that is done the opposition will not fear methods. It created a profound impression throughout the length and breadth of this whole land when the

newspapers announced that the Farmers' Alliance opened and closed their meetings with prayer, and made their demands upon the United States government the subject of their petitions to Almighty God, and it would strike terror to the heart of every plutocrat on earth if the papers should now herald the fact that sufficient funds to conduct the legitimate educational work of the Order could be raised by a small donation from each member. No one will ever doubt that men will stick to a cause they love well enough to donate to its support. *If every member of the Farmers' Alliance would donate one dollar to the propaganda fund, and send it to J. H. Turner, secretary, 239 North Capitol street, Washington, D. C., nothing on top of earth could prevent the triumph of Alliance principles in 1891!* A fund raised by the rank and file of the people in favor of their principles would break the reign of plutocracy and destroy the party machines.

BONDS TO BE REFUNDED.

The following circular in regard to the redemption of 4½ per cent bonds has been issued:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 9, 1891.

By virtue of the authority conferred by law upon the Secretary of the Treasury, notice is hereby given that the principal and accrued interest of such of the 4½ per cent bonds issued under the acts of July 14, 1870, and January 20, 1871, as may be outstanding on the 2d day of September, 1891, will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in the city of Washington, D. C., on that day, and that the interest of said bonds will then cease. Suggestions have been made on the part of the holders of some of these bonds of a desire to extend the payment thereof, at the option of the United States, at the rate of 1 or 1½ per cent per annum, and the Secretary of the Treasury will hereafter consider whether the acceptance of such offers, or any of them, will be profitable to the government, and in that event reserves the right to except such bonds for this call.

CHARLES FOSTER, Secretary.

It is officially stated that the suggestion as to the extension of the 4½ per cent loan added to the call is made more as a matter of prudence than of necessity. The Treasury Department, it is said, is abundantly able to pay all of the \$51,000,000 4½ per cents outstanding, but in view of the uncertainty of future receipts and expenditures, it is judged better to take the side of safety. The Secretary not only believes that he has ample means to defray all the expenses of the government, but is confident that he will be able to retire a considerable amount of the public debt in addition to the \$23,000,000 already paid during the present administration. One of the purposes in suggesting an opportunity to extend the maturing loan at a nominal rate of interest is the desire to avoid the enforced retirement of a part or all of the \$23,000,000 national bank circulation now secured by 4½ per cent bonds.

A statement prepared at the Treasury Department shows that there was a net decrease of \$25,038,324 in circulation during the month of May,

the principal of which was \$16,786,460 of gold certificates. There was also a decrease in the circulation of gold coin, standard silver dollars, silver certificates, United States notes, and national bank notes. The only items of increase were \$484,719 in subsidiary silver and \$1,092,026 in treasury notes. During the same period there was a net decrease of \$14,714,723 in the money and bullion in the treasury. There was a decrease of \$26,843,794 in gold coin and \$504,524 in subsidiary silver. There was an increase of \$4,415,939 in standard silver dollars, \$2,854,121 in treasury notes, \$1,115,872 in United States notes, \$1,133,730 in national bank notes, \$1,542,256 in gold bullion, \$1,621,677 in silver bullion. The circulation June 1 was stated at \$1,504,278,509, and the treasury holdings on the same date, \$661,938,770.

The official statement in regard to the ability of the treasury to pay these maturing bonds is simply a bluff. Under all rules of business the treasury is bankrupt. The beauties of the present financial system is shown in the decrease of currency during the past month. Wool season is at hand, and the price must be kept down, and a want of currency to handle it will produce that effect when all other means fail.

Let the people have the sub-treasury plan and do away with this one man power.

FINANCIAL PLETHORA.

Professor Simon Newcombe publishes in the Baltimore Sun an article on the "money question" under the following headings: "Professor Simon Newcombe on Popular Delusions—Too Much of a Very Good Thing—The Effects of Financial Plethora—Increase of Prices Makes Money Less Valuable—A Few Speculators get Rich While Others Fail—Workingmen and Professional Men Suffer."

From these headings the character of the article may be readily inferred. It is a rehash of the same old hash which has been so often hashed up before. It is stale and unprofitable, and dishing it up once more can neither freshen its flavor nor disguise its smell. Professor Newcombe devotes one-tenth of his space to the old fable of Midas who so lusted after gold that he prayed the gods (whoever the gods were) to grant that whatever he touched might be turned to gold, and they granted it. But old King Midas neglected to make reservation of his vituals, which, turning to gold as they touched his lips, he could in no wise eat. This somewhat puerile and silly fable seems to have been designed to hold up to scorn gold worship, and has been told by school master, or marm, as the case may have been, to every school child that ever went to school anywhere in the world for some thousands of years. It is the best financial system ever known. Is this what Mr. Newcomb

the professor draws the conclusion that ever since the day of poor old King Midas mankind have suffered from the same disease which he suffered, which was an idiotic idolatry, a fatuous worship of the metal gold for its own yellow sake. This disease, proceeds the professor, the French nation had, but it is a curious manifestation of gold worship which he describes. During the gigantic throes of the French revolution, the professor proceeds to narrate, that moved by the same arguments now urged by the farmers out West, they issued an enormous amount of notes, supposed to be secured by land mortgages, which led to financial disasters and ended in ruin. To throw gold to the dogs and issue clouds of notes on land is a curious way to worship gold. "Ever since when," continues Mr. Newcombe, "the French have adhered to a gold standard."

To make a comparison between the French people at the close of the French revolution, when all public authority was at an end; when society itself was dissolved, values annihilated, titles subverted, and wreck, ruin and chaos reigned on every hand, and the present reign of law and order in the United States under a government obviously the strongest and most unassailable that has ever existed on earth, is not to reason well.

That a vast cloud of notes found among the effects of a defunct power issued as a measure of desperate necessity by a government then in extremis, and now having vanished from the earth, should be regarded as of no value is a matter of course.

Does any one marvel why Confederate notes are not at par in Wall street to-day? Why not have referred to the recent financial achievement of the French people, unprecedented in the whole history of finance? When writing of "financial plethora," why not have referred to the fact that the French now have for the use of their compact population a per capita circulation largely more than twice as great as is claimed for the widely diffused population of the United States by anybody. And why not have admitted the indisputable truth that the circulating medium actually accessible by our people is scarcely one-fourth of the amount claimed?

If our condition is one of "financial plethora," what is the condition of the French people to-day, and how was it that this people stood ready on a recent memorable occasion to save the credit of the leading gold monomaniac, England, by an advance of gold? The circulation of France today is 900,000,000 gold, 700,000,000 silver, 600,000,000 bank notes, all legal tender, all-circulating on perfect equality, and none of them "driving the other out," of circulation or out of the country. It is the best financial system ever known. Is this what Mr. Newcombe

calls "too much of a good thing?" If not, what does he call "too much of a good thing?" This is what the farmers want here, and take notice, all whom it may concern, they are going to have it. They want a national currency equal to \$50 per capita, consisting of gold and silver and treasury notes; all legal tender, and all circulating together on a plane of perfect equality before the law. That is not all they want, but they want that. "All experience teaches," says the Professor, "that an increase in the volume of circulation is but a repetition of the experiment of poor old Midas." We propose to let old Midas rest, but we submit that an increase of a currency already ample for the business of the people could do no good, and might and would result in trouble and disaster. But is our currency already ample for the uses of the country? Or has it been cruelly contracted during a period of unprecedented increase of population and wealth, and a corresponding expansion of the volume of business? That the latter is true every honest disputant who knows what he is talking about will freely admit.

Professor Newcombe now gives us a paradox; he says the more money that is put into circulation the harder it is to get. This may be a paradox, but it is not the truth. It is easy to say that "universal experience" proves it to be true. The loose cant, "universal experience," is a poor substitute for the data upon which to base a sound argument. "Let us remember and bear in mind," says our author, "that we cannot eat money, nor wear it, nor use it any other way than to buy something we want." Has anybody ever been heard of who wanted to eat money, or wear it? There are no such fools alive. But when the author claims that we cannot use it except to buy something we want, we suggest to him that we don't want to buy any taxes, but we want lots of money to pay them. We suggest to him that he simply ignores the whole vast incubus of debt and taxation under which all the masses of mankind labor and groan; a burden and an incubus the grievous weight of which has been increased many fold by the working of that cruel instrument of torture, the so-called gold standard, the idolatry of monometallism; the god of the worship of such as have the Midas disease. We suggest it to him that every industrial worker and every producer must sell more than he buys, and when prices are low taxes and usury and debt take a far larger part of what he can make and sell brings in than when prices are high, and that therefore his contention is not valid that when money is scarce and prices low is a time of prosperity for working men and professional men, or any other class, for no class except

in lands, and farmed on a large scale, giving the business his personal attention.

Mr. Watson was elected to the legislature in 1882; was made elector for the State at large on the Cleveland ticket in 1888; was elected to Congress in 1890 by a practically unanimous vote. He stood squarely on the Alliance platform, and stands there now. His district is one of the most aggressive Alliance districts in the State, and Mr. Watson and his Alliance brethren expect to keep it so. In all his votes, speeches, and public acts he will be found side by side with those who believe the Ocala platform is the best guarantee of relief to the people.

tions of the government has just been held in New York. At this meeting the result of the bond-purchasing conspiracy was fully disclosed. The people have demanded the abolition of the national banking system for years, and have been quieted by the friends of that system in both the old parties with the assurance that when the bonds were paid the banks would of necessity be eliminated. It has been clearly demonstrated that the national banking system could not be perpetuated by congressional action without precipitating a revolt among the people against the perpetrators of such legislation. In order to serve the banks and defeat the expressed will of the people the scheme of bond-purchasing was inaugurated. Premiums to the amount of about \$70,000,000 have been paid out since such purchase was begun by President Cleveland; and now when the bonds are about due the national treasury can not meet them, and as a consequence they are to be extended. This is not the result of accident, but the end of a well-laid conspiracy. These 2 per cent bonds can be extended under the present ruling of the treasury for an indefinite time. In fact, they are payable at the pleasure of the government. The following is the resolution adopted at the meeting of the bankers and Secretary Foster:

Resolved, That this meeting composed of representatives of banks, trust companies, and bankers of New York, hereby expresses to the Secretary its unanimous opinion that in view of the necessity for the movement of the abundant coming crops of every variety it is to the interest of the country to extend the maturing 4½ per cent bonds at the rate of 2 per cent interest, payable at the pleasure of the government, and that a lower rate of interest would tend to contract the currency at a time inconvenient to all business interests.

The press dispatches further say:

Secretary Foster reserved his decision and made no announcement as to what his policy would be; but it is generally understood that he will act in accordance with the resolution. The national banks represented notified the Secretary that they stood ready in case the bonds were extended to buy them in the open market, and take out circulation against them. This would increase the amount of the currency in the country by \$28,000,000. In relation to the export of gold the Secretary gave it as his opinion that the government had sufficient power to maintain gold payments, even by the purchase of gold if necessary.

Let no one be deceived in this matter. Not a single dollar will be added to the volume of currency. The banks will sell the 4 per cent bonds that they hold at a premium of 25 to 28 per cent, and purchase 2 per cent bonds at par to take their place as a basis for present circulation. They will in this measure reap the benefit of the high premium, and retain their grip on the volume of circulation. This is the scheme, and nothing else. But there is something beyond all this in the remarks made by the Secretary concerning the purchase of gold. If gold shipments continue for the next six months as it has for the past six months Mr. Fos-



HON. THOMAS E. WATSON, OF GEORGIA.

millionaires can thrive while all other classes languish. We suggest it to him that his political economy includes the Vanderbilt doctrine, "the people be damned!"

If, we ask him, to increase the currency is to ruin the poor and the laborer and the professional man, and everybody except a few millionaires, why is it that these same millionaires are moving heaven and earth to prevent that increase? Pure philanthropy, eh! Bosh! Professor Newcombe, pure bosh. This is the stuff some men seek to popularize by calling it "Jeffersonian Democracy." If Jefferson were alive how would he spew such mock Democracy out of his mouth! In a thousand places Jefferson is on record against everything these mock Democrats are clamorous for. Of course it is true everybody knows it—that if money is increased in quantity, and the purchasing power of the dollar decreased accordingly, the laborer or the physician can buy less for a dollar; no person needs to be told such a thing as that. But, on the other hand, the physician will get more calls and higher fees, and the laborer more work and higher wages, and whoever deserves to prosper will share in the general increase of prosperity.

AN OMINOUS CONCLAVE.

One of the most significant meetings as regards the financial opera-

ter will be compelled to go into the market and buy gold or abandon the financial policy of the past quarter of a century. This resolution, as given above, is another acknowledgment of the correctness of the sub-treasury plan. It assumes that more money is not only needed, but is imperatively necessary at the season of year when the crops are being moved. This is a fundamental argument for a flexible volume of currency, and made use of by every one who understands the principles of that measure. Such statements as these confirm the belief that the money owners of the country understand fully the benefits of the sub-treasury plan, and are entirely willing to put it into practice, but are determined to be the beneficiaries themselves instead of the people. There is going to be some important development in matters of finance during the coming twelve months, and the friends of the sub-treasury plan can afford to wait with patience and be confident of the result.

PUSHING INSURANCE WORK.

Brother Alonzo Wardall, of Huron, S. Dak., has been in Washington the past week in attendance upon the semi-annual meeting of the National Alliance Executive Board, of which he is an active member. He goes from here this week to meet the State Committee of Indiana and Illinois, to arrange for the location of the place of the next annual session of the Supreme Council, the selection of the place having been left to the Executive Board by the last council, with the condition that it be located either in Indiana or Illinois. From there he goes with President Polk and Hon. Jerry Simpson to LaCrosse, Wis., to attend the annual meeting of the open Alliance of that State by invitation, and from there to Portland, Ore., where he is to assist in organizing the State Alliance on July 8. He will while on the coast visit the Alliance in California, and if Washington is ready organize the State Alliance there. Brother Wardall, as ECONOMIST readers know, has charge of the life insurance feature of the Alliance work, and is seeking to introduce it in all the States as rapidly as possible. His plan is to have it adopted as an official feature by each State, by means of a co-operative decree, to be known as the State Branch of the National Alliance Aid Association, to be conducted by a manager selected by the president and executive of the State Alliance, and approved by the management of the National Aid Association, who shall in turn be under the control and supervision of the National Alliance officers. The plan is almost identical with the Ancient Order of United Workmen, except that it is optional instead of being compulsory, and no one will be accepted unless able to pass a careful medical examination.

By this means our members can carry their own insurance (and none need it worse than the farmer), at simple cost of actual death losses and a minimum expense account for clerical labor performed, keeping the money all at home, in their own State, under their own control and management, and greatly build up and strengthen the Order. It is proposed to issue \$1,000 and \$2,000 policies at present, assessing for one death loss in advance, so that the money will always be on hand to pay a loss as it occurs. Long years of experience with society companies show that the average annual cost per \$1,000 of insurance carried is from \$9 to \$12, while in old line companies it is from \$20 to \$60. The plan has been in operation two years in some of the northwestern States, and they have a membership large enough to pay a policy in full, and it is growing rapidly. Several States have already approved of it, and it will be presented during the summer to the rest of them for examination. It meets with the hearty approval of the officers of the National Alliance, most of whom carry policies in it, and the plan is recommended to the thoughtful consideration of the Order. Arrange to hear Brother Wardall on the subject; he has it all at his tongue's end.

The executive committee are also zealously engaged on a plan for a national mutual farm fire insurance company, as directed by the last Supreme Council, and hope to have it in shape for the annual session. There is no one reform in our entire system of doing business of more financial importance than in insurance.

We waste annually hundreds of millions of dollars on a system that brings almost as much disappointment as relief, and we pay three dollars where the actual loss is only one, and worse, if possible, we send nearly all the insurance money, three or four hundred millions of dollars annually, to New York, London and other great money centers, where it accumulates and is sent back to us on mortgage loans, thus becoming a great instrument of oppression. One of the objects of the Order is to remedy these things, and Brother Wardall should be encouraged in the good work.

loans. Lenders display an unwillingness to make long engagements, being apprehensive of the conditions which may prevail after July 1, when the Western financial requirements in connection with the movement of the crops commence to make their influence felt. A further consideration which has due weight in this connection is the changed position of the treasury. For the past two years the money market looked to the Treasury for relief from financial stringency through the purchase of bonds. This, however, is no longer possible. It is, indeed, announced that Secretary Foster is preparing a plan to extend the \$50,000,000 of 4½ per cents which fall due on September 1, and that he will arrange to retire the bonds of holders who decline to extend their bonds at 2 per cent. The probabilities are that the extension will be generally accepted. And thus far the Treasury has conducted its operations without making any serious reduction in the amount on deposit with national bank depositories. This amount, now \$28,000,000, would, it was at one time believed, be rapidly withdrawn. The disturbance to the loan market and the possibility of producing a serious influence upon the sensitive financial conditions seem to have had due weight with the Treasury officials, and if any reduction in the deposits is contemplated will in all probability assume a gradual and therefore harmless shape.

The above is taken from Bradstreet's, and is positive proof from this, the leading financial paper in America, of the absolute necessity of a flexibility in the currency of the country. It is a strong argument in favor of the sub-treasury plan, just such an argument as is always made when the true functions of currency are candidly discussed.

A SOUTHERN VIEW.

The Southern Alliance Farmer deserves its great prestige as an Alliance journal on account of its ably written editorials and the dignified and effective fight it is making for the cause. The following clippings from its editorial page speak in no uncertain sound as to the Cincinnati meeting and its ultimate effect:

Even the more fair-minded editors of the partisan press confess that the recent Cincinnati convention is calculated to do good, and assist the Democratic cause. It is already conceded that John Sherman will be defeated for re-election to the United States Senate, and it also insures the election of a Democratic governor in Ohio. The Alliance has already shelved Ingalls in Kansas, and the last old republican leader in the West, who triumphed through appeals to sectionalism and the old war issues, will be retired from the political arena.

Our Western brethren have shown the faith by their works, and Southern Alliancemen should now meet them half way. We do not propose by that we should repudiate the gallant and patriotic men who followed the banner of the lost cause, for every true and loyal Southerner will ever honor these old heroes. But we do say, that they should rely, for political recognition, on the issues of to-day, instead of the old issues that perished with the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. With what consistency can Alliancemen in the South ask their brethren of the North to throw the mantle of oblivion over the dead past, and still keep afame the old war feeling themselves? Our Alliance friends in the West are extending a fraternal hand across the bloody chasm, and we must give it that hearty grasp ever characteristic of our warm-hearted people.

There is no doubt but that our country is on the verge of one of these political revolutions. The long reign of power by the men who seized upon the animosities engendered by our civil war to keep themselves in authority, will be overthrown. These leaders have abused their trust most shamefully. Class legislation was enacted and the rights of the people were trampled under foot. But a day of reckoning is at hand. The toiling masses of our great country are on the verge of a rebellion that will make a sweeping change in the politics of this government. The few men who have so long controlled the millions will be swept from power, and new officers, fresh from the hands of the

people, chosen in their stead. Even in the South there is a deep undercurrent of indignation setting in, and unless the Democratic party gives unmistakable signs of its friendship and sympathy for the laboring classes, you are going to see a rebellion that will carry nearly every Southern State into a new party. Even the combined influence of the Alliance leaders can not control the voters. * * *

The men who are ridiculing the talk of this new movement in Georgia and other Southern States had better awake to the danger that confronts them. The doom of the Republican party is sealed, and the organization that frames a platform and nominates a ticket nearest the wishes of the common people will be triumphant in 1892. We are anxious to see the Democratic party now step forward and lead the fight for the masses against the classes. But if this organization is controlled by the old politicians, and the demands of the laboring element are ignored, it will be buried in the same grave with its old antagonist, the Republican party.

They had as well try and stop a raging cyclone, or change its course, as to stop this movement of our aroused and indignant people, or swerve them from the line they have marked out. They will not be baffled with. They have a great mission in view, and are marching straight and with unbroken ranks for their goal. The sooner the Democratic leaders realize the political situation, and fall in with the people, the better for their success. By the fall of 1892, party names will be obliterated from the memory of our farmers. They are going to vote for principle and not for sentiment. The ticket that best represents their desires will receive their support. * *

While the Southern States were

scarcely known in that meeting, the politicians need not think that our people did not look upon the deliberations with an expectant eye. They are loth to desert a party with which they have affiliated so long, and intend to give the Democracy every opportunity to purify itself of demagogues and enemies of the Alliance that seek to control it. But if it fails

in this, you are going to see the South

as solid and united for the People's party as is the West. That Cincinnati convention adopted the Ocala platform, word for word and line for line. No loyal Alliance man can look with distrust or antipathy upon any man, or set of men, who voluntarily rally around the banner beneath which they are fighting. Now, will the Democratic convention do as much, or will it be led to defeat by such men as Grover Cleveland, the avowed candidate of the money kings of Wall street? * * *

We are introducing new practices all around. We are making one currency for the people, and another for other purposes.—February 22, 1862.

Again, during the debates on the

questions of selling gold coin and anticipating the interest on bonds, Mr. Stevens said:

We receive for these loans nothing but lawful money, and by paying them in gold we pay nearly double what we get. * * *

I do not mean that we are coming to re-

publition. God forbid that any man in this House or in this country should sanction that idea, although it may take half of every man's estate in the nation.

Mr. Stevens' fears have been fully

realized. More than the value of the

debt of the United States at that time

has been lost to the people through

the kind of legislation he then depre-

cated, and the debt represents as great

a tax on labor as then.

National Alliance Educational Cam-

paign.

Alabama—Birmingham, July 21; Hon.

Jerry Simpson, Montgomery, August 15;

Senator W. A. Peffer and C. W. Macne-

ill, Arkansas—Arkadelphia, July 25; Mc-

Neill, July 28; Hon. Jerry Simpson.

Florida—Monticello, July 23; DeFunia-

k Springs, July 25; Gainesville, September

28; Lakeland, September 30; Hon. L. F.

Livingston of Georgia, and Mr. J. W.

Stokes, president of the South Carolina

State Alliance, will attend the meetings at Monticello and DeFunia-

ki.

Georgia—Americus, July 14; Atlanta,

July 15; Athens, July 16; Rome, July 18;

Hon. J. B. Weaver of Iowa; Hon. Jerry

Simpson, Dr. C. W. Macne, and Col. L.

L. Polk will address these meetings.

Illinois—Virginia, August 6; Spring-

field, August 13; Senator Peffer, Dr. C.

W. Macne and National Lecturer J. F.

Willets will be present and address the

meetings.

Indiana—Rensselaer, August 4; New-

castle, August 8; the speakers will be

Senator Peffer and Lecturer J. F. Willets.

Kansas—Horton, September 7 and 8;

Concordia, September 9 and 10; Hutch-

inson, September 14 and 15; Chanute, Sep-

tember 16 and 17; President L. L. Polk.

Other speakers will be assigned.

Kentucky—Grand Rivers, July 2; Bowl-

ing Green, July 4; Mt. Sterling, July 6;

Catlettsburg, July 7; National Lecturer

Willets will attend all these meetings

and President L. L. Polk will be at Mt.

Sterling and Catlettsburg.

Louisiana—Shreveport, August 18;

Baton Rouge, August 25; Hon. Bea Ter-

rell will attend both meetings and Dr. C.

W. Macne will also be at Shreveport.

Maryland—Annapolis, August 22; Mr.

J. Brad Beverley of Virginia, and other

speakers will be present.

Mississippi—Holly Springs, June 17 and

18; Durant, June 19 and 20; Hazlehurst,

June 22 and 23; Meridian, June 24 and 25;

Tupelo, June 26 and 27.

All these meetings

will be attended and addressed by

President L. L. Polk, Hon. L. F. Livingston,

lecturer J. F. Willets, Mr. J. H.

McDowell, president of the Tennessee

State Alliance, and others.

ing in this country in search of in-

vestment opportunities, and willing

to do "Cousin" John a kind business

turn without really discomfiting

himself, he offered to lend him \$1,000

with which to pay off the Boston mort-

gage, the new loan to bear the com-

mon English rate of 5 per cent inter-

est. John Warren feels elated over

what he terms his fortunate financial

arrangement with an English capital-

ist. The tenant continues to pay the

same rent as before, \$200 a year.

Under the old system \$100 of this

was annually sent to Boston to meet

the 10 per cent interest upon the

\$1,000 mortgage, whilst under the

new system only \$50 will be required

to meet the 5 per cent interest to be

sent to London. Not only is this

direct saving in interest satisfactory,

but John finds the difference in the

proportion of ownership a similarly

advantageous one. Whereas with his

Boston partner he could be said to

own but one-half the property, with

his English partner his proportion

has been raised to three-fourths. The

effect is the same as though his par-

tner had voluntarily made him a gift

of one-half of his share of the owner-

ship.

Of course the ECONOMIST reader,

having studied the interest question,

will readily see the following points:

That it was because it took one-half

the rent to pay the Boston interest on

ward money-mongers have, as it were, already hypnotized us. It would appear to be a legacy from our fathers who, without doubt, were thus hypnotized before us. The loyalty of "business men" like John Warren to a monetary system their conscience must otherwise condemn, can be accounted for only upon some adequate theory, hence inherited hypnotization is modestly suggested. It would also explain why this class of men accept so confidently the daily rot dished up for them in the financial articles of their metropolitan paper.

John and I have also considered together and figured out the effects of reduced rates of interest upon the value of my own quarter section farm, with its attendant 10 per cent Bostonian mortgage. In this exemplification I of course insisted upon 2 per cent American money as proposed in the Ocala and Cincinnati platforms.

The Farmers Alliance and the Public.
BY MRS. E. M. KING, BANANA, FLA.
Lecturer Putnam County Alliance.

The chief value of all organizations for reform, consists in the education they give to the public. For instance, the chief value of the woman's suffrage movement has been the forty years of education it has given the women of this country in widening their moral horizon, showing them that besides their duty to the individuals immediately surrounding them, they have, as have their brothers, a duty to the State and country they live in, and that they are, with men, the joint guardians of the social and political justice, honesty and morality of the nation.

Again, the chief value of the prohibitionist organization is the education on temperance it has given to all, even to those who can not agree with their demands for legal measures against the sale of stimulants. But all have come to see the evils of drink and its baneful effects on the mind and the health. Ever since the first crusader against drink, Father Matthew, with his "teetotal" pledge, drunkenness, or being drunk, has been more or less looked upon as a disgusting and brutish vice, instead of, as in former times, as only an excusable manly pleasure. If the prohibitionists never gain the legislative enactments they advocate, the world will always be indebted to them for most valuable moral and sanitary education.

Again, what is known in England as the Corn Law League, the so-called free trade organization, which was headed by John Bright, Richard Cobden and Joseph Hume, has left a permanent legacy to England in the education of her men and women on the principles of free trade, so thoroughly and clearly stamped on their minds that although attempts are constantly being made by influential and interested parties to fall back to protection, and although each attempt is heralded by the assertion, which is immediately re-echoed in America, that England is about to reverse her free-trade policy, yet the lesson that the English public has learned can not be unlearned, that protection to one class of the community means dear goods to every other class; and so every attempt, under whatever name it presents itself, to draw England back to protection has signally failed.

The reason for this educational influence is, that whenever, in a reform, we seek for rights, we can not help teaching duties at the same time. Rights and duties go hand in hand, and are inseparable. Whenever rights are held without the corresponding duties performed there are wrongs. And wherever duties are imposed without the corresponding rights being given, whether to men or women, there is robbery on one side and slavery on the other.

Now, how shall we carry on the great educational work of the Alliance? Brother Polk, our national president, and Brother Macune, chairman of the executive committee and editor of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, both affirm that the purpose of the Alliance is "education, not agitation." But the work of education with us is a difficult one. As one means of carrying it forward the new lecture bureau has been formed, which I hope will fill up the gap that is very apparent in our organization. This gap is caused principally by the wide distance the members live apart from one another. They are separated by miles instead of only a few streets.

The reform press, the farmers newspapers, can do much as educators, but the farmers have little time for rest, and during that little time it is hard to set the mind working to understand many of the deep and very intricate problems, especially those relating to finance, which are involved in the farmers' demands.

1. Because they are the most important and far-reaching of our demands.

2. Because they are the most difficult to understand.

3. Because round these the fiercest battle will be fought. They will bring against us the strongest and most unscrupulous opposition of the financial classes. They will call for exercise of the best talents we possess. They will most severely tax the courage and endurance of the farmers. They are the demands which, in my opinion, can never be carried out, unless we have the sympathy and co-operation of the general public with us.

These financial demands are the abolition of national banks, the sub-treasury bill, a 2 per cent loan on land, an increase of the volume of money to \$50 per capita, and the free coinage of silver.

It has been prophesied in many American papers and high-class journals, and this again quoted in English magazines, that the farmers' agitation, even though based on real grievances, will only be of short duration; that it can not last because it is only a class agitation, and for class purposes. Any one who had merely read through our platform could hardly say this, and any one who had really studied it must know so far from its being a class agitation, or affecting only a class, it would extend its influence through all ranks of the community. Let us, then, consider this platform. It was passed at the St. Louis convention in 1889, and reaffirmed at the Ocala meeting in 1890. There are in it seven broad demands, which the NATIONAL ECONOMIST has briefly summed up, showing that they would require about thirteen bills for their fulfillment.

First demand. 1. Law abolishing banks; 2. Law establishing sub-treasury plan; 3. Law establishing system of 2 per cent land loans direct to the people; 4. Law increasing volume of money to \$50 per capita.

Second demand. 5. Law prohibiting dealing in futures.

Third demand. 6. Free coinage of silver.

Fourth demand. 7. Law prohibiting alien ownership of land; 8. Law forfeiting unearned railway land grants and limiting their holdings.

Fifth demand. 9. Law revising tariff in the interest of the producer; 10. Law creating a graduated income

tax; 11. Law reducing government expenditures.

Sixth demand. 12. Law creating efficient control of railroads.

Seventh demand. 13. Law for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

Nearly all these demands are as much for the good of the public, or consumer, as for the farmers or producers. What these demands are directed against is that vast army which stands between and defrauds both; that forces the producers to take less than he has a right to receive, and forces the consumer to pay more than he ought to pay. That the public is beginning to see this is evinced by the formation of the Citizens National Alliance, which has affiliated with us and joins with us in our demands. I wish we had a branch Citizens Alliance in every town where there is a Farmers Alliance, for then the work of reform would be begun at both ends, and producers' side and the consumers' side, and then the day for justice and right for both would be nearer. I will now group together the financial demands.

1. Because they are the most important and far-reaching of our demands.

2. Because they are the most difficult to understand.

3. Because round these the fiercest battle will be fought. They will bring against us the strongest and most unscrupulous opposition of the financial classes. They will call for exercise of the best talents we possess. They will most severely tax the courage and endurance of the farmers. They are the demands which, in my opinion, can never be carried out, unless we have the sympathy and co-operation of the general public with us.

I said before that if the demands of the farmers could give the financial edifice a good shaking it would benefit us all greatly because it would help to throw down, and let a little daylight into all its holes and corners of mystification. After that I would strongly advise you to call to your assistance some women, who, with their good brooms and brushes of practical common sense, would soon sweep away all the dirty rubbish. If all foolish men could see how the practical good sense of women could help on all your reforms, if they stood side with you, you would soon seek their help. Instead of that you remain quite content and vastly proud of all the manly muddles you have made. In your legislatures, in your professions, in your law courts, in all your man-made and man-conducted institutions you have tied knot upon knot, woven web upon web, tangle upon tangle, confusion upon confusion, till you don't know where you are, or what to do, or how to do it. Call in the women, I say, and let them sweep and brush, and you have no idea how well you will get on, and how relieved you will be to get rid of all the accumulations of rotten rubbish which now weight you down and nearly stifle you, and make you waste your own time and the people's.

It may seem as if I had gone away from the farmers' demands, but I have only tried to clear the ground, to sweep away, in my feminine fashion, the rubbish from your minds, to let you see than you can well understand the financial questions before you, if only they are cleared from the unnecessary complications which have been wound around them.

I consider the sub-treasury plan as the first attempt to return to the sim-

plexity of exchange—to that simplicity and easiness of exchange which it was the prime object of the invention to money to give us. It also proclaims what is the true principle of a new, or of any real science of finance, and that is that wealth or produce shall command money, and not money command wealth. The farmers have ushered in the dawn of the true religion of wealth, instead of the idolatrous worship of money. If it can be carried out, the worship and despotic power of money will be taken away from its financial high priests and placed in the hands of those who produce the real wealth of the world.

I have now done my best to put this principle before you. Let me repeat it in short. It is this, that each year the newly coined money, or newly stamped paper—they both mean the same thing—should be handed over to the farmers for their newly made wealth or produce. That is the principle, the new principle of finance, and I believe it to be a true one, not only for this country, but for the whole world.

PARTIES.

H. F. SEAWELL, VILLANOVA, N. C.

"Political parties are not made to order, but are the outgrowths of necessity." In the first session of the First Congress there was a great division on Hamilton's third recommendation, but no party was formed, as necessity had not decided called it forth. At the close of the first session of the Second Congress in order to oppose the centralizing tendencies of the Federalists, a new party was fairly begun, and took on the name of Democratic-Republican, at Jefferson's suggestion, expressive of sympathy for Republicans of Revolutionary France. The details, however, of party machinery were different from what they now are—the President being nominated by Congressional caucuses and State legislatures until the present mode of nominations by national conventions was inaugurated in 1832. Parties have existed and still continue to exist. There have been twenty-seven, including as parties the "Quids," anti-Masons, and other factions, and it may be supposed some were made to order to suit certain interests; but at the beginning of each party, usually, there has been some reform to effect or some scheme to oppose, some end in view, i. e., they were the "outgrowth of necessity," real or supposed. The lives of these parties have been measured to a great extent by the ends they had in view, and the success with which they have met at the hands of the people. The greater number have lived to see the ends they advocated achieved or unmistakably rejected by the people. The Prohibition and Union-Labor parties have lived upon their local successes and zeal for their principles. The Greenback party has been about run out of the field by silver-spoon ridicule emanating from the money centers, where the substitution of greenbacks for bank notes is strenuously opposed.

The farmers each year give to the country newly created wealth, drawn by their labor from the joint action of the earth, the air, the rain and the sun, and this wealth is for the food and clothing of the nation. In offering this wealth as a basis for the people's banking, they have a far better and more scientific principle to go upon than the national banks, which deposit government bonds, a bond being only a statement of debt and intrinsically of no value to the nation whatever. The farmers, receiving money for their produce, would at once change it for the various manufactured goods they required, to the great and immediate benefit to all in their neighborhood, instead of its being stored up in banks or government vaults, or millionaires' hoardings. Every one here must see the advantage of this plan, and how it would put an end to this miserable system of credit and barter, which keeps us all poor and in a measure all slaves. Don't think that this plan will not affect you, because you might not in the beginning have any immediate benefit from it. The principle once adopted is capable of indefinite extension.

I have now done my best to put this principle before you. Let me repeat it in short. It is this, that each year the newly coined money, or newly stamped paper—they both mean the same thing—should be handed over to the farmers for their newly made wealth or produce. That is the principle, the new principle of finance, and I believe it to be a true one, not only for this country, but for the whole world.

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Lurty in his great speech in Petersburg, Va., in 1889, praised Mahone for fighting so bravely when Grant had his private earthquake for the benefit of the public Confederacy, till he had the low statue of "Billy" towering head and shoulders above Robert E. Lee, and gave

Mahone's fighting qualities, and his efforts for maintaining slavery as reason why the people should vote for him. Then turning to the crowd of colored population assembled, he told them they could not afford to desert Mahone and his party, for they had freed the "niggers" and brought them up out of the house of bondage. Ex-Senator Moore, at Bentsville, Va., in the same year after, devoted about two hours to abusing Mahone and his son, along with anybody else who dared oppose or vote against his party, closed his address with a few remarks to the "horny fisted" sons of toil, the honest yeomanry, and the dear people." He admitted that their condition had grown worse under the administration of his party, but clearly demonstrated that they would be utterly ruined if they submitted the reins of government to the opposite party. The familiar quotation at once arose:

You shall and you shan't,
You will, and you won't;
You'll be damned if you do,
You'll be damned if you don't.

And the "dear people" went home consoled, that they would not be entirely ruined by voting for Mr. Moor's party.

Such have been the tricks of the past; thus have been the fields of choice between a great evil and a greater evil, and no one has known which was the greater. But to-day we have a prospect of being permitted to vote truly for equal rights. The giant born a few days ago in Cincinnati will sweep the fields, and the hollow, empty names of past political parties along with their "bloody shirts," and "niggers in the woodpile," are no more to be adored; measures, not men, are to be advocated; principles expressed in true platforms, not equivocation put in high-sounding documents of the "grand old party" are to be fought for; truth, not sentiment nor prejudice; equal rights to all, not special favors to the few, are to be enthroned.

The people's party and the Farmers Alliance are entirely distinct organizations, but the people's political party proposes to place upon the statute books of this nation, the demands of the Farmers Alliance and kindred organizations. Neither the people's party nor the Farmers Alliance are essential to the other's existence, though either may be essential to the other's success; through the one to educate, through the other to put into practice the lessons taught. The people's party was not made to order, but it is the outgrowth of economic education; the outcome of a necessity felt by the great mass of American people. Long may live the principles of this party, but may the people never become blinded to love for it, as they have been to others in the past, when the principles of truth, justice and equity, which underlie it, are replaced by corruption, injustice and tyranny.

State Alliance Meetings.

Following are dates and locations of State Alliance meetings so far as at present known at this office:

Alabama, Montgomery, August 4.
Arkansas, Little Rock, August 19.
California, Los Angeles, October 20.

Colorado, October 3.
Georgia, Atlanta, August 19.
Illinois, Springfield, October 27.

Louisiana, August 4.
Maryland, Baltimore, August 11.
Michigan, Lansing, October 6.
Mississippi, Starkville, August 25.

Missouri, Perry Springs, August 25.
North Carolina, Morehead City, August 11.

North Dakota, Grand Forks, June 23.
Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Nov. 10.
South Carolina, July 22.

South Dakota, Huron, date not fixed.
Tennessee, Nashville, August 11.
Texas, Dallas, August 18.

Virginia, Richmond, August 18.
Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, August 18.

THE NEW YORK SUN says of the Cincinnati Convention.

The conference, congress, or convention which began at Cincinnati yes, includes the largest variety of cranks, corner-grocery economists, ploughtail socialists, out-at-the-elbows politicians, thinkers with a screw loose, and patriots waiting for something to turn up, that has ever been on exhibition. There are plenty of shrewd and sensible men in it, eager to hold it back or push it forward, but the heterogeneous nature of the collection must make manipulation difficult. A call for a school of languages at Babel couldn't have been more catholic and comprehensive than was the original Ocala call for a conference to be held at Cincinnati on Feb. 10, and the additional call postponing the show until May 19. "Whereas in unity there is strength," said the first callers, "therefore it is desirable that there should be a union of all the variously named organizations that stand on common ground."

Cotton Plant, Orangeburg, S. C., says:

It is held by some political economists that all currency must be issued upon some value as a basis. Those who are fortunate enough to possess the value selected as a basis will not only enjoy the benefits that accrue from the increase, but they will derive an additional benefit by reason of the use of their product in this way as a basis.

The Alabama Mirror (Selma) says:

What England failed to accomplish by force she has done by finance, and this country was never more fully subjected to the crown of Great Britain, than it is now under the dominion of British gold. One-half of the great wealth creating industries of this country are controlled by English capital, and fully four-fifths of the money loaned upon real estate that is slowly and surely eating up the land with its ever-increasing interests has come from the same source. The financial legislation of this country for the past thirty years has been inspired by England. She has gained absolute power and control over the finance of the country and is now rapidly acquiring, under existing laws, the ownership of the mines, furnaces, quarries, railroads, elevators, warehouses, cotton mills, oil mills, phosphate beds and agricultural lands, to say nothing of banks and bonds and stocks of all kinds.

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 - \$1.00 PER YEAR.

Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are reasonable for circulation. 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 following is the resolution unanimously adopted at the national meeting in St. Louis:

Whereas THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our adopted official national organ, has so boldly and fearlessly advocated our cause, and defended our principles, the world over;

Be it resolved by this National body, That we heartily approve of the course he has pursued and recommend that every member of the Order should subscribe and read the paper as one of the best means of education in the way of industrial freedom.

Confirmed at Ocala as follows:

Resolved, That the Supreme Council reinforce THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST in the action of Brother C. W. Macune and his associates and paper, and will do all we can to urge them onward in the good work of education.

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.

N. R. P. A.

WANTED.

A county agent for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST in every county in the United States. Applicants must furnish letter of recommendation from officers of the County Alliance, and must agree to take the field and canvass for the paper and sell our literature. A special agent's commission will be given when above is complied with. Write us for further particulars. Do not write unless you mean and expect to work for the good farmers' Alliance. Always inclose evidence of the fact that you are a member in good standing. Address

NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL LECTURER J. F. Willets, will fill appointments as the following times and places:

MISSISSIPPI.

Senatobia, June 17.
Granada, June 18.

Durant, June 19.
Jackson and Brookhaven, June 20.

Meridian, June 22.

Macon, June 23.

Aberdeen, June 24.

ALABAMA.

Jasper, Walker County, June 25.

East Lake, Jefferson County, June 26.

Montgomery, June 27.

Calera, Shelby County, June 29.

Athens, Livingston County, June 30.

The following bundle of Alliance information postpaid to any address on receipt of one dollar net at this office:

1 copy Philosophy of Price.

1 copy Handbook of Facts.

1 copy Some Ideas.

1 copy History United States Dollar.

3 copies Power of Money to Oppress.

3 copies Sub-treasury Plan.

3 copies It is Constitutional.

3 copies President Polk's Speech.

1 copy Harry Tracy's Speech.

3 copies National Economist.

Frequent calls for Alliance literature have induced THE ECONOMIST to make the above offer, which barely covers the cost of printing and postage. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington D. C.

SEVERAL esteemed contemporaries have criticised THE ECONOMIST for the position taken editorially on the 23d of May in an article headed "Tariff." It should be remembered that as the national official organ, THE ECONOMIST has no right to go any farther than the order has upon any political question. Just as far as

the Supreme Council saw fit to go at Ocala, THE ECONOMIST goes, and no further. But for above reason every Alliance man in the country will sustain THE ECONOMIST in declining to take sides in the partisan fight upon that or any other question.

PRESIDENT POLK's proclamation as to the duties of membership has been received with pleasure throughout the entire brotherhood. It presented the exact situation in no ambiguous terms and warned the triflers what might be expected. Below is a comment taken from the San Miguel Messenger, California:

President Polk has issued an official manifesto in which he emphatically states that no paper which has been constituted an Alliance organ, and no man who retains membership in the Alliance, has the right to assail Alliance principles or members of the Alliance publicly. The president says that the fullest discussion of all matters is invited and urged in Alliance councils, but the will of the majority is the law of the order, and if any one feels that he cannot acquiesce in the decision of the majority; and feels that he is conscientiously impelled to go before the public and assail our principles, he should first divest himself of all Alliance uniform. The president holds that any paper vested with authority to represent the order, which assails Alliance principles, should be promptly repudiated, and that any member who assails another publicly, while both are Alliance members, violates his obligation, and such an offense merits expulsion. The manifesto has been sent to the Alliance and reform press for publication.

If no other evidence of the increasing prosperity was made the following statement from Bradstreet's would be amply sufficient:

"Failures for last week, 234; for the week previous, 200; for the corresponding weeks of 1890, 140; 1889, 110; 1888, 135; 1887, 123." From this it is seen that the prosperity of the people from the old party standpoint varied from 123 failures in 1887 to 234 failures in the corresponding week of 1891. If this is prosperity, the Alliance would recommend a dose of adversity. This suggestion is made with the full knowledge that it may be construed as "unconstitutional, undemocratic, impracticable, and tending to centralization and paternalism."

THE Southern Mercury (Dallas, Tex.) comes in the shape of a sixteen-page paper, size and style conforming somewhat to that of THE ECONOMIST. This is a decided improvement, as the paper is pasted and nicely trimmed. The Mercury makes a gratifying statement:

A statement is going the rounds of the partisan press to the effect that only about 17,000 legal voters belong to the Texas Farmers' Alliance. When this false report was set on foot over forty counties had not sent in their semi-annual reports. The most of them happened to be the strongest Alliance counties in the State. Since this report was started, which was in February last, 136 new sub-Alliances have been organized, 605 defunct Alliances resuscitated, besides four new county Alliances have been chartered since the Waco conference. Reports from all parts of the State are that great numbers of the best farmers who have heretofore held aloof, waiting to see what the Alliance intended to do, are coming into the Order, having become satisfied it means business. Besides, for the first time in three years, every officer in every department of the State Alliance and the official organ are in perfect accord, and everyone of these officers is doing everything in their power to

build up the Order. The rank and file of the organization are practically a unit on the Ocala demands, and working with a will unprecedented in the history of the Order in Texas. The attempt of Gov. Hogg and his dupes to destroy the Order has been a dismal failure, as was clearly demonstrated at the Waco conference. The rapid growth of the Texas Alliance, under all the circumstances, is a remarkable phenomenon of modern times, and marks the Order as the most progressive organization within the State.

he knows the plan is not in operation. There is no chance for the smoothed-tongue politician to claim that it is working all right but through some other channel. Herein lies one of the strong points of the bill. Again, it is true that neither Democracy nor Republicanism is considered in the measure in a partisan sense, but the best interests of the people are impartially served. It is because of its non-partisan features that it has become so popular in all sections of the country, and is gaining fresh converts at every point.

THE TOILER (Nashville, Tenn.) has entered into its sixth year of service in the reform cause. May it live long and prosper. The Toiler notes:

The Memphis Appeal-Avalanche grows furious when it notes the list of appointments made for Ben Terrell. It wildly ejaculates about the heresies to be taught by the Alliance leader. It denounces his coming to Tennessee as it would an invasion by a foreign power. It says the farmers should give him a "chilly reception." If a representative of the Appeal-Avalanche will but be on hand at some of these appointments it will get a better idea of the "chilly reception" to be tendered Brother Terrell. It will also have an opportunity to size up the weight of its suggestions when it advises the farmers about their receptions.

THE DAILY JOURNAL (Montgomery, Ala.) has arrived at a view much more truthful than is usual among the papers of its class. The farmers are truly conservative in the Alliance movement, eminently so. They demand the practical return to the principles made the basis of this government more than a century ago:

The mistake that some of the Journal's esteemed contemporaries make in their criticisms of the farmers' movement and its leaders is that the causes that have brought it about are not merely local. They are wide-spread, ever-spreading and growing in importance everywhere. Polk and Macune, Koib and Adams, and the hundreds of presidents of county and district Alliances, have little to do with the threatened storm which may follow the terrible and ominous clouds now above the horizon. If each and every one of these central and conspicuous figures were dead, the clouds would continue to gather, continue to grow more portentous, and the longer the storm broods before it breaks the more irresistible will be its forces. How long they will continue to grow, how portentous they will become no one can foresee. But, as Hon. J. Phelps truly says in the North American Review for May, "there is no government or institutions under our system that is not within the ultimate reach of the numerical majority." When the farmers, so long the most conservative element in American political and social life, become at once the most radical, it can not be said that it is without reason.

In noting precedents, let the brethren not forget that the government has been a stockholder in two United States banks, from each of which it derived a large profit, the last leaving so large a fund that the government was able to turn over to the States \$28,000,000 in 1836, which the States have not returned to the government though charged with it by the Treasury.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

he more money there are in circulation, all probability, the worse off we are. That is money. Ordinarily, it is anything used to facilitate the exchange of products or the creation of products through labor. Once it was coin. Now it is credit. In general acceptance there are two kinds of money—public money and private money. Public money is divided into two kinds—lawful money, which the Supreme Court of the United States defines as gold and silver coinage only; legal tender (paper) money, redeemable in lawful money at the option of the holder. These are the only forms of public money. Private money is also of two kinds—it, that which is secured by a public pledge of products, and is known as National bank-notes; 2, that which is secured by a private pledge of property, and is known as checks, bills of exchange. The money that is used in commercial transactions belongs to the latter class; 99 per cent of all the business in New York City is transacted daily with private money, based on private credit. This private money any person may issue any amount of. The issue of it is limited only by the amount which people will take. The amount afloat constantly in the country represents at least an average of \$100 per head. The daily transactions in this city far exceed \$100,000,000. In speaking of money, this private money, which constitutes 97 per cent of the whole amount used, demands the first attention and the first consideration. It passes current as readily as gold or silver. It is unlimited in its amount, or limited only to the credit of the people of the town, city or country. It is always secured by pledge of property; and the losses from it are practically nothing. It is safer money than lawful money. There can be no loss to the owner of it, and there can be no scarcity. The amount that can be issued to the owner of it, and there can be no scarcity. The amount that can be issued is practically the total amount of all the wealth there is in the country. Think over this subject. Define what you mean by money, and write again.

Therefore I, L. L. Polk, by virtue of authority vested in me as president of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, by the constitution of the same, do issue this, my official proclamation, designating Portland, Oregon, as the place, and Wednesday, the 8th day of July, 1891, at 10 o'clock a. m., as the time, at which the legal and properly accredited delegates of the various county organizations aforesaid shall assemble, for the purpose of adopting a constitution and the election of officers for the said State organization.

Each county organization shall be entitled to two delegates, and one additional delegate for every five hundred members in good standing, or a majority fraction thereof.

Brother Alonso Wardall, of Huron, South Dakota, is hereby appointed and empowered as national organizer to be present at said meeting and effect the said State organization.

When the body thus constituted shall have adopted a State constitution, and shall have elected officers in conformity to the constitution of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, and shall have adopted the secret work of the said Order, the said State organization shall be entitled to a charter from the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, and to all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto.

Given under my hand and seal at Washington, D. C., this, the 1st day of June, 1891.

[SEAL.] L. L. POLK,
Pres't N. F. A. & I. U.

THE ultra partisan papers are raising a great hue and cry since the Cincinnati conference over what has been said in reference to a third party by several of the state organs of the Alliance, and by President Polk and other prominent Alliance men. It is freely asserted that they have endorsed the move, and that they have

been induced to do so by the Secretary of the Treasury's cause to be prepared treasury notes in such amounts as may be required for the purpose of the above section, and in such form and denominations as he may prescribe, provided that no note shall be of a denomination of less than \$1 or more than \$1,000.

Sec. 4. That the treasury notes issued under this act shall be receivable for customs, and shall be a full legal tender for all debts, both public and private, and such notes when held by any national banking association shall be counted as part of its lawful reserve.

Nothing can be more clear and ex-

plicit than this. The government makes the money and then loans it to the people on good security; that is the whole matter in brief. There is no taxation about it. Its object is to obviate taxation.

OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

June 1, 1891.

Whereas information having been filed in this office through legally constituted authority, that a sufficient number of county organizations have been effected in the State of Oregon to form a State organization, under the constitution and laws of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union,

Ho. Ben Terrell will fill the appointments below, making public addresses at 11 a. m., and exemplifying the secret work and giving Alliance addresses at 2 p. m. Other speakers are expected to attend:

Madisonville, Monday, June 15.
Chattanooga, Wednesday, June 17.
Dayton, Thursday, June 18.
Decherd, Saturday, June 20.
Fayetteville, Monday, June 22.
Lewisburg, Tuesday, June 23.
Columbia, Wednesday, June 24.
Pulaski, Thursday, June 25.
Waynesboro, Saturday, June 27.
Savannah, Monday, June 29.
Selma, Wednesday, July 1.
Jackson, Thursday, July 2.
Trenton, Friday, July 3.
McKenzie, Saturday, July 4.
Dresden, Monday, July 6.
Union City, Tuesday, July 7.
Dyersburg, Thursday, July 9.
Kipley, Friday, July 10.
Memphis, Saturday, July 11.
Waverly, Tuesday, July 12.
Jones' Valley, Thursday, July 16.
Dickson, Saturday, July 19.
House of Representatives, Nashville, Tuesday, July 21.
Lebanon, Wednesday, July 22.
Gordonsville, Thursday, July 23.
Gallatin, Saturday, July 25.
Springfield, Monday, July 27.
Ashland City, Wednesday, July 29.
Clarksville, Friday, July 31.

An Alliance Lay Sermon.

BY LINN TANNER, CHENEVILLE, LA.

But there are false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privately shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom, the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you; whose judgment now of a long time lineth not, and their damnation slumbrereth not.—II Peter, ii: 1, 2, 3.

Ye therefore, seeing ye know these things before, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness.—Ibid., iii: 17.

At this present time, no question before our people presents such a complete form and has so many strong arguments, both pro and con, as, whether it is best for the wealth producers of our country to set up, independent of the time established parties, a new, or what is sometimes called a third? Those who are opposed to

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

such a movement being made by the farmers and laborers, urge that there is no necessity for such action, and claim that either of the two old parties is sufficient, with a "little purification," to carry out the demands made by the "bone and sinew" of the country, when assembled at Ocala. They claim also that such action will drive tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands of honest sympathizers from us, and finally when all argument of such kind seems to be unavailing, we find northern Republican shouting to our northern cousins that the Alliance is a southern Democratic scheme for capturing the Republican voters, and straightway they sharpen their knives and get ready to skin brigadier generals. In their mad fury they hoist a bloody shirt, and fight in its shadow with all the rancor which was engendered by the late fratricidal war. On the other hand the chiefs of the political kitchen, here in the south, cry out through their partisan press, "that this third party, (Alliance movement) is simply a Republican dodge to steal Democratic votes," and in order to frustrate the independent action of the people they hoist on high and flaunt it in the face of every listener what we are pleased to call a negro "shirt" and dancing a ghost dance to the tune of "negro supremacy," they raise a rebellion among our good citizens quite as senseless as that which was exhibited by the Sioux Indians.

But my friends, no question of importance to the people should ever be considered where the least tinge or taint of prejudice is allowed to exist. We are, or ought to be, independent American sovereigns, capable and intelligent enough to direct our political action so as to best subserve our interests. If we can divert ourselves of all prejudice, or partiality, and look with unbiased mind to the end, and find that which we seek, is in accordance with the laws of God, and is for the interest of a majority of our people, the means of which we can secure the ends will quickly be made apparent and the victory for which we strive will be more than half won.

Is it possible for the people so long as they are kept divided by old party lines ever to become as a unit in the demands they have made?

This is a grave question and one which must be solved ere the future political action can be determined upon. We have already shown that the "leaders," as they are called, of the present political parties are ever ready to use as their most effective weapons, sectional hate, and prejudice, for they by so doing, are well aware that they create a division among the people, and render them more easily controlled. By controlling the people they render themselves masters of the government, and the people are made to mourn.

To purify either of the present political parties it would be necessary for the people to concentrate their entire strength, and become masters, but as we have seen, the managers are keenly alive to their interests, and if such an attempt were made it would prove futile from the fact that a subsidized press would come to the assistance of the moneyed powers, and distrust and suspicion would be so artfully instilled in the minds of the commonalty that their victory would be complete because of a division irreconcilable among the factions produced. In

discussing this question it will be well to examine the positions taken by the two parties in regard to "the farmers' movement."

Has either of them yielded a jot or tittle to the demands urged upon them? I have watched intently for some sign which would give hope of future compliance; but, alas, the demands made at St. Louis and reaffirmed at Ocala, instead of being listened to with some show of their justice being appreciated, are treated by both the Democratic and Republican parties with a scorn and contempt equal to that shown by the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah to the commands of the Most High. Instead of either hastening to obey the voice of the people, they seem to have conspired together to defeat them, and careless of the welfare of their constituents they answer the requests with that catapultic word "unconstitutional." This conduct forces on the people the question, "What must we do to be saved?" The hour is upon us, the time is at hand when we must decide whether we will continue to make brick for our taskmasters or take upon ourselves the rights and duties of American citizens. We call ourselves freemen. So did the Romans esteem themselves even though forced to bow in meek humility before tyrant rulers. In this thing of freedom there is quite a difference between the name and the substance. Millions of our voters have been bowing and cringing for fear of the party lash for the last twenty-five years, "voting for the nominee" not as a matter of choice, but from fear of that great and terrible threat of catastrophe hurled at recalcitrants or malcontents, who has not heard it a thousand times over? and how very terrible and horrifying the threat, and how very quickly effective in bringing to subordination when launched at a sovereign American: "If you don't vote the ticket straight we will kick you out of the party." Oh, horrible, horrible! Such a fate is comparable only to that of the worm which the little girl declared she would throw away if it didn't stop wriggling while she was trying to bathe her hook.

We have often heard the expression, "We will kick you out of the party," but could never fully understand its meaning. All parties must of a necessity be composed of the people. If the rights of franchise belong to the people, or the individual, wherein lies all the terrible power seemed to be conveyed in the threat. Yet, we have seen men who boasted publicly of their freedom to do as they please do as the party ordered, simply because afraid of being kicked out of the party.

Again, we find thousands of "dyed in the wool" Democrats "and all wool and a yard wide Republicans" who glory in their being such, who can not give a single one of the cardinal doctrines of their party. If they are asked suddenly "What is a Democrat? or what is a Republican?" they would be compelled to answer, as I have heard them often do, "A Democrat is a Democrat, or a Republican is a—Republican." This, of course, shows gross ignorance exists in both old parties; but, my friends, we can assert with pride no such dense ignorance exists among Alliance members. Any or all of them can give a reason for the faith that is in them. And right here, in this one fact just

enunciated, lies the great strength of our order. The Alliance from its very birth took its place among mankind as an educator.

The poet has said that "Truth crushed to earth will rise again," and he could with equal truth have said that education and intelligence will rule the world in spite of the combined forces of a greater majority, led by ignorance or fanaticism.

While we are pleased that we can speak with pride and truth in regard to the universal education which generally pervades our ranks, candor compels us to admit that we are not so perfect as is to be desired. There are far too many of our order who are getting much of their training from the partisan press of this country. We find many giving a preference for other papers and periodicals other than is published by the reform press. By doing this we think they do both themselves and the Alliance a serious wrong.

This conduct forces on the people the question, "What must we do to be saved?" The hour is upon us, the time is at hand when we must decide whether we will continue to make brick for our taskmasters or take upon ourselves the rights and duties of American citizens. We call ourselves freemen. So did the Romans esteem themselves even though forced to bow in meek humility before tyrant rulers. In this thing of freedom there is quite a difference between the name and the substance. Millions of our voters have been bowing and cringing for fear of the party lash for the last twenty-five years, "voting for the nominee" not as a matter of choice, but from fear of that great and terrible threat of catastrophe hurled at recalcitrants or malcontents, who has not heard it a thousand times over? and how very terrible and horrifying the threat, and how very quickly effective in bringing to subordination when launched at a sovereign American: "If you don't vote the ticket straight we will kick you out of the party." Oh, horrible, horrible! Such a fate is comparable only to that of the worm which the little girl declared she would throw away if it didn't stop wriggling while she was trying to bathe her hook.

We would not confine the reading of newspapers entirely to those of our Order, but we do affirm that every Alliance member, both male and female, should subscribe to and read at least one of the Alliance journals. By doing so they will not be led off to the believing of the thousand and one ill-founded reports and allegations put out by a subsidized press, both Democratic and Republican, which are already working in the interest of the plutocrats who seek to keep control of the government.

To the question, then, is it advisable to organize a third party, it would be well to weigh the fact of portions of our organization being led off by the teachings of a hireling press, and compare also the likelihood of increasing our force by increasing the power of the reform press; for it must be admitted that the greatest enemy of united action among the people is the partisan political sheets of both of the existing political parties, and to them the latter part of the text applies. If after mature deliberation it is believed that the Order has sufficient strength to hold a balance of power, that they will not be led away by the slanders which are so certain to be hurled against the Alliance; that the brotherhood will remain firm and unchangeable in voting for the principles they have professed; then sound the tocsin of war so loud that it will penetrate the inmost recesses of Wall street, and let such action be followed up by every man doing his duty, for he who has the courage to fight for his convictions wins, even though defeated, the respect of his opponent. It will be a contest of right against might—one in which honor, patriotism, and the love of liberty will be matched against money and all that wealth can control, but it is to be hoped that when the contest is begun the sturdy yeomen of the South will fall in line with their

brethren of the West and North, and actuated by unwavering devotion to duty to themselves, their wives, and their children, they will prove to the world that the spirit of American independence still lives and burns in the hearts of the descendants of the Revolutionary forefathers, and can not be bought or smothered with the gold of a purse-proud aristocracy.

Be ye faithful unto the end, and a crown of glory awaits you, while the children of coming generations will sing praises unto their fathers, who have handed down to them a free and enlightened Republic, and a nation composed of States, in which the rich and the poor, the high and the low, will all have equal and exact justice before the law.

How Much Money in Circulation. Kansas Farmer, Topeka, Kans.

The reports of treasury officers and of bankers and money-changers concerning the amount of money in circulation are very deceptive. The Secretary of the Treasury two years ago published a statement in his annual report, purporting to show the amount of money in circulation in the country. He began at 1878 and came on down to the time of writing, giving what the treasury figures showed to be the amount of money in the country and the amount in the treasury, calling the difference between those two amounts money in "circulation," and he put the amount in "circulation" on March 1, 1878, at \$805,793,807, and the amount in "circulation" October 1, 1889, he put at \$1,405,018,000, adding that the net increase in the circulation between the years 1878 and 1889 amounted to \$599,224,191. People generally took the statement as meaning exactly what it says, when in truth it is misleading, and does not show what the people want to know. The Secretary did not intend to deceive the people or to misrepresent the facts. He simply gave the amount of money which is not in the treasury, and called that in circulation. There is not in point of fact one-half as much money in circulation as the Secretary's figures indicate, nor was there half as much at that time. This is explained in this way: Every national bank is required to keep within its vaults 25 per cent of its circulation and deposits as a "reserve fund," from which to meet drafts upon it. State banks intend to keep about the same amount of reserve. This reserve fund in all of the banks amounts to about \$700,000,000; that alone from the \$1,400,000,000 that the secretary gave a little over ago, and we have but \$700,000,000 left as in circulation. Then we know very well that there is still a considerable portion of that which is not in circulation. It is in the safes of business firms and private individuals who are not using all of their money and do not wish to. Just what amount this is, of course, it is impossible to ascertain.

Senator Plumb, in an able and exhaustive speech, delivered nearly a year ago, reviewed the situation very carefully. He says that at this time there is outstanding about \$1,560,000,000, and it is made up of gold coin, \$680,000,000; silver, including subsidiary coin, \$420,000,000; treasury notes, \$346,000,000; national bank notes, \$148,000,000; making a total of \$1,574,000,000; from which he deducts \$14,000,000 in notes lost and destroyed, leaving the total remaining as stated, \$1,560,000,000.

And in this estimate he takes the Secretary's statement as to the amount of gold in the country, namely, \$680,000,000. Mr. Plumb, however, does not believe that there is so much gold as that in the country. He believes that the actual amount is short of the Secretary's estimate at least \$150,000,000, and he gives his reason for it. Then he sums up the situation in this way: From the total of \$1,560,000,000, deduct \$260,000,000, which the treasury always keeps on hand, and that leaves \$1,300,000,000; then he insists that \$150,000,000—error in the estimate of gold in the country—ought to be deducted; that would leave the amount \$1,150,000,000; from this he subtracts the reserve, \$700,000,000, leaving a balance of but \$450,000,000, which is available for delivery or other use in the transaction of the business of the people, or little less than \$7 per capita. He concludes his estimate in the words: "If I were deciding this case upon what I considered the best evidence, I would be bound to say that I believed the money in actual circulation did not much, if at all, exceed \$500,000,000."

This is the statement of one of the best informed men in the country. He does not dispute the figures presented by the Secretary of the Treasury, nor does anybody, except as to those points wherein the secretary is no better informed than any other person; as, for example, in the matter of gold coin. A very large part of the gold money of the people is taken out of the country every year by travelers to other lands, and it never returns except in the payment of balances among traders.

It is time that the people should face this difficulty honestly and fairly. No party or man can gain any substantial and permanent advantage by misleading the people in any respect, nor can he obtain any permanent benefit for himself or for his party or for his country by concealing or distorting facts which bear upon the common interests of the people. We all know very well that there is not anywhere near the amount of money in circulation among the people that ought to be. We know that all over the country west of the Alleghany mountains, and to a considerable extent eastward, there is a general demand for more money. We know that the Secretary of the Treasury during last summer made six different efforts in the course of about three months to relieve the money market in New York city by using the public moneys to purchase bonds or to advance interest. In one case, occurring in September, he advanced interest to July 1, 1891, to the amount of \$12,000,000 and upward, and in his report to Congress he calls attention to what he believes to be an important fact—that without the prompt assistance of the treasury grave financial troubles would have followed. We have evidence upon every hand. There is no disguising it. Nobody in his sane moments pretends to deny that we are short of money anywhere, and yet probably every person well informed in financial matters will agree with the statement that if the money which is now in the country were loosed and put into active circulation it would at once start the wheels of industry, relieve the country from this incubus of gloom which hangs over the people, and revive trade generally, but we

know as well as we know anything that a very large part of the money, certainly as much as three-fourths of it, is not in circulation, and it is on account of this wealth hoarded and piled up in different places that the people are complaining. As a matter of fact there is not at this hour in circulation among the people, nor is there available for circulation, more than about the amount given by Senator Plumb, about \$500,000,000, or a little less than \$8 to the head of population.

Woman's Work. Elizabeth A. Rogers in American Grange Bulletin.

After I was appointed to take a part in the woman's work in the Grange, I read that there was no restriction made in regard to the work they should engage in, in their efforts to build up and strengthen our Order. The work that I feel called to do is to strive to arouse the farmers from their lethargy, so that they will realize the fact that they are responsible that they and their families are in their present unjustly taxed, heavily burdened, impoverished and enslaved condition, and that the farmers are so fast drifting into a landlord and tenant system—for they have tamely submitted (with but few exceptions) to be dictated to in all things, even as to how and for whom their ballots should be cast.

The majority of the leaders in both of the old parties (many of whom were elected by the vote of the farmers) are controlled by the different monopolies, corporations, syndicates and trusts, who are using them in Congress and the different State legislatures to procure legislation that will perplex them. From present appearances we conclude they will attempt to overwhelm and confuse the child by making a big noise and ridiculing him in public places, and while the attention of the people is thus secured, secret enemies will be sent out under the guise of friendship to undermine and disrupt the forces. Men with pleasing manners, who are as dangerous as a pestilence, will steal into the counsels of patriots and blast them in their hour of might. Their plan will be to disrupt and divide, assassinate character and create confusion, and finally stampede them. We can only warn you of impending danger and ask for your hopeful expectation of a final confederation of all the industrial forces in February, 1892, which shall be so perfect and so strong that resistance from former oppressors will be impossible, and that hereafter peace and prosperity will rest upon the people.

The farmers have created untold wealth, but class legislation has been obtained by a favored few that has given them the power to legally rob the farmers and the other wealth-producers of the last twenty-five years. Equal rights for all and special privileges for none will no more apply to the conditions that now exist between those of our people who have been granted special legislation, and the farmers, than it would to the farmers in the most despotic government in Europe.

The farmers have created untold wealth, but class legislation has been obtained by a favored few that has given them the power to legally rob the farmers and the other wealth-producers of the last twenty-five years. We can only warn you of impending danger and ask for your hopeful expectation of a final confederation of all the industrial forces in February, 1892, which shall be so perfect and so strong that resistance from former oppressors will be impossible, and that hereafter peace and prosperity will rest upon the people.

to be about equally divided between the two political parties as they have done in the past, and cast their ballots to elect men who were pledged, before they were nominated, to use all their influence to procure legislation that would give the men who have taken upon themselves to be their masters the power to compel the farmers to pay such oppressive tribute, that, after they have paid the various taxes that are now levied upon them, there are many of them who do not have enough left of what they have produced to recompense themselves and their families for their labor.

The Industrial Forces. Alliance Sentinel, Lansing, Mich.

The Cincinnati conference of the industrial forces has now passed into history. It was a remarkable gathering considering the manner in which it was called. It had not the prestige of powerful organized bodies behind it. It was the drifting together of patriotic, liberty-loving people, who see the danger underlying our present social and industrial systems. The call was made by individuals whose earnestness and honor could not be questioned, and 1,500 delegates responded, while 3,000 visitors came from all over the country to witness the birth of a new party. The child is here, and he came from the people, therefore is called the "people's party." Aristocracy and monopoly are already amazed at the audacity of this little David. They seem to fear that the development of his latent faculties will enable him to down the monopoly "Goliath." How to manage him is the stubborn problem now perplexing them. From present appearances we conclude they will attempt to overwhelm and confuse the child by making a big noise and ridiculing him in public places, and while the attention of the people is thus secured, secret enemies will be sent out under the guise of friendship to undermine and disrupt the forces. Men with pleasing manners, who are as dangerous as a pestilence, will steal into the counsels of patriots and blast them in their hour of might. Their plan will be to disrupt and divide, assassinate character and create confusion, and finally stampede them. We can only warn you of impending danger and ask for your hopeful expectation of a final confederation of all the industrial forces in February, 1892, which shall be so perfect and so strong that resistance from former oppressors will be impossible, and that hereafter peace and prosperity will rest upon the people.

Come Again. Southern Mercury, Dallas, Tex.

Congressman Hooker, of Mississippi, in his interview as reported in the Dallas Morning News, like 99 per cent of the others who inveigh against the Alliance sub-treasury plan, makes himself supremely ridiculous. In that interview Mr. Hooker said:

The bills that have been introduced do not propose to give the right to store these articles (wheat, corn, oats, cotton, etc.) to those who labored to procure them, but to any owner of these commodities. Say that five men of a county buy up all the corn and cotton raised in that county and get the benefit of storing these articles on a low rate of interest from the government, they will not loan you any money at less than 10 per cent per annum.

This criticism, like all of his ilk, presumes that the farmers are void of common sense. There is no other presumption upon which any sensible man would deliver such twaddle. Is it not a fact that the farmers are the first owners of their own products?

Having in turn ridiculed, sneered at and denounced the demands of the Alliance, and even threatened to read Alliance men out of the Democratic party—all to no avail—the extreme opponents of the sub-treasury bill in Mississippi are now changing their tactics. They suddenly affect to believe there is great danger of splitting the Democratic party and jeopardizing white supremacy in the State if the sub-T. is persist in standing up for their demands, and the same old cry of negro domination that has been made to be held up as gross falsehood. And now let us look into the reasoning involved in the hypothetical statement. Five men may buy up the corn and cotton in a county, store these products, and get the amount that can be borrowed at the low rate of interest according to the scheme. There is nothing to forbid them from lending the money to the very farmers who have sold them the

grain or cotton, and at five times the rate of interest at which the speculators have borrowed. But when others can go to the same mill will they not prefer to do so? If that is to be the game, will there not be hundreds of speculators eager to reap such profits; hence ready to bid up the price of the articles upon which they can base such a lucrative money business as borrowing at 2 and loaning at 10 per cent? And will not some of the speculators be content then to loan at 8, at 6, at 5—perhaps at 4 per cent? Nay, why should the farmer be in haste to sell to others who merely want to store his wheat or cotton and get a loan on it if he can get a loan from the same source as they? Most farmers think that whereas they have often sold under necessity, they will no longer have to do so for an inadequate price under the proposed plan, and that what Mr. Hooker depicts as the opportunity of the speculator will enable the farmers to hold their hands against the speculator, that the plan will make the price in the early part of the consuming year about as good as it will be in the subsequent months. The sub-treasury plan can not be beaten without stronger arguments than the one here noticed.

Going to Apply the Gag and the Lash

Brookhaven (Miss.) Leader.

A few weeks ago the Leader warned Democratic Alliance men that when the Democratic State convention meets in Jackson, July 15, there would doubtless be an attempt to adopt resolutions committing the Democracy of the State to a policy antagonistic to the Alliance demands, and that following this the party lash would be vigorously applied by the political ring-masters and every supporter of the sub-treasury in the State be either incontinently silenced or read out by the party dictum thus expressed. Evidence of such a purpose is no longer concealed by the party bosses. Last week a Democratic county convention was held in Lee county, in which Congressmen John M. Allen was the controlling spirit and the chairman of the committee on resolutions. This little county convention adopted a platform long and broad enough for a national convention, and among other things denounced the sub-treasury scheme as "unconstitutional, impractical, undemocratic and tending to centralization," and declared itself "opposed to secret political organizations" (having no reference of course to secret party caucuses, where much of political deviltry is hatched). The Farmers Alliance being essentially a political organization (though not a partisan one) and secret in character, of course this was intended by the Lee county convention as a direct blow at the Alliance. Commenting on this Lee county platform, now comes the Greenville Times, edited by Mr. J. S. McNeily, chairman of the State Democratic executive committee, and says:

The Lee county resolutions are good enough for the farmers and all others of Mississippi. The Times hopes that John Allen will bring a copy to Jackson July 15 and present them to the convention of Democrats which will assemble on that day, with an additional plank such as the delta section is entitled to on river improvements.

In other words, here is an openly expressed desire on the part of the highest official Democratic authority in the state that the Alliance demands shall be denounced as undemocratic and unconstitutional by the July convention, and the order itself condemned as a secret political organization. The scheme for the furtherance of this programme has been worked most adroitly by the party bosses. Called ostensibly simply to nominate candidates for three railroad commissioners, the thoughts of the people have not been directed to any other

question in connection with this convention. In a very large number of cases the delegates to the body have been appointed by the county executive committees, without consideration of any other question or giving the people an opportunity to be heard, and so it will be just such a convention as the enemies of the Alliance could wish for the carrying out of their scheme. Of course there is no good reason why the convention should give any expression at all at this time as to party policy. Another state convention will meet before the national democratic convention assembles to nominate a candidate for the Presidency and promulgate a platform, and neither of the United States Senators elected by the coming Legislature will take his seat until the next President is elected in the House of Representatives in February, 1893, that is to say if there are no changes in delegations by reason of death or advanced politics. It is not at all creditable to the knowledge of the editor of the Capital that he is uninformed as to the political status of Nebraska and Rhode Island, and that he does know that the House of Representatives does not elect a Vice-President in the event that no candidate receives a majority of the whole electoral vote, which would be 223 out of the whole number of 444 in the electoral college of 1892. From 1789 to 1800 the presidential electors voted for President and Vice-President on the same ballot, the one receiving the highest number of votes being President. But, in the electoral college of 1800, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr each had 73 votes, and hence on the second Wednesday of February, 1801, which was the 11th day, the House proceeded to vote for President, and on the first ballot eight states voted for Jefferson, six for Burr, and the votes of the other two were divided. Balloting without choice continued till February 17, when, on the thirty-sixth ballot, Jefferson carried ten of the sixteen states—Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont and Virginia. Burr had Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. Delaware and South Carolina voted blank. By article twelve of the amendments to the constitution, which was declared in force September 25, 1804, the electors are required to ballot separately for President and vice-President. In 1824 Andrew Jackson received the electoral votes of Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Tennessee and one from New York, two from Illinois, three from Louisiana and seven from Maryland—ninety-nine in all. John Quincy Adams obtained the electoral votes of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, and one each from Delaware and Illinois, two from Louisiana, three from Maryland and twenty-six from New York—forty-one in all. Henry Clay had Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, and four from New York—thirty-seven in all. On the second Wednesday of February, 1825, choice was made in the House of Representatives, and Clay having been shut out, Adams was elected on the first ballot. The thirteen states of Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island and Vermont voted for Adams. The seven states of Alabama, Indiana, Mis-

sissippi, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Tennessee voted for Jackson. The four states of Delaware, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia voted for Crawford. John C. Calhoun received 182 of the 261 electoral votes for vice-president. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont having voted for him. In 1836 Martin Van Buren was elected President, having had 170 of the 294 electoral votes. Richard M. Johnson, for vice-President, had 147—just one-half of the whole electoral vote, and he was elected in the United States Senate, having there obtained thirty-three votes, and Francis Granger had sixteen votes; his vote in the electoral college having been seventy seven. Would the Capital feel willing to give its readers better and truer history?

Solomon.

Alliance Monitor, Abeline, Kan.

And the King made silver and gold at Jerusalem as plenteous as stones, and cedar trees made as the sycamore—trees that are in the vale for abundance.—2 Chron. i:15.

This was the first official act of Solomon, and as Jerusalem was built and walled from stone quarried on the ground no one denies that they were exceedingly plentiful. Silver is mentioned first as of equal importance with gold. The wise ruler seems to have lost no sleep about the "danger line" being reached from the abundance of the white metal, neither did it enter his mind to demonetize it. Not only did he see the necessity of supplying his country with an almost unlimited amount of metal money, but he took precautionary measures to prevent it being paid out for the products of other nations, except in cases where it was impracticable to deal with them in any other way. Thus in the same chapter it will be seen he proposed and entered into an agreement with Huram, King of the wealthy commercial city of Tyre, by which the latter was to furnish him a certain number of skilled laborers and receive in payment for their services not gold and silver, but four articles for which Solomon wanted a market. He knew the people of Tyre were in need of those four articles, and wheat, barley, oil and wine were paid out by Solomon with a view to furnishing a brisk demand for farm products so that farming would be profitable and his countrymen be kept busy, happy and contented. Solomon governed his country forty years in peace. Few rulers could say so much. It is claimed he was the father of greenbacks, and his payment of Huram in currency other than gold and silver is cited as evidence of the fact. However this may be, his financial ability had much to do with his greatness. He was never considered a fool, but his intellectuality towered aloft like his favorite cedars and "the sycamore trees that are in the vale."

Why?

Rural Workman, Little Rock, Ark.

It is a curious fact, according to the thick and thin party organs, that the farmers never know what they want. Is it out of order to ask the reason why? If the bankers of the United States assemble in convention and make a statement of their wants, no one doubts that they know what they are about, and everyone will agree that they know what they want. So of the merchants; so

of the lumbermen; so of the manufacturers (those puny infants that have to be protected at everybody's else expense); so of everybody but the farmer, mechanic and laborer. If the farmers, or mechanics or laborers conclude that they have certain wants and will make an effort to compass their wishes, all the big party organs begin to shout, "You don't know what you want!" Then all the little party organs take up the chorus, "They don't know what they want." Well, will somebody tell us why? We are led into these remarks by the oft-repeated cry of the Memphis Appeal-Avalanche that the farmers do not want the sub-treasury bill, but the tariff reformed. Now, the Alliance demands both the sub-treasury and the tariff reformed. How does the Memphis Appeal-Avalanche know so well that they only want a part of what they say they want. All over the South and West there is a demand for free coinage of silver, not confined to the farmers; but Mr. Cleveland says we don't want free coinage, and straightway the "thicks and thins" begin to squirm and to admit that mayhap they have been too hasty, and possibly Mr. Cleveland is right. Now, some of these farmers are very intelligent men—Polk of North Carolina, Barksdale of Mississippi, Beverley of Virginia, and Macune of Texas, are quite as intellectual men as Mr. Cleveland. Is it not, therefore, barely possible that these men are right about the sub-treasury bill? The writer is not rabid about the sub-treasury bill, but it is the product of men of brains and honor, who love their country and who are hunting a remedy for desperate evils which encompass us. Let us deal fairly with the question. If we do not think it is the best thing, let us suggest something better. If it will not bear analysis, show it; but do not meet it with the antiquated wall that the farmers don't know their wants, and that it will disrupt the party. If the discussion of questions vital to the welfare of the people will disrupt the party, then let the party be disrupted; and if the farmers don't know what they want, then let some of the wise ones tell us—why.

A Prediction.

Brookhaven (Miss.) Leader.

Many of the opponents of the sub-treasury plan in this State take great pains to say again and again they are not opposed to the Alliance, and that they are in full accord with all the Alliance demands except the wicked sub-T. Nothing is said about anything else being hurtful to the business interests of the country, undemocratic, centralizing, etc. In fact, everything except the sub-T. proposition is perfectly lovely and just what the Democratic bosses and party leaders can give a hearty amen to. Now let us look a little further. The last demand of the Ocala platform reads:

We demand the most rigid, honest, and just State and National governmental control and supervision of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision do not remove the abuses now existing, we demand the government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

It was the Grangers of Illinois who originated the doctrine of supervision of corporations and fought the combined forces of capital and monopoly at every step through all the courts until the soundness of the principle was authoritatively established, and it

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics from Organized States.

Hill City (Kan.) Reveille says:

The members of the Alliance should constantly keep in mind that this is the year for them to study and acquaint themselves with the great issues that are being discussed. This is the educational year in that respect with us, and we must improve every opportunity to become familiar with our principles and demands, and so-called statesmen, have jumped up and say it is tomfoolery, chimerical, unconstitutional, a wildcat scheme, etc. In fact they say everything about it that can be said in the English language that is seemingly derogatory, and all the while acknowledges that the national banking system is pernicious beyond further quiet endurance, but never tell us what is better or how it can be improved. They simply tell us to wait and endure further—to wait until they fix it. Well, this complaint has been running about as long as the petitions of our fathers were ignored by Great Britain. We have never asked for the sub-treasury dictating. We ask for this or something better. Now I ask if the sub-treasury is bad in our opponents' eyes, and they acknowledge that there is wrong in the national banking system, and laboring men in general have a right to think and act for themselves the better it will be for all concerned. Gentlemen, you can make up your minds to come down a few pegs; you have for a long while enjoyed the confidence of the working masses; that reliance you have forced them to think, and by thinking they have found out that they must act for themselves, and when they begin to assert their right, then it is you want to read them out of the Democratic party. Before you attempt this thing you had better consider what a minority will do with a great majority. The Democratic party in this country is composed mainly of laboring men. Think of a few demagogues (and they are but few comparatively speaking) going to renovate the party by putting the farmer, the laboring man, the Alliance man, out of the party. And why? Because he has in a few instances asked for office and possibly may again; he has dared to talk politics; he has offered to say that our financial system is oppressive and that we need more money; he thinks the capitalist should not rule to the detriment of the laboring masses; he thinks that rings and monopolies ought to be put down. For these things he ought to be kicked out of the party. Gentlemen, go slow, they will be at the kicking.

The McComb City (Ark.) Enterprise says:

The sub-treasury plan is the only plan yet given out that requires no taxation for the emission of money. The idea of the people before it is loaned to another is absurd, and discloses the ignorance or mendacity of every one who makes the assertion. The third and fourth sections of that bill when read will exhibit the mean, underhand war certain selfish partisans are guilty of waging against the bill. Every farmer, mechanic and laborer should read the sub-treasury bill for himself and not be guided by enemies, who aim to crush the order.

Brethren, their object is to wipe out the Alliance root and branch. Will you let 'em in?

The Bolivar County Review (Roseville, Miss.) publishes a letter from C. W. Wise:

What would the world think of a man or a set of men who should hire another to build a house and after he had finished it, or even put up the frame the employer or employers should come along, and say it was all wrong; that it was unmechanical; that it was chimerical; that it was a wild experiment, etc. Well, he is answered, because it is. Well, why and how? He is then answered, "We all smart men say so; just look at the cream of opinions. All of us fellows that have to pay for this work say so." "Well,

the poor fellow asks, "how ought it to have been done? And what am I to do about it, and with it?" He is then told to trust until they fix it; there is no other chance, only depend on us; we will fix it for you; just let it alone; we

are going to fix it; but you must wait until we do fix. Any honest man would say, if it was me, and in his place I would take a shotgun and I would carry on a very convincing suit of my own, and the time has been when such would be the case. But just look. The representatives of the farmers have met and put their heads together to devise means to remedy what nobody denies is wrong. They have formulated a plan called the sub-treasury bill, which has been presented to the national legislative body for enactment into law, and the press to a great extent, and also political aspirants and so-called statesmen, have jumped up and say it is tomfoolery, chimerical, unconstitutional, a wildcat scheme, etc. In fact they say everything about it that can be said in the English language that is seemingly derogatory, and all the while acknowledges that the national banking system is pernicious beyond further quiet endurance, but never tell us what is better or how it can be improved. They simply tell us to wait and endure further—to wait until they fix it. Well, this complaint has been running about as long as the petitions of our fathers were ignored by Great Britain. We have never asked for the sub-treasury dictating. We ask for this or something better. Now I ask if the sub-treasury is bad in our opponents' eyes, and they acknowledge that there is wrong in the national banking system, and laboring men in general have a right to think and act for themselves the better it will be for all concerned. Gentlemen, you can make up your minds to come down a few pegs; you have for a long while enjoyed the confidence of the working masses; that reliance you have forced them to think, and by thinking they have found out that they must act for themselves, and when they begin to assert their right, then it is you want to read them out of the Democratic party. Before you attempt this thing you had better consider what a minority will do with a great majority. The Democratic party in this country is composed mainly of laboring men. Think of a few demagogues (and they are but few comparatively speaking) going to renovate the party by putting the farmer, the laboring man, the Alliance man, out of the party. And why? Because he has in a few instances asked for office and possibly may again; he has dared to talk politics; he has offered to say that our financial system is oppressive and that we need more money; he thinks the capitalist should not rule to the detriment of the laboring masses; he thinks that rings and monopolies ought to be put down. For these things he ought to be kicked out of the party. Gentlemen, go slow, they will be at the kicking.

The Alliance Vindicator, (Sulphur Springs, Texas) offers its readers another attraction by announcing the addition to its editorial staff of a lady. Mrs. E. L. Dobbs assumes the position with a ringing salutation from which the following is an extract. The ladies have accomplished much in journalism and are always welcome, both to the profession and to the readers:

The Alliance move is a ground swell—an upheaval, of "moss-backism" and "fogyism," a disturbance that will shake up and show up the dry bones of political issues that politicians are so fond of calling living measures. Woman needs to think, to study, to read to keep in touch as it were with the progress of her brothers. Figuratively speaking, women cannot be at the suffrage feasts that are annual, and biennial and quadrennial prepared. They are only allowed to bind up the hurts and wounds of those that get too jubilantly patriotic and incidentally get the crumbs that fall from the festive board, but study the bill of fare and learn how these political viands are compounded and learn the parliamentary etiquette that pertains to these feasts. Who knows? Some day women may be as invited guests in places of honor. From the country come the great men of our nation. Back of every great man there must be a great-hearted, large-brained mother. These are from the ranks of country girls. I would hasten the day for our country girls, whose ambitions and aspirations cannot be circumscribed, and when she can step up with her hitherto more favored brother; and gather the gains that belong as the rewards of talent and labor.

Chillicothe (Mo.) Crisis says:

The so-called argument advanced by the opponents of the principles of the Farmers' Alliance, in the cities, in an endeavor to prejudice the day laborers against the

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

farmers movement is this: "You men here in the city, will not be benefited should the farmers win; they want higher prices for their products, and will not want to pay any more for what you produce." Strange to say, this talk finds some believers. The scarcity of the dollar is what makes the farmer so slow to part with it; it is not "stinginess" which causes him to hold to it as long as he can; give him a dollar that he can buy with the products of less toil, and in the majority of instances he will part with it as free as any class of men; give him this chance and his consuming power of the production of the workers in the city will be increased; the merchants will sell more goods; the demand for labor will increase and the employers of help in the cities will pay better wages—they will be forced to if they are not so inclined in order to retain their employees from going to some other firm who are rushed to supply the demands of the agricultural districts. We repeat it, the farmers, as a rule, are not stingy, the existing conditions have forced them to confine their expenditures to the bare necessities of an existence. Truly has it been said: "When the farmers, all other industries do likewise."

Free Press (Winfield, Kan.) says:

Could the Alliance people appreciate the value of unity of action, as the present state of financial, social, moral and intellectual affairs demand, they could in a very short time create a civil and economic revolution in the affairs of our great commonwealth. There will never be a unity of sentiment until our people are educated through a system that all may be made to see alike and feel the weight and power of such teachings. The system by which the Alliance is conducted is one of the most economical educators that can be practiced. Time and perseverance is all that is necessary to bring about this great revolution of thought and action.

Plain Talk (Vermillion, S. D.) says:

Edward Atkinson, the political economist for Jay Gould and the Rothschilds, has spent nearly all his life inventing bills of fare for laboring men and their families which should be cheaper and more frugal. Would it not be a good idea for Mr. Atkinson and his fellow sharks to begin figuring on a reduction in the expense of their own diet as a profit to make it? But what a fine opportunity this would be to make an alarm, if the free coinage of silver had been adopted!

Plow and Hammer (Tiffin, Ohio) says:

Has it ever occurred to our readers that the great majority of this great nation are entirely ignorant of the wrongs that have been perpetrated on them by the scheming financiers of the country? There is nothing that our people need more than education on the legislation of the country for the last twenty-five years, and nothing that will quicker bring them to a realization of their position than the study of such a subject. Every man who sees the cause of the present upheaval should try to faithfully impress upon their less fortunate brother the importance of studying these problems. The social problems of to-day are easily solved, if we take hold of the key, and the old men who have not allowed the monopolistic and subsidized press to control their every thought are the persons who should use every means in their power to educate.

Alliance Advocate (Louisville, Tenn.) says:

Farmers, the price of your next crop of wheat is already fixed. The city papers that circulate among the farmers have conspired to keep this fact quiet that the cry of great "stringency in the money market" when the new crop comes in, may be used as an excuse for depressed prices when the farmer has to sell his wheat. To keep the farmer in ignorance they have "cut" their market reports, that is, they have ceased for a time publishing quotations on "futures," or for future deliveries, which are telegraphed them daily. Thus these "great instructors" conspire to keep their readers in ignorance. Here are quotations from the Chicago market: For May delivery, \$1.07 1/2; July, \$1.02 1/2; September, 86c 90 1/4. This will make the price of new wheat in East Tennessee about 60 to 70 cents per bushel at the time when the farmer must sell. Right here the sub-treasury plan would afford relief to the farmer. Still these great (?) journals ask for your confidence in their ability and honesty in directing your choice of leaders, or in permitting them to choose them for you. Can you trust them?

The Rattler (Whitakers, N. C.) says:

There is one thing necessary for the success of farmers, and that is a fair and remunerative price for their products. The time has been when the demand and supply regulated the price of all productions, but these powerful combinations which control millions upon millions combined with thoroughly united effort have in their power to make or break, to sell or to hold, in short to dictate the price. This is a most unfortunate position to be occupied by any agricultural people, and there is but one way out of this dilemma, only one balm in Gilead, and that is by united action on the part of the oppressed until a combination is made up able under circumstances to cope with and overcome our antagonists. Then the question naturally arises, can the farmer and labor-

er do this? We answer, they can, but at the same time we would ask another question, will they do it? We believe they will, but that question they must answer themselves before the highest tribunal known to republics. We hope to live to see the day when the interests of the farmer and laborer, the greatest of all, shall receive the attention they deserve at the hands of our National and State legislatures.

Alliance Journal (Coffeyville, Miss.) says:

While the canvass is about to begin, we would like for some one to point out the beauties of the new Constitution. We have a new constitution but it is not what the farmers demanded, it is not framed in the interest of agricultural masses, it don't guarantee to the farmer that freedom of constitutional liberty that is such a priceless boon to every American citizen. The power to keep the old political fossils in power is well arranged by the new constitution. No one wants, or even thinks such a thing, as black supremacy possible in this country. Why then try to start such a bug bear or scarecrow. The white people nearly to a man are Democrats. The farmers are as loyal to the Democratic party as any class, but if they want certain legislation or certain men, they have the power, why not exert it? They demanded a constitutional convention, but never wanted such a constitution as the machine politicians have been furnishing a paint which forty-eight years' use has proved to be the most durable and color-lasting known.

Sample cards painted with the Paint, confidential wholesale discounts, and particulars free. Write at once.

Alliance Herald (Montgomery, Ala.) says:

"The drain of gold from the states to Europe is not the source of any present alarm," says the Philadelphia Record. Of course it is not; but if the free coinage of silver bill had passed the last congress and was now law, this drainage of gold would be invoked as proof of the terrible effects of free coinage of silver, and it would be made the pretext upon which to found the most violent attacks upon the policy. It would also be cited to show that the only safety to the finances of this country would be to return to monometalism. It is very easy to say that there is no alarm, because there is absolutely no cause for it, for the simple reason that capital does not want an alarm, has not made an alarm, and will not make an alarm, as it is not to its interest or profit to make it. But what a fine opportunity this would be to make an alarm, if the free coinage of silver had been adopted!

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Alliance Journal (Baltimore, Md.) says:

The sub-treasury plan is a "thorn in the flesh" to the "money changers" and their political allies, who, as national money shavers, don't want to be disturbed in their legalized methods of sucking the life blood from the laboring class of this country. It is very profitable to stand between the center and circumference of a great people and discount and shave every dollar that passes from one to the other, and it is not surprising that every effort is being made to resist a plan that proposes to bring the people and the government together in matters of business and total exclusion of the gambling horde now preying upon both.

Wilson County Record (Mt. Juliet, Tenn.) says:

The government is now loaning money to the people, through the medium of national banks as loan agents, at the rate of ten per cent per annum. The people demand that this money shall be loaned direct to them at the rate of two per cent per annum. The difference to the borrower is this: one thousand dollars loaned at ten per cent per annum, compound interest, in 20 years amounts to \$6,722.50, while the same amount loaned for the same time at two per cent, amounts to

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No. 1 January—Hand-Book of Facts and Alliance Information.

This takes the place of the Almanac issued last year.

It contains a calendar, the proceedings of the Ocala meeting of the Supreme Council and a vast amount of statistical and historical information. 156 pages.

No. 2 February—Some Ideas—By Harry Hinton.

This is a compilation of the writings of this gifted author, as published in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. It teaches in the most forcible manner the great truths that underlie the Farmers Alliance movement. The book contains 128 pages in large clear type.

No. 3 March—History of the United States Dollar—By N. A. Dunning; Also Man versus Money—By Hon. John Davis, Member of Congress from Kansas. Also Constitution of the United States.

This is a very instructive and interesting book and should be in the hands of every Alliance man in America. The History of the United States is generally known. Mr. Davis in his article has brought quotations from all the best authorities, making it very valuable. The Constitution of the United States is now an article of so much controversy that it is a valuable addition to this book. 156 pages. Large clear type.

No. 4 April—Economist Scrap Book, Volume 1.

This is a compilation of some of the best essays printed in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST since it was first started. 128 pages. Large clear type.

No. 5 May—Economist Scrap Book, Volume 2.

This is the same as the above and completes the

selections taken from THE ECONOMIST from the time it was started to the St. Louis meeting in December, 1889. 128 pages. Large type.

No. 6 June—Economist Scrap Book, Volume 3.

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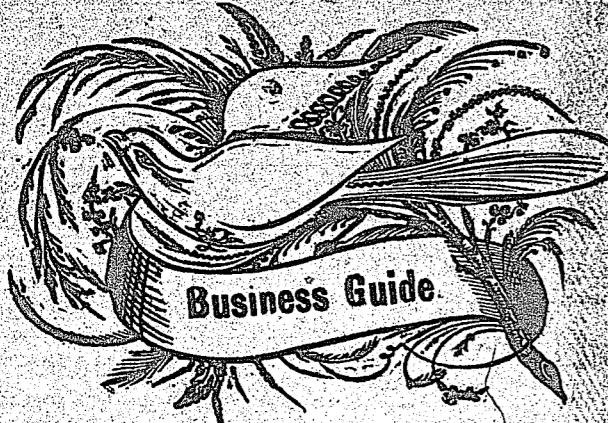
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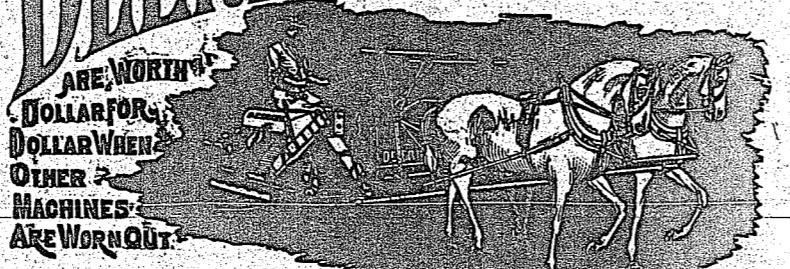
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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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MACHINE POLITICS.

The celebrated agreement at St. Louis, in which the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union covenanted with the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor to support for legislative office only candidates pledged to aid in making the demands there agreed on into law, has, for a time, been lost sight of in the discussion now current. That the agreement has weight is indisputable, as may be seen by reference to the active canvass now waged against the Alliance in Mississippi, as well as to the general disposition on the part of the party leaders in all sections of the country to minimize the Alliance campaign of education. On the other hand, the frequent declarations of the Alliances in pledging themselves to support for legislative office only those favorable to the Ocala demands, show that the spirit of the St. Louis compact yet lives.

The caucus is the means by which control is exercised over the parties. By its operation men who do not represent the people in any manner are made arbiters of the people's interests, even to the extent of instructing and binding the duly elected representatives who join in the caucus. It makes possible the domination of a bare majority of a party in power by a bare majority, and may be the means of preventing legislation demanded by every member of the minority party, together with anywhere less than half the dominant party, perhaps controlling but one branch of the legislative body. There are many schemes for pouring out a lot of political trash at the expense of the government. THE ECONOMIST will investigate this further and report; meantime if any brother can assist let him kindly do so.

THE ECONOMIST has just learned that the United States statistician for Virginia is sending out questions to various farmers. He asks 1st, what are the grievances of the farmers; and 2d, how they propose to remedy them? This is no doubt a political dodge of the same character as that of the Census Bureau, and is beneath the notice of Secretary Rusk. It is a scheme for pouring out a lot of political trash at the expense of the government. THE ECONOMIST will investigate this further and report; meantime if any brother can assist let him kindly do so.

RECENT statistics show that over \$61,000,000, in gold has been exported since January 1, 1891. With every dollar that goes abroad, under present economic conditions here, the bonded indebtedness of the nation becomes more difficult. Not only that, but all the debts of the people through legislative manipulation have been made payable really in the same metal. Because of this, the less gold there is in the country, the more it will cost the people to buy it—this of course virtually increases every form of indebtedness and decreases the means of payment.

part of the party he apparently champions. The caucus is the inner circle, and the average party man has no means of learning what its decisions are, or that its aim is not to defeat the party it pretends to serve. This is a strong statement, but do not the facts bear it out? Making this charge does not imply that all who caucus are wilfully untrue to those they represent. Its force is increased by the avowal that innocent men by this means make themselves instruments of wrong in the hands of designing men, and are led by party fealty to condone what on their individual account they would repudiate with indignation.

The campaign is in the hands of committees which represent the powers of the party machine in the most absolute sense. These committees are secret, and what they do in the matter of receiving and distributing contributions for campaign purposes is as close as are the minutes of a secret order lodge. Special interests are promoted by either party in power as the result of agreement with the attorneys of those interests, and when the representatives of the people meet they learn that the legislative branch of government is mortgaged to trusts and combinations having purposes inimical to the welfare of the people. Then is the caucus made

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also a sum or sums not exceeding in the aggregate one thousand million dollars of like bonds, the same in all respects, but payable at the pleasure of the United States, after thirty years from the date of their issue, and bearing interest at the rate of four per cent per annum; all of which said several classes of bonds and the interest thereon shall be exempt from the payment of all taxes or duties of the United States, as well as from taxation in any form by or under State, municipal or local authority; and the said bonds shall have set forth and expressed upon their face the above specified conditions, and shall, with their coupons, be made payable at the Treasury of the United States. But nothing in this act, or in any other law now in force, shall be construed to authorize any increase whatever of the bonded debt of the United States.

Sec. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to sell and dispose of any of the bonds issued under this act, at not less than their par value for coin, and to apply the proceeds thereof to the redemption of any of the bonds of the United States outstanding, and known as five-twenty bonds, at their par value, or he may exchange the same for such five-twenty bonds, par for par; but the bonds hereby authorized shall be used for no other purpose whatsoever. And a sum not exceeding one-half of one per cent of the bonds herein authorized is hereby appropriated to pay the expense of preparing, issuing, advertising and disposing of the same.

Sec. 3. That the payment of any of the bonds hereby authorized after the expiration of the said several terms of ten, fifteen and thirty years, shall be made in amounts to be determined from time to time by the Secretary of the Treasury, at his discretion, the bonds so to be paid to be distinguished and described by the dates and numbers, beginning for each successive payment with the bonds of each class last dated and numbered, of the time of which intended payment or redemption the Secretary of the Treasury shall give public notice, and the interest on the particular bonds so selected at any time to be paid, shall cease at the expiration of three months from the date of such notice.

Sec. 4. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized, with any coin of the Treasury of the United States which he may lawfully apply to such purpose, or which may be derived from the sale of any of the bonds the issue of which is provided for in this act, to pay at par and cancel any six per cent bonds of the United States of the kind known as five-twenty bonds which have become or shall hereafter become redeemable by the terms of their issue. But the particular bonds so to be paid and cancelled shall in all cases be indicated and specified by class, date and number, in the order of their numbers and issue, beginning with the first numbered and issued, in public notice to be given by the Secretary of the Treasury, and in three months after the date of such public notice, the interest on the bonds so selected and advertised to be paid shall cease.

There is not a single word in the above statute relating to an extension of these bonds. There is not a single sentence that can be construed into such meaning. It provides for the redemption and payment of these bonds distinctly and plainly, but does not even mention their extension. Section 4 expressly declares that in three months after such notice is given, the interest on the bonds so selected shall cease. The Secretary has now given notice that all the remaining 4½ per cent bonds will be paid during the next three months. At this point his official prerogative ends. There is no new refunding act for him to take advantage of. His plain duty under the law ends with the payment of the bonds in accordance with the act under which they were issued. He has no more right to issue 2 per cent bonds in their stead than he has to issue 10 or 20 per cent

bonds, and whatever he may do in this direction will be in plain violation of law, for which he should be impeached. It is an outrage upon the people and is done for the express purpose of perpetuating the reign of the national banks. It makes no difference what laws are made, this department is above and beyond all statute limitations, and is really the dictator of the nation's weal or woe. It has always been the willing instrument of Wall street in plundering the people, and from present indications Mr. Foster will continue the record.

ALLIANCE TROUBLES IN TEXAS.

A dispatch from Dallas, Tex., to the Memphis Commercial, says: The cloud of discontent which has been brewing in the Texas Alliance for some time threatens to burst with appalling fury. The conservative members are against the sub-treasury scheme, and do not want the Alliance to take any part in the third party. The Southern Mercury, the Alliance paper, supports the sub-treasury scheme, and tacitly advocates the third party. To counteract this influence, those who desire to keep the order out of politics and on the original platform, have determined to start a paper in Dallas in a few days. A meeting will also be held before the State Alliance meets in Dallas in August, at which distinguished politicians from Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama will be present to speak in opposition to the sub-treasury scheme and bring influence to bear to prevent the Alliance brotherhood of the State from plunging into politics.

The above is going the rounds. The source whence it emanates is easily known by the character of the thing. It comes by the way of Dallas, Tex., but the political lewdness in which the conception of the thing had its genesis, is further back than Dallas. It may be predicted with confidence that the birth will be still, and that the "appalling fury" part of the programme will abort. Alliance circles have discounted all these efforts to set one part of the Order against the other in conflicts of "appalling fury." All such efforts have come to grief; the Dallas programme will come to miserable grief also. How was it about the "appalling fury" against Macune? It was to be that whenever Macune entered Texas the rage of the heathen would burst with appalling fury upon him and tear him limb from limb. Macune went to Texas, the "appalling fury" did not burst. But who are these visiting statesmen from Mississippi and elsewhere? Who is this Balak who has sent to call these Balaams over into Texas whom he will promote to very great honors if they will effectually curse the sub-treasury from thence? Can it be that the Mississippi cursings, and cursings elsewhere, have become blessings through discussion before the people? For this Balak, which is Wall street, strictly forbade all discussion of the people's demands before Congress. Bring over your Balaams to another place then, that, peradventure, they may be able to curse the people from thence. But let the visiting statesman take heed of the ass whereon he proposes to ride on this journey, lest he see something standing in the

way yielding a flaming sword of the people's wrath, and turn aside out of the way and crush the visiting statesman's foot against the wall. The Alliance is not deceived. These cursings and these shoutings are put forth against the sub-treasury, but the daggers of this Balak are aimed at the great heart of the Alliance itself. Your tactics are well understood. There is going to be a trial of strength between the Alliance and its enemies, but Dallas is not the place, nor between now and August the time. The Alliance is not going to fight until it is ready, and in the meantime the camp is fortified against surprise parties, and raiders, and traitors, whether from Missouri or from Mississippi, from Georgia or from Alabama, from Tennessee or from elsewhere. Now and again we are told the Alliance and the Democratic party are one and the same. The Alliance is not one and the same with any party. But why, if one and the same, these strenuous and ceaseless efforts of the party to divide the Alliance? If the Alliance be divided, they being one and the same, how shall the party remain whole? If the Alliance die, how shall the party live? Why does not the party cease to stab and lacerate, and hew and hack the Alliance, seeing that it must suffer whatever it inflicts; or else the Alliance and the party are not one and the same? You pretend to be for everything the Alliance demands, if they will give up the sub-treasury. The Alliance knows that you are not for anything they demand, but opposed not only to all that the Alliance demands, but that you have declared in your secret councils war to the knife against the Alliance itself. To start a paper and gather a lot of "distinguished politicians" to attack the policy of the Alliance, you think a good way to dissuade the Alliance from "rushing into politics." The truth is you could not fall upon a worse plan. A little while ago it was the well-known farmer who was making money by farming despite hard times, who was telling the farmers through the pluto-cratic journals that they need only be willing to work in order to prosper whether crops were bad and prices low or not; that they were lazy and shiftless, and wanted free coinage to relieve them of the necessity of working to pay their debts; that they must put more brains and energy into their business; that for his part Grover Cleveland, tariff reform, and an honest dollar were good enough for him. Later on it was the prominent Alliance man who was a Democrat first and an Alliance man afterward; the sub-treasury scheme was according to him madness and folly, unconstitutional, and would ruin the farmers and help Wall street; that for his part, Grover Cleveland, an honest dollar, and tariff reform were good enough for him. Later came forward

the great constitutional lawyer to say his piece. The sub-treasury was an infamous thing, unconstitutional, would never be sustained by the courts; was folly unexampled, the craze of a few designing men having personal ambition and personal schemes; that the man who outlived Methuselah would not live long enough to see it pass; that for his part tariff reform, an honest dollar, and Grover Cleveland were good enough for him. Next in order is announced the Dallas gathering of "distinguished politicians" to keep the Alliance out of politics.

NOTE THE BEARINGS.

It is always proper and many times necessary for those interested in political as well as nautical affairs to take bearings for the purpose of ascertaining their true position in regard to important factors which may enter into their future progress. It is just as unsafe for the citizen to blindly follow one course, unmindful or careless of the changed conditions which time and intelligence have wrought, as it would be for the mariner to shape his direction and then chain the rudder, leaving the result of stranding on the sandbars, going to pieces on the rocks, or reaching open water as a matter of pure accident or chance. In every campaign since 1872 the tariff has been the leading issue to the exclusion of nearly all others. Efforts are again being made to have the campaign of 1892 a repetition of this character. Is such a course fair to the people, and can the old parties afford to continue it, are questions which the sagacious of either party should consider carefully. During the past twenty years of tariff discussion the people have grown poorer, and their burden of indebtedness has grown larger. Neither the force of argument nor the result of experience has settled the questions or decided definitely to the satisfaction of the interested as to what is really the proper course to pursue. In fact, as an economic question it is no nearer a solution at the present time than it was a century ago. It would be very difficult just now for any one to clearly define what constitutes Republican protection to home industry or Democratic tariff reform. The people have discovered that this tariff contention is to a large extent like the beating of drums and blowing of horns to attract attention, while other legislative measures are being enacted. Following up this discovery they have found that whatever faults may lie with the tariff, there are other important factors which experience and information enable them to know positively contribute to their distressed and unhappy condition. These factors and a demand for their removal have been plainly set forth in the demands of the Alliance and the platform of the People's party. The situation summed up

is about as follows: The Republican party is defending the doctrine of protection and ignoring everything else, while the Democratic party is advocating tariff reform and straddling all other questions. In opposition to both is the People's party demanding reforms in economic conditions which the old parties ignore and neglect. The strength of both the old parties lies in the partizanism of its members and not their devotion to principle. It is the love of party and the strength of party ties that bind them together, and not fealty to the doctrines of free trade or protection. The question for politicians to consider is how much longer will party bonds withstand the present extreme tension? Is it probable that partizanism can be depended on as against intelligence and a real desire to better conditions? In Kansas last fall the Republican party started out on a campaign of tariff and bloody shirt. As a result the people refused to attend their meetings, and flocked by thousands to listen to Alliance and independent speakers discuss the living questions of financial and other reforms. Does any one doubt, if the Democratic leaders in Mississippi had confined their speeches to the questions of free trade and the force bill and ignored the sub-treasury plan and other Alliance demands, that the same conditions would have been repeated? Had it been done Senator George and his adherents would have met with the same fate that overtook ex-Senator Ingalls and his friends. It is no longer a theory that can be continued with fine-spun illusions that confronts the politician, but a condition grounded and buttressed in facts that threaten their very existence. What they may say or do should be measured by the exigency of the occasion, and not by apparent candor or earnestness. In view of this the duty of each seems perfectly plain. A general reckoning should be made and the bearings taken in accordance with the best information and thorough knowledge obtainable. It should be a conscientious, intelligent and fearless conclusion, backed up by honesty and continuity of purpose. Such a reckoning would avoid the quicksands and shoals, the rocks and breakers, and lead on to safety and a quiet harbor. Will not the intelligent, independent producers of this country begin such an investigation? Would it not be entirely proper to say they had already begun, and that evidences of such an effort could be seen on every hand? Should such a course be undertaken, which of the three parties now before the public would be the beneficiary? Would the Republican party gain through a thorough discussion of the tariff? Could it bring over to its membership any that now hold to the doctrine of tariff reform? Or could it induce the Alliance or the People's party to once more trust its financial

policy? These questions answer themselves; it would be an impossible undertaking. How would such an effort result with Democracy? Could it bring to its ranks any considerable number of those who now hold opposite views by a continued contest over the tariff? Would Republicans in sufficient number desert their party to cut any figure in the result of the coming national campaign? No one believes it possible. It would be another drawn battle as in the past, and as such would best serve the interests of the party leaders. Supposing again a strong third party should take the field, backed up with the Knights of Labor and both the white and colored Alliances, the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association and other similar organizations; and suppose they should ignore entirely the question of tariff and discuss finance, land, transportation and other live questions, what would be the result? Can either party stand a discussion of those questions, or have they a record touching them that they can successfully defend? The Alliance believes and demands a reduction of tariff on the necessities, and that all revenue should be reduced to the needs of government, economically administered, but it will not, neither can it be driven to consider that question only as subordinate to a number of others. No matter what politicians may do or say, the Alliance is determined to have finance, land and transportation discussed and settled in preference to all other economic questions. This is the condition at present. It is evident that some new alignment on economic principles is imminent in the near future, or rapid and radical concessions must be made. This latter event can hardly be expected, as the success of trickery and corruption, the power of intrigue and manipulation, and the potency of money have, as yet, gone on from conquering to conquer, and have not met the disasters and defeat that all honest men hope lie in reserve. It is a situation to be seriously considered by the wisest statesman, and can be profitably studied by the humblest citizen. It is one that will not consent to be longer ignored, and can not be brushed aside with assumption or contempt. He who is wise or prudent will be prepared for the developments of the future, and thereby avoid disappointment and confusion.

TEXAS IN THE LEAD.

Hon. Barnett Gibbs, ex-lieutenant governor of Texas, who represents for his State the "National League of Democratic Clubs," and is organizing the whole State, has brought out a plan, in one of his first speeches, for perpetuating national banks and having them give personal and real estate security for treasury notes to be furnished them by the general gov-

ernment at a per cent interest, and the banks authorized to lend it to the people on land or produce for all they can get. Mr. Gibbs' plan can not be popular with the people, because it is not designed in their interest; neither will it be popular with the banks and capitalists, because it is in conflict with one of their favorite principles. It is, however, an important suggestion, and coming from such high political authority it shows that even Texas, with its 18,000 Democratic majority, is waking up to the necessity of doing something for the people. Mr. Gibbs is progressive. He may be ahead of the sentiment of the dominant element of the party, and it may react unfavorably upon him personally, but he is right in one respect; something must be done, and that speedily. The Dallas Daily News, in commenting on the plan, uses the following language:

At any rate Mr. Gibbs is evidently convinced that the only salvation for the party is to get a tremendous move on it, and that without delay. He puts this idea in language more forcible than nice. "There is no danger," he says, "from a third party if we do our duty, but there won't be enough left of the Democratic party to make a grease spot if we sit down and swear everything is lovely. We have run in the same groove until the cogs hitch and don't work plumb." Perhaps he is right. The third party agitators have openly charged that the wide-spread popular discontent is due to a singular deadlock of inertia of the two old parties running in old 'inflexible grooves.' But Mr. Gibbs' fear for his party is not shared, apparently, by most of its veteran politicians. They sneer at the people's as a third party for which there is no room in the political situation. So they argue that the fate of the third party must be early extinction or absorption. They forget that with the people's party on the scene in addition to two old parties each of the three is a third party. In such a case with ideas and constituent party elements somewhat wildly in fluxion, the problem of fate would seem to be which third party must go to pieces or be bodily incorporated in one of the others. When the miscellaneous elements of opposition to slavery first took shape in general organization they presented a third party. But the political exigency admitted of but two parties. So the old Whig party vanished from the scene to make room for the Republican party which soon came into power and has been in almost complete ascendancy ever since. The reminiscence is at least suggestive.

AN IMPORTANT POINTER.

The sub-treasury plan is being hotly contested both North and South, not because it is the only demand of the Alliance that is objected to, but for the reason that by making it prominent an impression can be made that the balance of the demands are unobjectionable. Strange to say, many good members of the Alliance are led to believe that the politicians as a rule would be willing to consent to all the demands of the Alliance excepting the sub-treasury plan. This is an error. There is but one demand at the outside that they are in favor of in the whole list. The time has come when this false position should be exposed. The ECONOMIST would ask the brethren to cut out the following list of questions and get their Congressmen, Senators or other prominent politicians to answer them and send them in for publication.

MORTGAGE BANKS.

The Pall Mall Gazette, an English paper, reports the result of investigation in several countries in regard to mortgage banks. This report contains much that is interesting and instructive. It says:

The owner of land appears to be generally afflicted with impecuniosity,

and to need protection from the usurer quite as much as the landless. In Hungary after 1848, when the land was emancipated and the rights of the nobles over the peasants curtailed, the owners of large estates found themselves in serious difficulties. They could no longer obtain forced labor, and they were often without the capital to purchase free labor. As the demand for capital arose, little or none was attainable. There was considerable hesitation in advancing money to proprietors in a country so little known as Hungary was at that time, and although a few of the greater nobles were able to obtain loans, the smaller proprietors were not in a position to do so.

In 1857 the National Bank of Austria took steps toward assisting the difficulties of the landed proprietors, but the first efforts were not very promising. Several of the leading land proprietors then combined together and inaugurated an institution which opened up a new era in Hungarian agriculture. The Boden Credit institute was established in 1863, with a nominal capital of £139,000. It is not a joint stock company worked for a profit, but a patriotic undertaking whose object is to enable landed proprietors to obtain loans on safe and easy terms. The institute does not actually lend the money, but procures the loans at far cheaper rates than the individual is able to obtain them for himself, and at the same time supplies the lender with the necessary guarantees and security. In 1863 the interest on capital charged was 5½ per cent, and the total, including amortization, 6¾ per cent. The interest on capital has now been reduced to 4 per cent, and the total annual charge to 5 per cent.

The number of instances in which the default of repayment has occurred is insignificant, as out of a sum of nearly £8,000,000 the arrears do not amount to more than £25,000. The money is raised by the issue of bonds of 100, 1,000 and 10,000 florins, bearing interest at 4 per cent. They are repayable at par by drawings, and must be withdrawn within a period of 40 years and six months from the date of their issue. There are other institutions in Hungary which make advances on real property on similar or varying conditions. Authorities do not agree as to whether the indebtedness of the land has been enhanced or decreased as a consequence, but it is admitted that the old usurious system has disappeared, and that the money borrowed has been sunk in improvements, and is, therefore, not an unproductive charge on the land.

The institutions in Austria for granting real credit are of four kinds: (1) Bank and joint stock companies licensed by government to lend money on mortgage; (2) savings banks; (3) agricultural societies, and (4) provincial Boden credit anstalten. The first two classes are worked in the interest of the lenders, the third and fourth in the interest of the borrowers. As a rule, all these institutions do a successful business and enjoy high credit. The Austro-Hungarian bank, which may be taken as a typical institution, lends money on mortgage at 4½ per cent interest and ¾ per cent amortization, making altogether 5½ per cent for 4½ years, and 4¾ and ½ per cent amortization for 50 years. Both these loans are made in scrip bearing 4 per cent interest, and at present stand at par.

Several establishments for lending money on real estate have been founded in Belgium on the initiative of private individuals. They are all limited joint-stock companies and act in the common interest of borrower and lender.

The Credit Foncier is the sole national bank of real property in France. It is under the supreme direction of the minister of finance, and has an organization similar to that of the Bank of France. In addition to loans on property, it is authorized to lend money, not upon mortgage, to departments, communes and agricultural associations. The capital has been gradually increased until it now stands at £7,000,000. The Credit Foncier has materially lightened the charges of the debts weighing on property—in this sense, that it only asks for 4.85 per cent interest, while the rate of interest paid by property at the time of its creation in 1852 was 8 to 10 per cent. Upon £135,000,000 loaned since its foundation on real property, the society has been forced by adjudication to purchase for £720,000 estates which have remained on its hands in consequence of the non-payment of the sums lent upon them. This is relatively a small sum in comparison with the amount of the mortgage loans of the society.

In Germany the 'Landschaften' are a group of institutions established and administered solely in the interests of the debtors, and there are mortgage companies which also look after the business interests of the creditors. Neither class has any state guarantee, but they are both under state supervision.

In 1861 it was ascertained that real property in Italy (including the Venetian province and Latium; not then united to the kingdom) represented a value of £1,008,000,000, yielding an approximate income of £40,320,000, burdened by £169,000,000 of mortgages. That is to say, the mortgages amounted to one-sixth of the total value of the property. The mortgage banks had granted up to December 31, 1861, loans for less than £4,000,000. The average rate of interest for Northern Italy, including expenses, was then calculated at 8 per cent, yielding a total annual sum of £13,620,000 for interest. Imposts and taxes amounted to £11,240,000; therefore, out of the income yielded by real property only £15,560,000 remained in the hands of proprietors, not including £96,000 spent in notarial fees, brokerage, valuations, etc. In view of the difficult position in which real property was placed, attempts were made to establish an institution on the model of the Credit Foncier of France, but these failed. The idea was next entertained of utilizing the existing mortgage banks, some of which dated back to the sixteenth century. In 1866 eight of these institutions were accordingly apportioned zones for lending operations. Their action having proved insufficient to meet the demands of landlords, although they had entered upon agreements for a sum of £13,239,000 to the end of 1885, a law was passed abolishing the zones and authorizing other companies to transact mortgage business. Mortgage associations among proprietors were also permitted, but none has ever been formed. A still later law was passed in July, 1890, authorizing a new real credit bank, with a capital of £4,000,000 and exclusive privilege for the

whole kingdom, and it is stated that steps are being taken to put this law into force. The rates hitherto charged have varied from 4 to 5 per cent.

Switzerland possesses two classes of mortgage banks—state institutions and others partly private and partly public. Savings banks also make advances on land. The Bernese mortgage bank charged 5 per cent 12 or 13 years ago, but it has since reduced the rate gradually to 4 per cent, and the other real credit banks have been obliged to follow suit. Mortgage banks exist in the majority of the Swiss cantons, and they are said to render immense services to agriculturists.

FINANCES OF THE ORDER.

That the members of the Order may know exactly how the Secretary-Treasurer has conducted its affairs the balance sheet of his business for May 30 is here given. This shows a very economical management, and a satisfactory result. It will also correct any impression that may lurk among thoughtless persons, members or others, that there is a large sum contributed to the support of the national organization. It conclusively proves,

however, that should there be no extension of duties and expenses for the National officers, the present almost infinitesimal per capita dues are sufficient for necessary outlay under the economy of National Secretary Turner:

J. H. TURNER, Secretary N. F. A. and I. U.—Balance sheet, May 30, 1891.		Real Liabilities.	
N. F. A. and I. U. Dr.	C.	N. F. A. and I. U. Dr.	C.
2862.75		76.89	
5335.35		5335.35	
Accounts receivable.....			
Bank.....	750.78	750.78	
Accounts payable.....	5335.35	5335.35	
Bills payable.....	476.14	476.14	
Postage and telegraph fees.....	166.05	166.05	
Postage due.....	62.65	172.55	
Postage due.....	21577.95	21577.95	
Fees and dues.....	708.47	708.47	
Expenses, St. Louis.....	245.51	245.51	
Expenses, Ocala.....	567.58	574.58	
Salary.....	467.55	677.55	
Help.....	3.31	3.31	
Expenses, New York.....	172.82	172.82	
Present worth.....	5.83	10	
Total.....	25,654.87	25,654.87	
Total.....	26,744.38	26,744.38	

It will be seen that instead of being \$2,862.75 in debt, as the National Order was at its last session, it now has resources \$5,520.35 in excess of all liabilities, and to this amount will soon be added the dues from States which have not yet reported for the year 1891, the amount of which, in addition to dues reported above, upon the basis of representation claimed by the States and allowed by the Supreme Council at Ocala, is estimated to be not less than \$11,210. This sum, in addition to above net worth, shows the estimated total net worth to be \$16,730.35.

THE FARMER IN POLITICS.

Farmers Jones and Smith Discuss the Situation.

BY REV. T. J. MORRIS, COLUMBUS, TEX.

Smith meets Jones returning from town.

Smith. Good evening, Jones; what did you get for cotton to-day?

Jones. Nothing, I might say; for I didn't get back the values put into its production.

S. How is that?

J. Well, I got 8 cents for it; and I have estimated the cost of production and found it to be 9 cents; so you see I am worse off than if I had not produced it.

S. I am glad you have commenced looking into the causes of our distress, and I hope you will keep it up until you, with the rest of us, learn the whole truth. But what set you to thinking about this matter?

J. Well, I finally concluded to join the Alliance, because I began to take notice some time ago that my neighbors who until late knew no more about affairs than I did were getting far beyond me, and could talk more reasonable, and seemed to know more than even the lawyers, who I thought knew all about political and business affairs. And when I got inside I was very much surprised to find that all the old members were well posted, could discuss questions more sensibly than I had ever heard them discussed, and go through the business of the meetings as well as anybody. At first it made me a little mad to hear them so learned, as if they were the teachers and leaders of the people; but when the meeting was over I went home thinking in a way I never thought before. It seemed like a little light had fallen upon my mind, which had always been puzzled when it was not asleep, and I had caught on to a few new thoughts which stirred me up so that I could not rest. I concluded to put aside my coldness toward my neighbors, and to follow on and learn all I could; for it had always seemed strange that hard work and hard living seemed not to help us any in getting out of debt and improving our place as it used to do. Besides, soon after I joined, the reform papers found me out, and the editors sent me copies, especially THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST and The National Reformer; and I confess to you that when I read them I fell in love with my farmer friends, and got mad with the other fellow. This is how I came to make estimates of my investments and losses; for there were no gains to take count of. I felt very bad when I had found out this much, especially when my wife, who had not yet joined the Alliance, and had no time from her never-ending work and worry to read the papers, would tell me, whenever I began upon this subject, that I was a crank; that that was what the doctor said when he was down to see the baby, that the people in the country were getting visionary and wild, went to town too often and talked politics too much. It set me back a little when she would talk so, but I was like a man born blind who had begun to see, and the startling things I saw interested me so much I could not go back to my old ox-like state. But there are some things which I don't yet understand.

S. Well, I am really glad to find you coming up into line with us, and your wife will be glad, too, by and

by, if she has such a hard time as you have described.

J. Yes, I have been thinking about that, too, and last week I made up my mind to give her a chance. I would content myself with a cold dinner on Sunday, so that she could rest and read like the rest of us, and would help her as much as I could through the week. And last Saturday I could see she was greatly pleased when I asked her to go with me to hear an Alliance public lecture. She didn't say much as we rode home, and I didn't talk much after her first remark, she took me down so; for when I remarked upon the strange indifference of some of our male members, she said: "The women will have to save this country; for if the men were of any account we would never have got into such a fix as we are." So I know the leaven has been working in her, too, and when she gets through the mad state she will go to work, and I'll have to take a lively pace then, for she's progressive in whatever she turns to.

S. A remarkable woman. Look out or she'll soon be giving you a chance to catch up with her. But what is it that still puzzles you?

J. Why, that sub-treasury business is one thing. They say it will ruin the country.

S. Who are they who say such things?

J. Most of the lawyers and politicians, and some of the farmers.

S. Well, the lawyers and politicians naturally take the side of capital, because as things have been going in the past, it is the only way to get into office and make it pay; and some farmers, who haven't got their eyes open, still rely upon that class for their opinions, and think they have done well when they are able to repeat what they have to say. Have you read Harry Tracy's great speech at Austin and the able explanations of the sub-treasury plan in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST?

J. I have read some of the latter, and felt sometimes that I almost understood it. But when I would go to town again I would always consult my old friend, Squire Buncombe, and he confused me so by his great legal learning and the terrible picture he drew of the evil consequences of such a law that I would go home greatly afraid. I was so troubled on one occasion that I told my wife all about it, thinking she might help me a little to ease my mind; but I suppose she could not argue the point, for she simply remarked that it was a stupid thing to go to one's worst enemy for advice against him.

S. That was a clincher. Lawyers thrive upon other people's miseries, and naturally prefer to serve those who can pay the largest fees; But tell me the argument which this learned man used against the sub-treasury plan.

J. Well, he said, it was ridiculous in all its phases, but the most serious thing about it was that it was class legislation, which he explained to be a law to benefit one class of citizens only, and that it would certainly ruin the country.

S. I am glad of one thing, Jones, that you have carried your inquiries too far and learned too much to be turned back or side-tracked; since you are in touch with the great brotherhood of labor, which, as a whole, is possessed of that knowledge which makes men invincible. The brotherhood of labor is rapidly casting off the fetters of ignorance and gaining

the life blood of the nation (the circulating medium) and appropriate it to their own bloated existence, leaving only a sufficient amount to yield them, by recuperation, new supplies. They prostrate the life and energies of the people—rob them of happiness and hope, not to supply any vital need, but to satiate their senseless and criminal greed and perpetuate their class privilege to thrive upon the miseries of their victims. It is said the vampire soothes its victim in profound slumber by agencies sustained by the life blood which it mercilessly absorbs, so these monsters strive to soothe the awakening people into unconscious dreams of security while they appropriate their life. So you see, my friend, that it is absolutely necessary the people should unite and crush this deadly destroyer of their peace and happiness, the ebb flow of the nation's energies sink beyond the possibility of recovery.

J. Well, Smith, you have made a plain case of it, and I am now convinced that you are right. I sent off my subscription to-day for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, the Southern Mercury, and the National Reformer. My wife told me I must do it if it took all the eggs and butter for twelve months to pay for them, and I will henceforth be with you—the die is cast.

S. Give me your hand on that, Brother Jones; you are shoulder to shoulder with a mighty host of true patriots who love their security, their wives and children too well, and respect themselves too much ever to surrender their cause. The Rubicon is crossed, the bridge is cut; let our watchword be onward. By the eternal God we are free men and will be free.

Our Brethren.
BY HARRY HINTON.

Since writing to you giving an honest description of our mode of warfare, I now write in order to give you an idea of our material. Heading the list is Brother Watterson, the Warwick of Democracy, the platform writer and the king-maker. Brother Watterson says we must not yield one inch to free coinage, for the East will not allow it, and what Brother Watterson don't know you may put down as not worth knowing. He elected Cleveland on a straddle platform, says he, and on the second run he advised an outspoken plank on the tariff and defeated Cleveland, we suppose accidentally: Duplicity wins more than honesty, and Brother Watterson is not ashamed to confess it. Here is where he made one of those mistakes, like John Ingalls, peculiar to great men. But the rank and file of plutocracy will never confess anything except that they are actuated by the frankest and most honest motives.

We will consult with brother Gould in a few days, and if there is any change necessary to be made in our tactics we will try and keep our readers posted. Don't let this picture of affairs discourage you, Mr. Economist. Ring out the old slogan of the revolutionary war all down the ranks, "Equal rights to all men, and special privileges to none," for "between the cup and the lip there's many a slip." While all this may be true, we will rely implicitly on our brain and bbold.

Now to brother Blaine, Carlisle, Watterson and others we will submit a few words of consolation. Dear brethren, we find all governments of the earth so administered as to give special privileges to a few, and the rank and file of the common people by well devised schemes are made to pay yearly tribute to maintain this

for us than that advised by Brother Carlisle is hard for me to tell. But I am inclined to believe that Brother Watterson is right. Let these vile socialists gain one point and that will encourage them to contend for others. We must fight and contest every inch of ground, and only yield an iota by dire necessity. This is my advice.

Why do we not hear from Brother Harrison, Brother Blaine and Brother Reed nowadays? No doubt this inquiry is often made in the camp of the faithful. We are happy to state they are all true. Every pulsation of their noble hearts beats for the plutoeacy, or, if you had rather have it, for the people. By some natural force of circumstances the left wing of our army is placed in the lead to fight the first series of conflicts with this rabble host. The Democracy is charging with a furious onset all along the line. They are fighting for their organization, for their leaders, which is more to them than a straddle on the tariff or the free coinage of silver. If the rabble could give them an assurance of a lease of power and a retention of their noble plutocratic leaders they, we fear, would prove treacherous to our cause. But they are afraid to venture so far.

Why, do you ask, is our right wing so silent? We hear nothing from the brethren except a little target shooting behind the hills. Be silent while I tell you something. This is our reserve force, true as steel. Like the Old Guard of Napoleon, they can die, but they will never surrender. Upon the Republican army we center all our hopes. Should our left wing give way before the onslaught of the enemy we have a sure thing in our right, around which can gather the survivors of the left wing. And when the hosts of socialists and anarchists come brandishing their weapons against our reserve, then will come the shock of battle, the besom of desolation. As vainly as the waves of the sea dash against the rock of Gibraltar and foam out their rath and fury there, so will this contemptible gang waste their energies and scatter their hopes. They will find no babies in our reserve.

However we think the Democracy will be sufficient to defeat all their diabolical schemes. They are certainly putting up a noble fight. Not one jot of ground have they yielded yet. And their great general advises them not to yield an inch. So they stand firm with a little wavering along the line on free coinage. But we hope they will all rally to the shout of the general and stand solid as a wall.

We will consult with brother Gould in a few days, and if there is any change necessary to be made in our tactics we will try and keep our readers posted. Don't let this picture of affairs discourage you, Mr. Economist. Ring out the old slogan of the revolutionary war all down the ranks, "Equal rights to all men, and special privileges to none," for "between the cup and the lip there's many a slip." While all this may be true, we will rely implicitly on our brain and bold.

Now to brother Blaine, Carlisle, Watterson and others we will submit a few words of consolation. Dear brethren, we find all governments of the earth so administered as to give special privileges to a few, and the rank and file of the common people by well devised schemes are made to pay yearly tribute to maintain this

privileged class. Not only is this true, but it has always been true in most nations of the past. Hence we have precedents unnumbered to sustain us. Therefore a government by the people and for the people is an anomaly, a misnomer, an iridescent dream. Still the idea has subjected us to much inconvenience, and we long for a more stable and centralized government. We must flatter the people, we must make them believe we are dealing justly and equally with them all, we must educate them to believe what is best for us is best for them, and all this requires labor, expense and a continual turmoil. There seems to be light breaking through the clouds showing the people most of our partyism and campaign doctrine to be a sham show made up expressly for our advantage and for their loss. This brings on a crisis. This makes it more imperative that we use extra exertion and boddle to calm this discontented element. We are happy to state to you, my dear brothers, that the two old party machines are thoroughly harmonious in this matter, and they are fully determined that this government shall not be an exception to the most benign nations of the past and of Europe today. Government for a time, as in Greece and Rome, among a primitive people may exist for the equal rights of the people; but as time passes on and the machinery becomes more complex it ceases to serve the people and must subserve the interests of those who can gain the ear of power. This has always been so. It is natural that the most gifted under the law of the "survival of the fittest" shall subject the weaker to their rule and necessities. These things being true, my dear brothers, let us hold tenaciously to all of our rights. Let us make no compromise with the Philistines. Let us work with the same machinery which has served us so well with a double dose of oil, and we will come out conquerors—more than conquerors—by flattering the ambition of our enemies with the fat which office brings.

Mr. Economist, one word with you. I have already told you my mistake. I took sides with the people, for I thought they give the offices. This was a mistake. The party gives the offices and the plutocracy rules the party. There are no offices in the gift of the people. So you see I have turned over to the plutocracy. If I should see one of my party stealing money out of the public crib I would not whisper it. No true party man will breed discord in the ranks. If my party puts up a jackal or a jay for office I will vote for him. All true party men will stick to the nominee. If you flinch only once your chances for office are gone. So I am for the plutocracy, obedient to party, and subservient to office. Farewell.

Class Legislation—No. 4.

BY B. B. TURNER, BROAD RUN, VA.

It is difficult to conceive to what extent assurance will not lead the favored to presume to ask, yet demand as a right, or to what extent the people's representatives (?) will not allow themselves to be made to believe they may grant these demands. One would think that in granting legislation which conferred the value of half the property owned by the debtors in fee simple to the creditors, to make the whole mass of the people permanent contributors for the en-

richment of a few who on their part were released from all the expenses incumbent upon the execution of the laws which enriched and protected them, would have been almost as much as a class could ask or a government could grant, but not so. Some man in giving the definition of "enough," said it was just a little more than we have. So this favored class asked a little more, and have constantly continued to ask a little more, and the government, which has gotten in the habit of granting, continues to grant that little more.

It was necessary that in some way

money should be supplied with which the business of the country could be transacted. This money was necessary to everybody, consequently he who could get a monopoly of furnishing it could have a *carte blanche* to levy tribute upon everybody. What a royal prerogative was this. Our favored class demanded it, and our most liberal Congress demanded it, and in this wise: The money supply of the country consisted of what gold and silver there was, and about \$346,000,000 of greenbacks, which escaped the burning. What gold and silver could be mined and was not used up in the arts was the established dependence for keeping up the supply, and it was not sufficient. The \$1,200,000,000 of which the people had been deprived, made a keen demand for money. The \$1,800,000,000 in bonds with which the favored class had been supplied, made a basis upon which it would issue that money, and no other property would be received as such. It was not the desire of the favored class to loan their own money. Oh, no; that was invested in bonds and bore interest, and the interest they invested in other bonds known as "land mortgages," by which means they assayed to obtain a hold upon the people—a hold which could not easily be broken; a hold which, with the twist they could give it, would make the people mentally and physically their slaves. The money which they designed to use in furnishing for the demands of business was the people's own money, which the people's government made and alone had the privilege of making. The people sustained and supported the government. The favored class did neither. If it was assailed by armed foes the people defended it, and the taxes paid by the people paid its members and kept it running. Who ever heard of a millionaire and a banker being a soldier? And their property pays no taxes. The money made by the government was by every right the people's, but that was the money which they demanded and obtained, the right alone to supply to the people, and also the connived at, if not the lawful right, to charge what interest they chose upon. Individuals could at once combine and form State banks, but this was competition they could not brook; it interfered with their monopoly and a most obliging government taxed it out of existence, leaving them as the one single avenue through which money could be obtained from the government to meet the increasing demands of a growing population and business. Thus every man who sold a bushel of wheat or a dozen of eggs, or bought a yard of cloth or a pound of sugar, had to have the tribute of the favored bankers deducted from the one and added to the other. Is it any wonder that they are rich and mighty? But the monopoly

of furnishing the money gave them

it seems that out there, at least, it is left to the mercy of the judge to say how much more than one-third of the debtor's property may be confiscated. Your comment startles us. You congratulate tens of millions of slaves, sinking under the burden of 9,000,000 mortgages, because the last defender of constitutional freedom, refuses to confiscate more than one-third of their property before dispossessing them and turning them out of their homes. One judge, in one State, seated in the inner temple, almost hallowed by wisdom in the person of a Coke, a Hall, a Somers, a Blackstone, a Marshall, a Story, makes a feeble protest. May anything better illustrate the venal and vicious policy of our laws? Point me, if you can, to a more forcible example of the injustice and cruelty of arbitrary power. It strikes at the very foundation of free government, at the very root of social order; by violating the rights in property of the industrious, painstaking producers of wealth for the benefit of the speculator, the gambler, the juggler. No act of King George cried so loud as a grievance, no abuse of his prerogative was so insulting to the common sense of intelligent men. When the very leaders of the industrial forces catch at such straws, and point to this as an act of gracious condescension, what must the condition be? What must the end be? Permit us to say, if the devil gets, not two-thirds, but half of his dues, there will be a big settlement. Says W. E. Channing:

"We confess we often turn with pain and humiliation from the hall of Congress, where we see the legislator, forgetting his majesty of his function, forgetting his relation to a vast and growing community, and sacrificing to his party or to himself the public weal, and it comforts us to turn to the court of justice, where the dispenser of the laws, shutting his ear against all salutations of friendship or interest, dissolving for a time every private right, forgetting public opinion and notwithstanding public feeling, asks only what is right."

Protesting Against Confiscation.
BY YOUNG AMERICA.

Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.—Constitution of the United States.

We have just read the ruling of Judge Hamer, Omaha, Nebr., and your comments. When the great public speaking for all citizens, may not take the private property of a single individual without just compensation, by what parity of reasoning, by what law of common sense and common honesty—and there are no other laws except the edicts of arbitrary power—or by what dictate of public policy may the same public take the property of one class of citizens and turn it over to another class at two-thirds of its value? Take it from the wounded, the crippled, and turn it over to those who are whole and strong. If the statute laws of Nebraska make this demand, then, perhaps, the court has no other alternative, unless he can find it in the constitution of the State or in that of the nation. It is clearly repugnant to the spirit of the latter. Let us give you, as an illustration, a case just decided here in our county. The State, for the purpose of taxation, a most important and necessary act of State sovereignty, by its duly accredited agent, fixes a specific value upon citizens' property universally understood to be and intended to be, a low cash estimate. The State comes now by another agent, the court, and takes the same property at an estimate nearly or quite one-third less for the benefit of several citizens called creditors. It stultifies itself. It wantonly tramples upon the rules of consistency, of dignity and propriety, which no respectable private citizen may disregard. And this as sovereign umpire between citizens. In the Omaha case

it seems that out there, at least, it is left to the mercy of the judge to say how much more than one-third of the debtor's property may be confiscated. Your comment startles us. You congratulate tens of millions of slaves, sinking under the burden of 9,000,000 mortgages, because the last defender of constitutional freedom, refuses to confiscate more than one-third of their property before dispossessing them and turning them out of their homes. One judge, in one State, seated in the inner temple, almost hallowed by wisdom in the person of a Coke, a Hall, a Somers, a Blackstone, a Marshall, a Story, makes a feeble protest. May anything better illustrate the venal and vicious policy of our laws? Point me, if you can, to a more forcible example of the injustice and cruelty of arbitrary power. It strikes at the very foundation of free government, at the very root of social order; by violating the rights in property of the industrious, painstaking producers of wealth for the benefit of the speculator, the gambler, the juggler. No act of King George cried so loud as a grievance, no abuse of his prerogative was so insulting to the common sense of intelligent men. When the very leaders of the industrial forces catch at such straws, and point to this as an act of gracious condescension, what must the condition be? What must the end be? Permit us to say, if the devil gets, not two-thirds, but half of his dues, there will be a big settlement. Says W. E. Channing:

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The Warren Papers, No. 4.

BY CHAS. BOONE.

Now that the unparalleled Cincinnati conference has gone into history as the initial point of a new era in American politics, my city friend, John Warren, is curious to know who the standard-bearers of the new party are to be. From his observation of politics he naturally enough assumes that the precedents established in the organization of other new parties will be followed in this, especially as to the putting of a presidential ticket in the field.

I assure him that the men capable of the diplomacy which governed the proceedings at the great conference will be found, when the proper time comes, capable of disregarding precedents to an extent that will astonish old-school politicians. The habit of proceeding in a particular manner, of doing things precisely as they were done before and for no other reason, may prove a difficult one to overcome, but in this instance strategic resources may be equal to the emergency. We shall present a phenomenally novel platform. Then why should we not, I ask him, also present a novel scheme of campaign procedure, by deliberately omitting to nominate for other than legislative positions?

But I fail to make my friend Warren apprehend clearly the dominant purpose of Alliance politics. He persists

in estimating the motive of the movement by the old school standard. He asks, "What is it you are after, if you are not after office?"

I tell John Warren, in very plain words, that the Alliance is after statutes. We desire, first, to rewrite American statutes upon the money question; then upon some other things immediately afterward. I say we care for office only as incidental to the convenient performance of such business. I remark we may not seek offices not necessary to our purpose. Then I express the hope that the very fine diplomacy exhibited at Cincinnati may cover the entire ground, the essentials of the campaign alike with the essentials of the platform.

The proposition to "swap votes," administrative for legislative, has, we will say, been passed upon by the new party in national convention, and adopted as a governing policy in its campaigns. It is no longer irregular practice but an accepted canon in electioneering. The party endorsement has lifted it from the "dirty pool of politics" to the dignity of honorable diplomacy. It will now be "good form" not to nominate for administrative offices, that an equivalent might be got from one or the other of our opponents by, on their side, not nominating for legislative offices.

I make bold to argue with my friend Warren that ours is to be a legislative party, pure and simple. We shall not for its own sake care to officiate, but do propose to legislate. We propose to legislate our financial system up to the level of the industrial needs and opportunities of the country, and, of course, up to the standard of modern notions of equity. But certainly not for farmers alone, but for all the people. I tell John that talent and literature, arguments and ballots are abundantly on our side; that all the evolutionary forces which "make for righteousness" are, with accelerating speed, "coming our way." I give him this assurance that he may have something to reflect upon not furnished by his Chicago daily paper.

I tell my friend that our programme need not necessarily be a menace to the great body of existing or prospective officeholders. The quarrel is with the lawmakers. For the mischief is in the work they have done, and left undone, and that the very first step to the remedy is, as it were, "to turn these rascals out."

The new party can afford to remain the "third" as to routine government for a longer or shorter period, but there is urgency that it become the "first" party as to legislative work.

All necessary power for our purpose resides in Congress; hence we must take possession of Congress. If we fail here it will be tantamount to failing everywhere. Opposition elsewhere might hinder, but could not defeat.

Now let me confer with the reader, the diplomatic reader if you please, as to the wisdom of trying to elect candidates in 1892 for other than legislative positions.

Granted that the new party will have a certain amount of elective force of its own. If the policy is shaped to that end, may it not secure elective force otherwise to be controlled by the old parties? Say there will be ten administrative offices to one legislative office to be filled. Were we to spread out our forces to cover all these it might be too thin to fill any, whilst concentrating it upon the all-important legislative office might fill it exactly to our liking.

It is doubtless the expectation, since the precedents all favor it, that the new party will nominate for all the offices to be filled. Thereby would be incurred, would there not, the ill-will and strenuous personal opposition of all other aspirants for administrative office? A wise diplomacy would teach us to conciliate these men. Let the two sets of old party candidates nominated for administrative position fight it out between themselves. By not nominating we do not threaten either set. On the contrary we shall have patronage to bestow, and competition would arise as to which might secure it. Instead of being a common enemy we should be a common friend with the two sets tumbling over one another in the race to

offer an equivalent for our support. The first instinct of the experienced office-seeker is to look out for himself. Every one of each set of nine candidates would cheerfully sacrifice the tenth to improve his own chance. It is this instinct and this situation which must be utilized. Not to utilize it would be one of those blunders which are said to be of the character of a crime.

The transfer of allegiance would appear in each set of nine or more candidates yielding or abandoning the legislative position. This would be the logical recompence for not nominating for administrative office. It would be precisely the thing wanted. It would be the cut-off to the goal.

Instead of battering away at a solid combine, attacking both sections at once, the new party will have "divided and conquered," thus again exemplifying the canons of good generalship as practiced in all ages and nations.

I wish the reader to understand me. My contention is the superior political wisdom of inaugurating the new party as distinctively a legislative party. The undertaking will be to enact the platform into law. We should nominate only for this purpose.

The working politicians who seek administrative offices for individual advantage, form one factor, whilst the monopolists who aim for statutory advantage form another. The connection between these two factors, as allies, rests largely upon the supposition of a common interest against a common enemy. Should the new party threaten both factors alike the bond between them will be strengthened. The discriminative policy I suggest would menace the tenth man without warfare upon the remaining nine, thereby winning over these as neutrals or allies,—at least in a measure, perhaps a sufficient measure for our purpose.

In thus deliberately choosing to contend for principle rather than for office the new party must occupy immeasurably the higher ground in the estimation of a discriminating world, and, insofar as human judgment may predict the outcome should abundantly vindicate the policy.

An "Honest Dollar."

Farmers Advocate, Charlestown, W. Va.

The necessity for financial reform is beginning to dawn upon the mass of the people. The conventions everywhere demand the abolition of the national banking system. Why? A banker buys \$100,000 worth of bonds. He leaves them on deposit at Washington, and night and day they draw interest for him at 4 per cent per annum. The government guarantees their safe keeping, charging him nothing for the service. In the meantime, in addition to drawing interest, the bonds serve as security, and he receives from the government 90 per cent of their face value in currency. That is, he brings \$90,000 in currency home to his bank to lend out to his neighbors at 6 or 8 or 10 per cent. He had but \$100,000 to start with, and now has \$100,000 drawing interest. And yet if the farmer wants to borrow on the security of his land, the best security in the world, the saudain banker howls about class legislation. Why so? He himself has stolen millions of times that much, and then, with satanic, flint-faced effrontry, instead of quietly submitting to go to jail when caught, they turn upon the ones who ask them to put back what they have stolen, and accuse them of being "dishonest demagogues and repudiationists."

And the fool people who have been robbed year by year listen to these loud protestations of innocence and think it a shame that the poor honest banker and bond-holder should be so persecuted. Then they begin to shout for an "honest dollar." Carlyle said the people were "mostly fools." As yet, however, nobody has offered to sue him for libel. But even these poor befooled people are beginning to get their eyes open. They catch a glimmer of the truth that the national banking system has outrageously robbed them, and the muttering thunder that demands its abolition swells louder and louder. They call for a dollar that will be truly honest, and they are not much longer going to pay tribute to the golden calf.

JOSEPH NIMMO, Jr., the willing tool and present employee of the railroads, is out in a letter declaring that governmental ownership of railroads would be revolutionary. The letter will hardly bring to his masters the first cost, as the people are not scared by such declarations as much as they used to be. The occupation of time-servers is about over.

value, or \$225,000 in currency. This he loaned to his neighbors at a high rate of interest. Thus, in place of the \$100,000 with which he started, he had \$475,000 drawing interest for him. He talks now very piously and very loudly about an "honest dollar."

He means that the \$250,000 of bonds which he owns, and for which he paid only \$100,000, and which, besides, has kept \$475,000 at work, day and night, for the last thirty years, drawing interest for him, shall now be paid, not in the same kind of depreciated money he paid for them, but in gold, or in currency as good as gold.

For each dollar he had in the first place he demands now \$2.50, although the people have been paying him interest on it as if it were \$4.75. That is the banker's idea of an "honest dollar."

Is it any wonder the people are getting suspicious of such "honesty" and are demanding the abolition of the national banking system? Is it any wonder that they are growing tired of the brazen hypocrisy of the capitalistic newspapers with their sickening, sniveling cant and pious howls about the "dishonesty of repudiation?" It is like the thief which has stolen the farmer's horse, whining about being compelled to return it "without compensation." In the name of all that's holy and true, the thieves who have stolen enormous riches out of the public treasury ought to consider themselves fortunate if they are allowed quietly to put back the stolen goods and have no questions asked. That is what they call "repudiation."

They ought to thank their lucky stars; the outraged people are content with the end, do not demand that the losers be sent to prison for the remainder of their lives. They have shown themselves unfit to be trusted. They hound to jail with merciless severity the poor wretch whom their financial system has reduced to starvation, if he steals a loaf of bread to keep alive his starving wife and babies. They have themselves stolen millions of times that much, and then, with satanic, flint-faced effrontry, instead of quietly

submitting to go to jail when caught, they turn upon the ones who ask them to put back what they have stolen, and accuse them of being "dishonest demagogues and repudiationists."

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

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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 FOLLOWING IS THE RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY PASSED AT THE NATIONAL MEETING IN ST. LOUIS:

WHEREAS THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, OUR ADOTTED OFFICIAL NATIONAL ORGAN, HAS SO BOLDLY AND FEARLESSLY ADVOCATED OUR CAUSE AND DEFENDED OUR PRINCIPLES; THEREFORE

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE NATIONAL BODY, THAT WE HEARTILY APPROVE OF THE COURSE IT HAS TAKEN AND REQUEST THAT EVERY MEMBER OF THE ORDER SHOULD SUBSCRIBE AND READ THE PAPER AS ONE OF THE BEST MEANS OF EDUCATION IN THE WAY OF INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

REAFFIRMED AT OCAKAS AS FOLLOWS:

RESOLVED, THAT THIS SUPREME COUNCIL REINFORCES THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST AND THE ACTION OF BROTHER C. WARDALL AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN SAID PAPER, AND CALL UP ALL WE CAN TO URGE THEM FORWARD IN THE GOOD WORK OF EDUCATION.

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.

N. R. P. A.

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A COUNTY AGENT FOR THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST IN EVERY COUNTY IN THE UNITED STATES. APPLICANTS MUST FURNISH LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION FROM OFFICERS OF THE COUNTY ALLIANCE, AND MUST AGREE TO TAKE THE FIELD AND CANVASS FOR THE PAPER AND SELL OUR LITERATURE. A SPECIAL AGENT'S COMMISSION WILL BE GIVEN WHEN ABOVE IS COMPLETED. WRITE US FOR FURTHER PARTICULARS. DO NOT WRITE UNLESS YOU MEAN MY BUSINESS AND EXPECT TO WORK FOR THE GOOD OF THE FARMERS ALLIANCE. ALWAYS INCLOSE EVIDENCE OF THE FACT THAT YOU ARE A MEMBER IN GOOD STANDING. ADDRESS

NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL LECTURER J. F. WILLETS, WILL FILL APPOINTMENTS AS THE FOLLOWING TIMES AND PLACES:

MISSISSIPPI.

Meridian, June 22.

Macon, June 23.

Aberdeen, June 24.

ALABAMA.

Jasper, Walker County, June 25.
East Lake, Jefferson County, June 26.
Montgomery, June 27.
Calera, Shelby County, June 29.
Athens, Limestone County, June 30.

THE FOLLOWING BUNDLE OF ALLIANCE INFORMATION POSTPAID TO ANY ADDRESS ON REQUEST OF ONE DOLLAR NET AT THIS OFFICE:

1 copy Philosophy of Price.

1 copy Handbook of Facts.

1 copy Some Ideas.

1 copy History United States Dollar.

3 copies Power of Money to Oppress.

3 copies Sub-treasury Plan.

3 copies It is Constitutional.

1 copy Harry Tracy's Speech.

3 copies National Economist.

FREQUENT CALLS FOR ALLIANCE LITERATURE HAVE INDUCED THE ECONOMIST TO MAKE THE ABOVE OFFER, WHICH BARELY COVERS THE COST OF PRINTING AND POSTAGE. ADDRESS NATIONAL ECONOMIST, WASHINGTON, D. C.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

NATIONAL SECRETARY TURNER, BEING IN DIRECT COMMUNICATION WITH THE BROTHERHOOD, REALIZED THE NECESSITY OF HAVING MEMBERS BETTER POSTED ON THE DEMANDS OF THE ALLIANCE PLACED BEFORE THE WORLD FOR DISCUSSION, AND ON WHICH THERE ARE SO MANY GOOD ARGUMENTS BEING PRESENTED THROUGH THE COLUMNS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, CALLED ON THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE NATIONAL ORGAN TO MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO SECURE JUST ONE NEW SUBSCRIBER EACH. THIS CALL HAS BROUGHT IN A GREAT

MANY NEW SUBSCRIBERS, SHOWING THAT MANY OF THE BRETHREN ARE FULLY ALIVE TO THE NECESSITY OF HAVING THE PROPER INFORMATION DISSEMINATED AMONG THE BROTHERHOOD. IT IS NOW EARNESTLY REQUESTED THAT EACH SUBSCRIBER WHO HAS NOT ALREADY SECURED AS MANY SUBSCRIBERS AS POSSIBLE, DO SO AT ONCE.

THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST NOT BEING IN THE HANDS OF EVERY MEMBER OF THE ORDER IF THE OFFICERS OF THE SUBORGANIZATIONS WILL DO THEIR DUTY.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST WILL MAKE A SPECIAL PROPOSITION TO EACH SUBORGANIZATION TO PLACE THE PAPER IN THE HANDS OF ITS MEMBERS. DON'T FAIL TO BRING THIS MATTER UP AT YOUR NEXT MEETING, AND IN THE MEANTIME WRITE FOR SPECIAL PROPOSITION TO SUBORGANIZATION. DON'T DELAY THIS, BUT APPLY AT ONCE.

A BILL IS BEING PREPARED AT THE PRESENT TIME TO ABOLISH THE FISH COMMISSION. IT WILL BE INTRODUCED THE FIRST DAY OF THE NEXT SESSION AND PUSHED VIGOROUSLY. DATA HAS BEEN OBTAINED AND IS FAST ACCUMULATING TO SHOW THE CHARACTER OF THE COMMISSION, ITS ABSOLUTE USELESSNESS AND THE PRODIGALITY OF ITS EXPENSES. ANOTHER CASE OF WHITE-WASHING WILL NOT LIKELY OCCUR.

THE CHARGE LONG SINCE MADE THAT THE POLITICIANS OF EITHER OLD PARTY AID EACH OTHER IN RETAINING OFFICE IS JUST NOW BEING SHOWN IN OHIO. EX-CONGRESSMAN TOWNSEND IN A RECENT INTERVIEW SAID THAT "THE DEFEAT OF JOHN SHERMAN WOULD BE A PUBLIC CALAMITY."

IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT MR. TOWNSEND IS A DEMOCRAT AND HALLS FROM OHIO. REALIZING THERE IS NO PROSPECT FOR A DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN HIS STATE, THIS DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMAN IS ANXIOUS TO SERVE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY INSTEAD OF AIDING THE REFORM MOVEMENT. THE OUTLOOK FOR JOHN SHERMAN IS BAD, AND IT IS DOUBTFUL IF THE HELP OF THE ENTIRE DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS OF OHIO CAN FORCE HIM AGAIN UPON AN OUTRAGED PEOPLE.

A MORNING PAPER DEPLORES THE SMALL SALARIES PAID TO SCIENTISTS BY THE GOVERNMENT, WHILE THE TRUTH IS THEY GET MUCH MORE THAN THEY ARE WORTH. ALL THAT IS NECESSARY TO PRODUCE 99 PER CENT OF THE SO-CALLED SCIENTISTS IS A PAIR OF LARGE SPECTACLES AND A POLITICAL PULL.

ALL THE DEPARTMENTS ARE LOADED WITH THEM. THERE IS PROF. A. OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT, WHO IS SO SCIENTIFIC THAT HE MEASURES THE FLOW OF AN IRRIGATION WELL IN DAKOTA WITH A BUCKET. ANOTHER OF THE SAME KIND SITS UP LATE AT NIGHT TO SEE THE BUGS AND WORMS MAKE THEIR EVENING TOILET AND RETIRE. ANOTHER PROFESSOR IN THE SMITHSONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM, A SHORT TIME AGO EXAMINED CERTAIN PREMISES AND PRONOUNCED THE SPECIMENS OBTAINED TO BE DECOMPOSED GRANITE, BUT THE OWNERS OF THE PREMISES PUT GOOD EVERY DAY SENSE AGAINST SCIENTIFIC IGNORANCE AND THE RESULT IS A MINE OF EXCELLENT GRANITE. IN THE FISH COMMISSION IT HAS COST THE GOVERNMENT FULLY \$5,000 TO HAVE ONE OF THESE SO-CALLED SCIENTIFIC GENTRY UNDERTAKE TO FIND OUT IF THE HAKE FISH WILL BREED THE TAPE WORM. A FEW UNPROFOUND NAMES, A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF

BRASS, AND A LARGE FUND OF IGNORANCE CONSTITUTES THE USUAL MAKE-UP OF THE AVERAGE SCIENTIST OF THE PRESENT TIME. THEIR PRESENT COMPENSATION IS AMPLE, AND THE GREATER PART COULD SERVE THEIR COUNTRY BETTER IN THE BUSINESS OF SAWING WOOD OR HOEING COTTON.

OVER \$61,000,000 IN GOLD HAS BEEN SENT OUT OF THE COUNTRY SINCE JANUARY 1, 1891, AND THE NEW YORK BANKERS HAVE APPOINTED A COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE CAUSE FOR SUCH AN EXTRAORDINARY EXPORT OF THIS METAL. IF THE FREE COINAGE BILL HAD PASSED THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO NECESSITY FOR SUCH A COMMITTEE, AS THE ENTIRE DIFFICULTY COULD HAVE BEEN CHARGED UP TO THIS MEASURE. THE FACT THAT SILVER WOULD DRIVE OUT GOLD WOULD HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFULLY DEMONSTRATED, AND THE TRIUMPH OF A SINGLE GOLD STANDARD WOULD HAVE BEEN COMPLETE.

BUT THE BILL DID NOT PASS BECAUSE OF CORRUPT METHODS AND THE PREDICTIONS OF THE DIRE CALAMITIES WHICH WAITED UPON THE OUTFLOW OF GOLD, AND IT IS NOW IN ORDER FOR THE OPPONENTS OF FREE COINAGE TO GIVE A REASONABLE EXPLANATION OF THE RAPID EXPORT OF GOLD. THE FACT THAT IT IS GOING TO PAY TRIBUTE TO ALIEN MONEY OWNERS IS DOUBTLESS THE TRUE SOLUTION OF THE MATTER.

EVERY POLITICIAN WHO CAN CLAIM ANY INTEREST IN MISSISSIPPI IS BEING CALLED THERE TO AID IN THE CONTEST AGAINST THE ALLIANCE. AMONG THOSE CALLED FROM WASHINGTON IS EX-CONGRESSMAN MONEY. IT IS SAID THAT THIS GENTLEMAN HAS BEEN LOADING UP FOR THE SUB-TREASURY DURING THE PAST FEW MONTHS AND IMAGINES HE IS PREPARED TO PARALYZE NOT ONLY THE PLAN ITSELF BUT ALL WHO ADVOCATE IT. LIKE SENATOR GEORGE, MR. MONEY HAS A RECORD ON GOVERNMENT LOANS THAT WILL SOMWHAT EMBARRASS HIS EFFORTS IN OPPOSITION TO THE SUB-TREASURY PLAN. WHILE THE BILL TO LOAN MONEY TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE COTTON EXPOSITION AT NEW ORLEANS WAS BEING DISCUSSED MR. MONEY, AMONG OTHER THINGS, SAID.

A NEW SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES HAS NOW ARisen, AND IF IT SEEMS PREFER TO THIS HOUSE THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SUPPORT THIS GREAT ENTERPRISE BY A LOAN TO IT OF \$1,000,000, I CANNOT SEE ANY VALID OBJECTION TO IT, AND I AM SURPRISED THE OBJECTION SHOULD COME FROM THE GENTLEMAN NEW YORK. I BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE RE-BURNSSED AS IN THE CASE OF THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION AT PHILADELPHIA. I AM PROUD THAT I VOTED FOR THAT EXHIBITION, AND I SHALL VOTE FOR THIS AND FOR ANYTHING OF THE SAME CHARACTER THAT MAY BE FOLLOWED WITH THE SAME IMPORTANT RESULTS.

THE BRETHREN OF MISSISSIPPI ARE REQUESTED TO EXAMINE THE PROVISIONS OF THE COTTON EXHIBITION LOAN AND COMPARE THE PRINCIPLES INVOLVED WITH THE SUB-TREASURY PLAN.

LOAN TO THE COTTON EXHIBITION IN 1884.

THE ACT LOANING \$1,000,000 TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE COTTON EXHIBITION IN 1884 IS GIVEN IN FULL BELOW, IN ORDER THAT THE READER MAY JUDGE FOR HIMSELF AS THE TRUE STATUS OF THAT TRANSACTION:

BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, THAT THE SUM OF ONE MILLION DOLLARS BE, AND THE

SAME IS HEREBY APPROPRIATED, OUT OF ANY MONEY IN THE PUBLIC TREASURY NOT OTHERWISE APPROPRIATED, AS A LOAN TO THE WORLD'S INDUSTRIAL AND COTTON CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION, TO BE USED AND EMPLOYED BY THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT THEREOF TO AUGMENT AND ENHANCE THE SUCCESS OF THE WORLD'S INDUSTRIAL AND COTTON CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION IN SUCH MANNER AS SAID BOARD OF MANAGEMENT MAY DETERMINE AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ACT: PROVIDED, THAT THE SAID SUM SHALL BE PAID BY THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE DRAFTS OF THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF THE WORLD'S INDUSTRIAL AND COTTON CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION AUTHORIZED BY ORDER OF SAID BOARD, ONE-THIRD OF THE AMOUNT IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THIS ACT UPON BEING SATISFIED THAT FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS HAS BEEN CONTRIBUTED AND PAID IN TO THE SAID BOARD FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE EXPOSITION BY THE CONTRIBUTORS TO AND SHAREHOLDERS OF THE WORLD'S INDUSTRIAL AND COTTON CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION, AND THE REMAINDER IN FOUR MONTHLY PAYMENTS THEREAFTER, UPON BEING SATISFIED THAT EACH OF THE PRIOR PAYMENTS HAS BEEN FAITHFULLY APPLIED AS REQUIRED BY THIS ACT, AND FOR THIS PURPOSE HE SHALL HAVE FREE ACCESS TO THE ACCOUNTS AND ALL TRANSACTIONS OF SAID BOARD: PROVIDED FURTHER, THAT NO GREATER AMOUNT SHALL BE EXPENDED OR LIABILITY OR INDEBTEDNESS OF ANY KIND INCURRED UPON BUILDINGS, GROUNDS AND PREPARATIONS THAN THE AGGREGATE SUM THAT MAY BE PAID IN BY THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE CAPITAL STOCK AND BY DONATIONS AND THE AMOUNT OF THE LOAN PROVIDED HEREIN: AND PROVIDED FURTHER, THAT IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AMOUNTS THAT MAY REMAIN IN THE TREASURY OF THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT AFTER THE PAYMENTS OF THE CURRENT EXPENSES OF ADMINISTRATION THE AMOUNT OF THE APPROPRIATION HEREINFORE MADE SHALL BE PAID IN FULL INTO THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES BEFORE ANY DIVIDEND OR PERCENTAGE OF PROFITS OR ASSETS SHALL BE PAID TO THE HOLDERS OF SAID STOCK OR CONTRIBUTORS: PROVIDED FURTHER, THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES SHALL NOT, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, BE LIABLE FOR ANY DEBT OR OBLIGATION CREATED OR INCURRED BY THE WORLD'S INDUSTRIAL AND COTTON CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION, OR ITS BOARD OF MANAGEMENT, OR FOR ANY SUM WHATEVER IN ADDITION TO THE AMOUNT APPROPRIATED BY THIS ACT; AND THAT ADEQUATE SPACE TO BE DETERMINED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SUCH EXHIBITS AS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES MAY SEE PROPER TO MAKE AT SAID EXPOSITION SHALL BE FURNISHED FREE OF ALL CHARGE BY SAID BOARD: PROVIDED FURTHER, THAT NO SUM SHALL BE PAID TO THE SAID BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF SAID EXPOSITION UNTIL AFTER THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY AND A MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF SAID BOARD SHALL HAVE EXECUTED A BOND, WITH GOOD AND SOLVENT SECURITY, TO BE APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, IN THE SUM OF THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS, TO SUFFICIENTLY SECURE THE SAFEKEEPING AND THE FAITHFUL DISBURSEMENT OF THE SUM HEREBY APPROPRIATED, AND FOR THE FAITHFUL OBSERVANCE OF THIS ACT WITH REGARD TO THE LIMITATION OF EXPENDITURES AND LIABILITIES AS FIXED HEREIN, AND FOR THE REPAYMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF THE SURPLUS OF PROCEEDS OF SAID EXPOSITION REMAINING AFTER PAYMENT OF THE CURRENT EXPENSES OF ADMINISTRATION, SAID REPAYMENT IN NO CASE TO EXCEED THE LOAN HEREIN APPROPRIATED AND PROVIDED FOR: AND PROVIDED FURTHER, THAT THE RECEIPT OF THE LOAN HEREIN MADE OR ANY PART THEREOF BY SAID BOARD OF MANAGEMENT SHALL BE A FULL ACCEPTANCE OF ALL THE TRUSTS, CONDITIONS, PROVISIONS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THIS ACT BY THE SAID BOARD OF MANAGEMENT AND BY THE CORPORATION CREATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA AND DESIGNATED AS "THE WORLD'S INDUSTRIAL COTTON CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION."

APPROVED MAY 21, 1884.

WHEN THE VOTE WAS TAKEN UPON THE BILL IT WAS PASSED BY 132 TO 87. THE YEAS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

ADAMS, G. E., ATKINS, ANDERSON, BARKSDALE, BAYNE, BELFORD, BELMONT, BENNETT, BISBEE, BLANCHARD, BOUTELLE, BRECKENRIDGE, BREMER, F. B., BROWN, W. W., BUCHANAN, CADWELL, CAMPBELL, I. M., CANNON, CLEMENTS, COLLINS, CRISP, CULBERTSON, W. W., CULLEN, CLUTCHEON, DAVIDSON, DAVIS, G. R., DAVIS, R. Y., DIBBLE, DIBBLE, DIBBLE, DORSHEIMER, DUNHAM, DUNN, ELLIOTT, ELLIS, EVANS, I. H., FINDLAY, FOLLETT, FORNEY, FUNSTON, GARRISON, GEORGE, GIBSON, GLASCOW, GRAVES, GREEN, HAMMOND, HANBACK, HANCOCK, HARDMAN, HARMER, HART, HATCH, H. H., HEMPHILL, HENDERSON, T. L., HENLEY, HERBERT, HEWETT, G. W., HIT, HOPKINS, HOAR, HOUCK, HOUSEMAN, HOWEY, HUNT, JEFFORDS, JONES,

B. W., JONES, I. H., JONES, J. T., JORDAN,

KASSON, KEIFER, KING, LEWIS, LORE, MC-

CORD, MCCORMICK, MONEY, MORRILL, MOR-

RISON, MURPHY, NEECE, NELSON, NICHOLS,

OATES, O'HARA, O'NEILL, CHARLES O'NEILL,

J. J., PAYSON, PEELLE, S. J., PERKINS, PETERS,

PETIBONE, PHELPS, PRICE, PRYOR, PUSEY,

RANDALL, RANDKIN, RANNEY, REED, REESE,

RICE, ROGERS, J. H., ROGERS, W. F., ROW-

ELL, RYAN, SHELLEY, SINGLETON, SKINNER,

T. G., SMALLS, SPOONER, STEELE, STEVENS,

STEWART, CHAS. STONE, SUMNER, C. A.,

THROCKMORTON, TILLMAN, TULLY, VAN

EATEN, WAKEFIELD, WARD, WELLBORN,

WHITE, MILE, WHITING, WILLIAMS, WILLIS,

WILSON, JAMES, WILSON, W. L., WILFORD,

WOODWARD, YOUNG.

After passing the House the bill

went to the Senate. It was referred

to the Committee on Appropriations,

and upon its recommendation was

passed with a few amendments and

but little debate. The concensus of

opinion in the Senate was so unani-

mously in favor of the bill that a ye-

and nay vote was not taken.

SENATOR GEORGE OF MISSISSIPPI VOTED

FOR IT, AS MANY OTHERS DID WHO ARE

NOW OPPOSING THE SUB-TREASURY PLAN

THAT PROPOSES TO LOAN MONEY DIRECT

TO THE PEOPLE.

IN THIS BILL THE GOVERNMENT

LENDS \$1,000,000 TO THE BOARD OF

DIRECTORS OF THE EXPOSITION AND PRO-

VIDES HOW AND WHEN IT SHALL BE PAID

OVER; WHAT SECURITY WILL BE RECEIVED

AND ALSO WHEN AND HOW THE SAME IS TO

BE REPAYED.

THE QUESTION THAT NOW

APPLIED SCIENCE.
In Agricultural and Rural Economy.
EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY,
Woodstock, Md.

AMERICAN WHEAT.

Prof. C. W. Davis has published estimates taken from census figures to show that within the next decade America will cease to export wheat. The same statement, based on no data, is going the rounds upon authority of a Scotchman. Those who desire to propagate a rosy optimism, perhaps those who are by nature optimists, are responsible mainly for the propagation of these views. The writer has no desire to pose as a pessimist, but he can not adopt the conclusion of Prof. Davis, nor admit that they are sound. The fact is overlooked that in the oldest States of the wheat-growing area, annual acreage in wheat can be at any time very largely increased; and will be whenever prices advance to a paying point. These estimates are based on a per acre product of 12 bushels, but whenever prices justify scientific practice, this per acre product may easily be doubled. Under the stimulus of a paying demand both the area and the product can and will be largely increased without taking into account at all any new and hitherto unoccupied lands. It is in no spirit of disputation that we call into question the value of the data and of the deductions of Prof. Davis. We desire to point out the obvious incompleteness of the data and the consequent invalidity of the conclusions. It is undoubted that it will be sought to use both in support of political views wholly unsound. We are not to be understood as implying that Mr. Davis was under the influence of political views in making and publishing his estimates and conclusions. We shall take it for granted that he desires to propagate truth and not error, and we invite his attention to the easy and certain increase both of area and per acre product, as either of them is sufficient to upset his calculations and his results, as soon as wheat growing shall reach a paying basis, which will render it possible to apply scientific principles in its culture. We have no doubt that wheat will advance shortly to a level of prices above those of the past five years, but it will be due to other causes than the approach of the time when the home market will take the whole yield of our harvest. It will be due to a correction of some of the evils of a financial system and a financial policy which beggars the multitude to enrich the few; which beggars American labor to enrich the foreign plutocrat. Why has the present administration thrown among the people with seeming recklessness a billion of dollars? There is method in that madness. It was done for the express purpose of increasing the amount of money in the hands of the people, and thereby to stimulate prices, to enlarge the volume of business, to set in motion a temporary wave of prosperity before the beginning of the presidential year. Actions are more eloquent than words, and these doings of the party in power constitute a more distinct admission of the justice of the popular demand for more money and less taxes than could be made in mere words. Let it continue to be more earnestly believed than ever throughout Alliance circles that that demand goes to the root of the matter. But some man, a Demo-

crat, will say these Republicans got this money by a great increase of taxation. Not so; this is that surplus which the Cleveland administration nursed and hoarded with pious care during their four years in office. One gathereth together and another scattereth abroad. There was a man who at great cost and pains reared a bird that pecked his own eyes out. Alliance reforms will do more to right such wrongs than curious calculations. If, moreover, we shall eat all the wheat we can grow before the close of this last decade of the nineteenth century, after that what shall we eat?

There may be some who will contest the propositions here advanced, viz., that both the area in wheat and the per acre product can easily be increased under the stimulus of paying prices. It is believed that no man practically familiar with the conditions which surround wheat growing in the old States will question either. The writer lives in the midst of a fine wheat country, and himself owns a fine wheat farm. As the result of close calculations he has abandoned the culture of wheat temporarily, the risk of heavy loss, and the certainty of some loss on the crop determining him. Any attempt to increase the per acre yield by increasing the organic matter in the soil as a basis for the successful use of commercial manures involves the necessity of promptly and largely increasing the live stock to be carried, and at the present prices of beef, mutton, pork, and horses, all ventures in the production of either involve the risk of a considerable portion of the capital invested. The attempt to produce a paying crop of wheat on land deficient in organic matter by liberal purchase of commercial manures is a policy nearly certain to lead to ruinous losses. A trained and accurate businessman last year informed the writer that an attempt to do this had involved him in a net loss of \$600 on his wheat crop. There are multitudes of farms burdened with mortgages increased in this very way all over the whole wheat-growing area of the United States. There are multitudes of tenant farmers everywhere whose guano bills have swept away the whole property; the accumulation of the wages of years of honest, intelligent, skillful labor and frugality. If an inquiry of this sort could be made of every farmer in any of the Middle States who is financially involved, as almost every farmer is, "What is the cause of your difficulties?" the almost invariable answer would be, "Guano bills." It can be demonstrated by an exact calculation, that at \$1 per bushel net, it requires 13 bushels of wheat per acre to pay the cost of production of wheat on land capable of producing such a crop, which is above the average product of American wheat lands. Animal industries of some kind must sustain any solution involving the culture of wheat, if wheat growing is to be in the long run successful. The fact is familiar to all that the serious losses on beef cattle the past few years drove many graziers out of the business. The condition of sheep husbandry need only be referred to without comment. A single fact may suffice to exhibit the condition of the market for heavy horses. At a recent county court at Harrisonburg, in the Valley of Virginia, there was a horse sale. Some Fauquier county raisers of grade Normans and Clydes, who could not find

sale for their young horses on any terms at home, took them to the Harrisonburg sale. They found four thousand and horses offered, of which only a small part could be sold at all, and their young animals netted only a little more than \$80. There is no farmer but knows that those animals were grown at a loss. How unsatisfactory has been the condition of dairying for some years past is known to all. The attempt, therefore, to build up our farms, depleted as they almost universally are of organic matter, by any animal industry that can be named, at present prices, seems hopeless. Now, then, we say, in the face of these facts, that to talk about restoring prosperity to agriculture by putting more intelligence, and thrift, and industry into the business, in the face of existing conditions, is to jabber like a fool in mockery of our sorrows. Industry, patience, frugality, intelligence, science, skill, patriotism are not lacking to the American agriculturists; but these avail not at the existing level of prices. And now, when such a man as Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Mills, when such a paper as the Baltimore Sun comes to us declaring that the whole trouble with the farmers is the tariff, we marvel and are astonished. And when on the other hand, comes Mr. Harrison and Major McKinley with "protection" panacea, and Mr. Blaine with "reciprocity," which is free trade; again we are astonished, and when we reflect upon the work of the "Billion Dollar Congress" we are yet more astonished, and we begin to ask ourselves, in the name of God, who will show us any good? When we think on Mr. Cleveland laboring through four toilsome years to "pile up money in the treasury to stimulate the extravagance of Mr. Harrison to get it out," as suggested in Senator Daniel's great coinage speech, and when we look at Mr. Harrison to see how the stimulant has acted and find that "little giant" has, inside of two years, actually "got out" one thousand and millions, we know not what to think. Brothers of the Alliance, stick to your text! More money and less taxes; down with usury; exact justice to all.

STRAWBERRIES.

"Doubtless God could have made a better berry than the strawberry, but doubtless he never did." According to Indian signs now is the pleasant moon of strawberries. They are wholesome and delightful, and better and cheaper than medicine as an alternative and promoter of digestion at a season when something fresh is craved by man and beast. Why any man whom God has blessed with that choicest of earth's blessings, a country home, is willing to do without this earliest and most delightful of fruits it would be difficult to find a reason.

The writer is at this time in full enjoyment of the abundant yield of a bed of three sorts as good as any, and which spread the yield over a good long season. These varieties are Charles Douring, Crescent and May King, so that strawberries and cream are the order of the day, and a standing order until disposed of. There is plenty for everybody, colored people in the kitchen included, and some for neighbors. Somebody says, do you feed hands on strawberries and cream? That is foolishness. It is not foolishness, for why should a cheap luxury be withheld from those we employ; and more

over strawberries and cream are cheaper on this place to-day than middling meat and corn bread. Anne Arundel county, in this State of Maryland, is the great strawberry region of the times. Immense shipments are now daily made at a large profit North and Northwest, as well as to neighboring cities. The Baltimore Sun of recent date stated that ten thousand persons from the city had gone into Anne Arundel to pick these berries. It is also stated that some man had sent to the office of the Sun twelve strawberries which filled a quart measure. Are these the short-horns of the berry patch, or the mammoths, or the mastodons, or the megatherium? There was once a young lady who weighed between 300 and 400 pounds, who remarked to the writer, "I sometimes think that I begin to feel some inconvenience from the increase of my size." We think that twelve strawberries to the quart begin to be slightly inconveniences by the increase of their size. Too much of a very good thing, as Prof. Simon Newcombe thinks would be the case with free coinage. We do not agree with Prof. Simon Newcombe about silver, but we think twelve strawberries too few to the quart, and that the quart measure will contain too much air space and too little strawberry tissue. "Mem, too many plums and no suet," was the complaint of an irate boarder against a boarding-house pudding, "*In medio tuisimis ibid*" is a good maxim for the strawberry culturist, for medium-sized berries are the best. That whatever contributes to the enjoyment of life possesses hygienic value is well known to scientific hygienists. Therefore, we think that strawberries and cream are an element in the hygiene of the country home too apt to be neglected. There is a succession of these small fruits, strawberries, raspberries, dewberries, gooseberries, cherries, currants, and yet on many farms nothing of the sort is to be found—not a summer apple, nor a pear, nor a grape. Some men love misery and court it for its own sake; some men despise a good thing because it is a good thing. There is no good sense in such a view of life. We know that the heathen cut themselves with knives and torture themselves with divers tortures. To deny one's self the attainable good things of this life is a form of heathenism. To deny them to one's family, or even to one's servants, is to commit sin. There is no place in heaven for such an one. He would be most unhappy there. A country home where blooms not even one lonely rose does not deserve the name of home; it is merely an habitation.

THE ALABAMA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

The writer has received an invitation to be present at the commencement exercises of the agricultural and mechanical department of the Alabama Polytechnic School at Auburn, and sincerely regrets his inability to be there. Such occasions are full of interest to right thinking men. The growth and development of this great school is a matter of interest, not only to the people of Alabama, but to those of the whole South. The false and offensive taunt of the Encyclopædia Britannica, to which attention has recently been called; that do you feed hands on strawberries and cream? That is foolishness. It is not foolishness, for why should a cheap luxury be withheld from those we employ; and more

with New England alone seems to willing to say that the Constitution of these United States prohibits the erecting of buildings? If so, by what authority was that courthouse and postoffice built in Waco?

Third, to appoint agents to represent the government in this business. Will the Senator step boldly to the front and say that it is unconstitutional for the President of the United States to appoint agents, such as postmasters, ministers to foreign courts, etc., or what is preferable and what we sub-treasury people are favoring, the election of agents by a vote of the people? Will you dare deny this last proposition and show wherein the Constitution would be violated?

Fourth, to receive deposits the same as whisky is received and held for three years before the internal revenue is collected, or the same as a postmaster takes a deposit of money in Waco and issues a sight draft payable at any money order office in the United States, or the same as silver bullion is received at the national treasury in Washington, D. C., and certificates issued to pay the bullion owner's debts. We repeat, is this last a violation of the Constitution of the United States?

Fifth, the loaning of money. Is it a violation of the Constitution of the United States for the government to loan money? If so, what about the money loaned to national banks, to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, the New Orleans Exposition, and the World's Fair at Chicago yet to be held. We find February 25, 1791, the first United States bank with a capital of \$10,000,000, of which the government owned two millions of its stock. The conditions that governed the directors was: "The said corporation may sell any part of the public debt whereof its stock shall be composed, but shall not be at liberty to purchase any public debt whatsoever, nor shall directly or indirectly deal or trade in anything except bills of exchange, gold or silver bullion, or in the sale of goods really pledged for money lent and not redeemed in due time, or of goods which shall be the products of its land."

Fairfax Senator Coke's Objections.

Brownsville (Tex.) Herald.

I notice in the Dallas News of April 26 that an interview at Waco was sought of Senator Coke by a reporter in regard to the sub-treasury plan, and he said: "I shall oppose the sub-treasury plan on constitutional and other grounds, and I believe the plan will be met with opposition in both the House and the Senate by the Democratic members." Then has the letter he wrote over a year ago and printed been refuted, every part of it, more times than once. If he had been keeping up with the reform papers, like the common folks of late, he would have certainly never let that letter go to print at this late day. Modesty, we suppose, is usually not the predominating feature that goes to make up the average Senator of this, the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, and Senator Coke seems to be no exception to the rule. Will the honorable Senator please give us his reasons for objecting to this plan on constitutional grounds? Let's see what constitutional enactments would be required to put this plan into practical operation.

Sixth, the issuing of certificates or money. Is it a violation for the government to take 75 cents worth of silver bullion and issue a certificate good for debts worth 100 cents? If so, why have you been drawing your salary of \$5,000 per year from the people and not had this thing tested in the proper courts? And if you think it is a violation of the Constitution to issue and create money whenever the demands of the people may require it. If so, what about that bill you introduced into the United States Senate last September, the second section of which reads as follows: "That for the purpose of the retirement and

redemption of the circulating notes of the national banking associations outstanding at the date of the passage of this act, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required immediately upon the passage of this act to cause to be prepared and issued United States legal tender notes in amounts and denominations corresponding to the amounts and denominations of all such outstanding national bank notes, and the said legal tender notes shall be in the same form and words and under the same protection of and subject to the laws touching the wizened hearts to us, chief pleasure is found in life the dead embers of a contemptible sectional hate. Senator Carlisle not long since said he didn't know whether the time had come for the disappearance of Mason and Dixon line from American politics or not. The course of the Des Moines Homestead leads to the belief that this pitiable sentiment of a Southern demagogue, whose life has been spent at the public crib, will find a ready response in the heart of its editor. However this may be, this sentiment will no more find lodgment in the breasts of such men as Polk, Macune, Terrell and Alliance leaders of the South generally than it will in the breasts of the noble old Northern and Southern veterans who were infolded in the same Union banner at the Cincinnati conference. But grant, for the sake of argument, that Macune is the black-hearted, conscienceless traitor which the Homestead and its Democratic assistance, U. S. Hall, of Missouri, delight to paint him; suppose he is really narrow-minded and *stuck to his ideas*, Southern cotton trust can be formed at the expense of Northern grain-growers; does all this constitute even the least reason why a sensible and honest man should try to disrupt the organization which gave him his prominence? Most of all, does it justify the Homestead, which claims to voice the sentiment of Iowa farmers, in descending to the despotic, hate-breeding methods of self-seeking politicians in its efforts to destroy the grandest aggregation of wealth producers the world over witnessed? Reform movements everywhere have been prolific of traitors, and history makes plain and prominent note of the fact that such traitors always received the encouragement and approving pats of the enemies of the reform soughs. Judged by this standard, which is the traitor, U. S. Hall, who alone of all those in attendance at Ocala persisted and still persists in abusing Brother Macune, and who is being approvingly quoted by the plutocratic press as the man who will yet down the "Macune machine" and the Alliance, or Brother Macune, who is the object of the vilification and abuse and the jeers and sneers of this same plutocratic press?

G. B. BARRIS.

Alliance Enemies.
Illinois Alliance, Springfield.

The Des Moines (Iowa) Homestead, by its persistent abuse of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, and by its studied and laborious efforts to bring into discredit the independent press in which the editor raises several objections to the sub-treasury bill. The information on which they are based being from the opposition press, and the notoriously misleading associated press dispatches I wish to make a few corrections.

lays it liable to the suspicion of being in the pay of those who have so long fattened at the expense of wealth-producing labor. The persistency with which it refers to the "Southern Alliance" long after that organization was merged into the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, as well as the maniac in which it insists that the latter organization is engaged in boozing a scheme the sole object of which is to form a gigantic trust for the benefit of Southern cotton producers, is calculated, *ment*, intentionally or otherwise, to control the wizened hearts to us, chief pleasure is found in life the dead embers of a contemptible sectional hate.

United States legal tender notes in amounts and denominations corresponding to the amounts and denominations of all such outstanding national bank notes, and the said legal tender notes shall be in the same form and words and under the same protection of and subject to the laws touching the wizened hearts to us, chief pleasure is found in life the dead embers of a contemptible sectional hate.

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down the "Macune machine" and the Alliance, or Brother Macune, who is the object of the vilification and abuse and the jeers and sneers of this same plutocratic press?

The Leading Issue.
President H. L. Loucks, in Dakota Ruralist.

I had intended in my next article taking up and considering the "cheap money" phase of our financial reform, but a friend sent me an editorial clipped from the Onida Journal, one of the recent additions to the independent press in which the editor raises several objections to the sub-treasury bill. The information on which they are based being from the opposition press, and the notoriously misleading associated press dispatches

I wish to make a few corrections.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Instead of it being carried by a bare majority at Ocala it was adopted by an almost unanimous vote, and that on roll call too. Missouri was the only state opposed and her delegation was divided. The Journal's information is very different from mine. "It is equally true that in nearly every state or district Alliance meeting held since that time, in which the matter has been brought up, it has been repudiated by an overwhelming majority," says the Journal. I have had a nature reader of a good one mainly. And I have read scores of resolutions endorsing but not one repudiating. Will the Journal please name the county, district or state Alliance of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union where it has been repudiated? It has been made the shibboleth of our movement in the South and in every contest thus far has come out the victor; as witness, the capitulation of Gen. Gordon and Senator Vance and the defeat of Wade Hampton. At the present time the fight is red hot in Florida and Mississippi, the sub-treasury bill being the issue, the Democratic politicians on one side and the stalwart Alliance men on the other. Instead of losing ground it is gaining rapidly. Now as to the army of officials that the bill would create, the increased patronage in the hands of the government and the heavy expense or drain on the treasury. Let us see. The bill provides that the overseer or manager shall be elected every two years, the same as any other county officer, hence the only patronage the government would have would be the clerical force in Washington. The new army would simply take the place of a part of the army of grain buyers we now support at a very great expense. The charges for storing and handling instead of being on a 40 per cent basis as at present, will be just sufficient to cover cost, probably one-fourth of present rates, and will be paid by those accommodated. There will be no drain on the national or any other treasury and no other class taxed to assist the farmer. It is the peculiarity of the measure that the politicians cannot understand, and invariably those who criticise the measure without reading it jump to the same conclusion. It will be absolutely self-sustaining. With the 20 per cent margin there cannot well be any losses; and, I repeat, there will not be any general taxation to maintain the system.

The Journal objects that it will be "class legislation." This comes nearest being a valid objection of any that I have seen raised, and at Ocala I tried to have it amended so as to make it general. The fact that the farmers are about 45 per cent of the whole people and that at least 45 per cent more are dependent on our prosperity for their prosperity should take a measure in the interest of the farmers out of the list of class legislation. We are not insisting that the bill must be passed just as it is. We are anxious to accept amendments that will eliminate all valid objections and make it more perfect. I would like to offer several amendments myself. We are fighting for the principles of a bill that will furnish us an increased volume of currency when there is an increased demand for it to move our crops; and surely there is not a farmer in South Dakota who understands the measure that will oppose it after our experience with last year's crop. Take

wheat alone. Because of scarcity of money to move the crop values were forced down at least 20 cents per bushel. Now when the crop is well out of our hands and being carried largely on credit, away up it soars 30 cents per bushel. It is safe to say that if we had had the sub-treasury bill in force last year we would have saved at least that 30 cents per bushel that the speculators are making. The principle of the bill is broad enough to take in other classes who produce non-perishable products.

Republican Tactics.

The Nation (Red Cloud, Neb.)

In view of the recent Presidential trip through the South and West, the strongholds of the Alliance, and in the reluctance of Blaine to again enter the Presidential arena, it may safely be inferred that Harrison is in training to succeed himself as President. The known hostility of Harrison to free coinage of silver will sufficiently guarantee a continuance of present financial conditions to the gold bugs of the East, so that they will likely offer no objection to a plank in the next Republican platform favorable to silver in order to catch votes from the West. The McKinley tariff will be used to entice the East with its leaning toward protection and Blaine's Reciprocity will perform the same duty in the West with its leaning toward free trade. While the reiteration of the principles embodied in the late Force Bill would only bring ridicule of the party because of the abandonment of that bill by the last Senate, nevertheless the hauling down of the "bloody shirt" from the Republican mast head after waving there so long would prove the sham of their pretensions so conspicuously that something about the negro vote in the South is likely to find a place in their platform, probably a demand for a modified form of the Force bill. Notwithstanding the opposition of the money power of the East to further increase of pensions because the money paid out on account of pension laws goes largely to the West and limits in a measure the contraction of the currency so dear to the heart of Wall street, as I am informed by an ex-Republican Congressman who now holds an honorable position in a neighboring state, yet it is upon an undivided soldier vote that they depend for a continuation of their power, and Wall street may offer no objection to a service pension plank in the platform in order to catch the soldier vote so long as they know their power to prevent legislation for its enactment. To prevent live issues from entering the campaign, protection for the East and reciprocity for the West will no doubt largely claim the attention of their subsidised press and salaried orators. To prevent the further advance of opinions favorable to labor and in the line of relieving the burdens of the debtor classes they will depend on ridicule and sarcasm, and attempt to stir up jealousies and animosities in labor organizations and third party ranks. The party lash will be freely used to cover the timid and bring back the doubting. To prevent a political union between the Alliance and other organizations, they will attempt to build up a seeming wall of separation between them, based on the idea, as outlined by Senator Plumb, that a rise in price of products favorable to the views of the Alliance producers is contrary to the views of other labor organizations.

E. BARKSDALE.

Money—Parties.

J. Brad Beverley, in *Alliance Farmer*, Petersburg, Va.

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—

Growth of the Alliance.

National Alliance, Houston, Tex.

More than 1,600 voters join the Colored Alliance every day that the sun rises. Suppose, then, that twice as many join the Farmers Alliance. Total, 5,000 daily. Remember all these are committed to the sub-treasury, and without exception favor a new political organization. Not one man would join us now with anything else in view. Surely the traitors who are trying to stay among us and oppose our demands will take this hint and pull out. Politicians who have mocked prepare to stay at home, and partisan newspapers who have spent their energies to throw contempt upon us may prepare for earnest work,

consumers who favor a low price for products ignoring the fact that a rise in price of commodities necessarily increase the demand and remuneration for labor. It is yet too early to forecast with any degree of certainty Republican tactics for the campaign of 1892, as future developments may modify present plans materially, but the conspicuous failure of the present administration to meet the urgent demands of present conditions will necessarily throw them back upon the dead issues of the past.

Alliance Matters.

N. M. H. in *Raymond (Miss.) Gazette*.

R. Q. Mills, the hitherto silver coinage champion, has made a complete political somersault. In a recent speech he says silver coinage is of minor importance, and that it should be abandoned for the more important issue of tariff reform. The plutocratic agents are actively at work all over the country, trying to side-track the Alliance on the sub-treasury question. They will not succeed. The Alliance is here for a purpose, and that purpose will not be accomplished till relief is assured. It is now just anything with Wall street and both the old political parties to beat the sub-treasury plan. They are concocting divers plans to eliminate it from the Alliance demands. If this can be done, they will all be happy and the people will be deceived as they have been deceived before. There can be no deception practiced upon the sub-treasury plan. When the farmer can take his products in the warehouse and draw money on it at 2 per cent, he will feel that his chances for a livelihood are equalized with those who have been peculiarly favored hitherto. The salaried officers of the government can have little sympathy with the toiling masses, since their salaries are not affected by contraction of the currency. If such an officer's salary is \$1,000 this year, when there are \$10 per capita in circulation, it is equivalent to doubling his salary, if the circulation is reduced to \$5 per capita. The same is true of taxes and all moneyed expenses. They have got to be made to feel this, and there is no better way to do it than to relegate them to the walks of private citizenship, till they learn from experience, the effect of the contraction of the currency. In one breath they will tell us that the sub-treasury plan is the greatest combine and trust ever conceived, and in the next, that it will ruin the farmers, and open up a way for them to be fleeced, as never before. Beware of those who blow hot and cold from the same mouth. They will not do to trust. They are only obeying the dictation of the plutocratic bosses.

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 5.

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THE OHIO REPUBLICANS.

The following is that portion of the platform adopted by the Ohio Republican Convention which relates to national affairs:

The Republicans of Ohio, in convention assembled, reaffirm and express their adherence to the principles which have guided them heretofore in promoting the prosperity and happiness of the American people.

1. We reaffirm our devotion to the patriotic doctrine of protection and recognize the McKinley bill as the ablest expression of that principle, enacted in fulfillment of Republican promises, and we pledge ourselves to its support, always having in view its improvement as changed conditions and experience may require.

2. We favor such legislation by Congress and in this State as will in every practical mode encourage, protect and promote the interests of agriculture in all its departments. Protection of labor and the rights of laborers such as will grant to toil its full and just rewards is among the first obligations of government.

3. We demand protection for the wool industry equal to that accorded to the most favored manufacturer of wool, so that in due time American wool growers will supply all wool of whatever kind required for consumption in the United States.

4. Thoroughly believing that gold and silver should form the basis of all circulating medium, we endorse the amended coinage act of the last Republican Congress, by which the entire production of the silver mines of the United States is added to the currency of the people.

5. We demand, and will continue to demand, until finally and absolutely secured, the free exercise by every citizen of the supreme and sovereign right to cast one ballot at lawful elections and have it honestly counted.

6. While inviting to our shores the worthy and oppressed of other nations, we demand the enactment of laws that will protect our country and our people against the influx of the vicious and criminal class of foreign nations, and the importation of laborers under contract to compete with our own citizens, and earnestly approve the rigid enforcement of existing laws by the present national administration.

7. We favor economy in the administration of national and State affairs; prompt and effective restraint of combinations of capitalists for purposes unlawful or at variance with sound public policy; ample educational facilities for the whole people; the reservation of the public lands of the United States for homesteads for American citizens and the restoration to the public domain of all unearned railroad grants, and we contemplate with pride the progress of Republican legislation and administration in all of the directions named.

8. The Republican party, ever mindful of the services of the heroic men who saved the Union, favor liberal pensions to the sailors and soldiers of the republic, and a generous care of their widows and orphans.

9. The patriotism, wisdom and ability of the administration of President Harrison command our cordial approbation and support, and we especially commend the policy of reciprocity, by which our trade may be vastly increased by commercial treaties with other nations, and we also commend the vigorous foreign policy of the administration, which has commanded the respect of foreign nations for the flag of our country.

10. We commend the patriotic service

of our distinguished fellow-citizen, Senator Sherman, and his Republican colleagues in the Fifty-first Congress.

11. We congratulate President Harrison and the country upon the selection of Hon. Charles Foster as the Secretary of the Treasury, assuring, as it does, an able and efficient administration of that great department of the government.

This platform becomes important at the present time for many reasons. It is the product of the combined political sagacity of the Republican party, thoroughly considered and carefully prepared. It is the line of action upon which it is proposed to redeem the State of Ohio from the hands of Democracy, and represents the political sentiments of the present administration. Beyond all this, it no doubt foreshadows to an almost exact certainty the National Republican platform for 1892. In this light it becomes exceedingly interesting, as it discloses an entire absence of advanced ideas or political growth, and represents the same relentless, plutocratic policy that has guided the party for more than a quarter of a century.

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5. We demand, and will continue to demand, until finally and absolutely secured, the free exercise by every citizen of the supreme and sovereign right to cast one ballot at lawful elections and have it honestly counted.

6. While inviting to our shores the worthy and oppressed of other nations, we demand the enactment of laws that will protect our country and our people against the influx of the vicious and criminal class of foreign nations, and the importation of laborers under contract to compete with our own citizens, and earnestly approve the rigid enforcement of existing laws by the present national administration.

7. We favor economy in the administration of national and State affairs; prompt and effective restraint of combinations of capitalists for purposes unlawful or at variance with sound public policy; ample educational facilities for the whole people; the reservation of the public lands of the United States for homesteads for American citizens and the restoration to the public domain of all unearned railroad grants, and we contemplate with pride the progress of Republican legislation and administration in all of the directions named.

8. The Republican party, ever mindful of the services of the heroic men who saved the Union, favor liberal pensions to the sailors and soldiers of the republic, and a generous care of their widows and orphans.

Republican party can win with this platform, the reign of plutocracy is complete, and the bondage of the people is secure. There is a further significance that attaches to this platform in its total disregard of the demand for reforms that has obtained such a strong foothold among the people.

This complete ignoring of the demand for an increase of currency, government control of railroads and a change in the land system of the country, must be accepted by the people as a challenge that there is money enough at present for all purposes, and the railroad and land systems are sufficiently perfect as they are. In fact this platform declares that all the past acts of the Republican party are right; that its leaders are determined to stand or fall by that record, and utterly refuse to make any concessions to the reform element of the country. This position leaves no room for compromise, and makes a bitter contest inevitable. Such will doubtless be the result, but not upon the lines laid down by the platform.

If the Democratic party also declare against the free coinage of silver and for tariff reform, and the two parties undertake, as they doubtless will, to make the tariff the main issue, the plan will doubtless be fatal. The People's party will go into the fight upon the living issues of land, transportation and currency, and the crowds will go to hear them, as was the case in Kansas, because as a rule the people are weary of the old ghost of tariff, and much prefer to listen to some other discussion. If it is possible to rouse the old-time enthusiasm over the tariff during the campaign in Ohio it can be easily continued through the next Congress and the presidential campaign in 1892, and as a result the cause of reform will be lost sight of. This is doubtless the scheme of the old parties, which will be confirmed beyond a doubt if the Democratic party in Ohio adopt a platform as suggested. The education which the people have received during the last three years, and the independence of action which always waits upon such education, will not permit the old political leaders of either party to lead the people like dumb animals any longer. There will be open rebellion in the ranks of both parties

against the idea that the politicians know more than their constituents and are better able to judge of their wants and condition. This platform is the gage of battle tendered by the politicians, backed up by Wall street and monopoly, to the people, and discloses a recklessness born of desperation. It places the great party of "moral ideas and progress" in direct antagonism to the best interests and expressed desires of the people whom it has represented for the past thirty years. The demon of avarice, greed and corruption has done its work faithfully and well.

A SAMPLE MISCONCEPTION.

THE ECONOMIST presents elsewhere to its readers a communication from C. H. Pierson, lecturer of the first Virginia district Alliance, as an illustration of a complete misconception of one of the main features and best effects of the sub-treasury plan.

At present the volume of money is controlled by the banks and capitalists; the only other plan for the control of the volume ever proposed until the introduction of the sub-treasury is for the government to control by law the volume. Control by banks and capitalists is wrong, because, by manipulating volume, they cause fluctuations in general prices of commodities in their own interest as buyers and sellers. Control of volume by the government is dangerous, because political influences are frequently controlled for special interests. For these reasons it is wrong for the government or any class of people to control the volume of money. The sub-treasury plan proposes an automatic control of volume based on the demand for its use. It would be automatic because the disturbing factor that under present conditions causes the regular annual relative contraction in the volume of money every fall is nothing more nor less than the products of agriculture, and an auxiliary volume based on this disturbing factor would be large in proportion as the disturbing tendency was great, and would disappear as it disappeared, being a perfect automatic adjustment under the control of no class. Brother Pierson seems to admit and advocate this and all other principles of the sub-treasury, and then adds real estate, gold and silver, as articles of deposit in the sub-treasuries, and provides for flexibility by the interconvertible bond, and by a fixed rate of interest. These additions in the manner proposed would not only neutralize the good effect of the sub-treasury proper, but would render the whole system oppressive and undesirable. The objection to including land, gold and silver in the sub-treasury plan is that they are a part of the permanent wealth of the country; they do not come in at certain regular seasons and cause a violent relative contraction of the currency,

consequently they are not part of the disturbing factor, and are not a proper basis for the auxiliary volume that guarantees the automatic control of the volume to a uniform ratio with demand. They constitute a proper basis for the permanent volume of money that shall remain in circulation as the money for the general business of the country at all seasons. The objection to the interconvertible bond plan is that it is a method of contraction, not expansion, and as such it is entirely in the hands of the money class, and could be used to contract the volume at the very time agriculture was seeking its expansion. That it puts 2 per cent premium on hoarding, and therefore collects 2 per cent from the poor to give to the rich as an inducement to contract the volume of money and depress prices, so that they may buy the products of the poor at less than cost of production. It is essentially a system to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, which is not at this time desirable. It conflicts with the fundamental doctrine that the volume of money should be controlled automatically so as to always bear the same relation to the demand for its use. The objection to the plan for controlling volume by the rate of interest is that it is a complete fallacy. Interest will not control volume, nor will volume control interest. In 1866, when there was in circulation over \$50 per capita, Western banks as often received 5 per cent per month interest as they now receive 1 per cent per month, and the government was paying 10 per cent per annum interest on twenty-year bonds. The fact is that changes in the relative volume of money while such changes are in process produce a marked effect upon interest. An expanding volume is always attended with high interest, because when a volume is expanding money is decreasing in purchasing power, and this places a premium on investments; no person wants to hold money; the price of all commodities is advancing; in this emergency those who have money take greater risks and demand higher interest. This theory is borne out by the facts on all occasions. For the same reasons a contracting volume of money is attended with lower interest, and there is a premium on hoarding. The purchasing power of the money is increasing when idle, and the contraction when carried to an extreme and suddenly applied, as it is in this country every fall by doubling the demand for money without increasing the supply, is attended with the two extremes, the very lowest and the very highest interest, because the whole situation is then in the hands of the exploiter who controls a large per cent of the restricted volume hoarded to intensify the contraction; he will lend large sums at low rates to the government or to another capi-

talist who will also hoard it by using as a "reserve," etc., and at the same time he will apply the "power of money to oppress" by its scarcity and force those compelled to have money to pay 188 per cent. New York last fall forced people who needed money to make the sacrifice of 188 per cent on call, and at the same time were begging Congress, through John Sherman and others, for a 2 per cent government bond. A restricted and inflexible volume is therefore attended with the lowest and highest interest; an increasing volume with high interest, and a volume that keeps a uniform relation with demand, as proposed by the sub-treasury plan, would be attended with the lowest interest, because there would be no inducement to hoard and no abnormal inducement to invest, and the "power of money to oppress" could not be applied, therefore interest would soon fall to the earning power of the money in productive pursuits.

Let land, as proposed by the Supreme Council at Ocala, be the basis for an increase in the permanent volume of the money of the country, but postpone the interconvertible bond till contraction is necessary.

A PREMIUM ON GOLD EXPECTED.

The Philadelphia Press of June 6 contained the following article, which for cold-blooded calculation and plutocratic domination has hardly been equaled. It will be well for every one in debt to these institutions to read it carefully and make arrangements accordingly. This article has been given a wide circulation both North and South with the intention of intimidating the people in regard to free coinage. Argument, common ideas of justice, and the inherent right of citizenship all being against the gold owner, the last resort, the thumb screws of necessity and the torture rack of financial distress, are now to be used. It is an infamous article and smacks more of barbarism than civilization, of Shylock and his pound of flesh than of the latter part of the nineteenth century. Did some one say that a third party was started at Cincinnati?

The leading trust companies and capitalists of this city have taken a position within the last few weeks against lending money on mortgages unless it is mutually agreed that the obligations entered into shall be paid at maturity in gold coin, and the interest accruing from time to time shall also be paid in the same kind of currency. While this has been the requirement that has confronted most new borrowers, it has been almost general demand of those persons who have desired that the agitation will accomplish something. Should the coming Congress pass a free coinage measure, it is highly probable that gold will be at a premium. I am not a lawyer, but I do not see any reason why contracts or obligations of this nature should not be perfectly valid. I see no reason why one cannot make a contract if he sees fit payable in boots and shoes."

The president of one of the most conservative and largest trust companies in Chestnut street said that while his company had not adopted the gold clause as a rule yet, it was only a question of time when it would be done. "I am," said this financier, "a member of the board of directors and interested in a number

claimed that the possibility of a premium upon gold is such a probability that it is necessary for investors to protect themselves against the depreciation expected in silver and bank notes by reason of legislation in Congress making the coinage of silver free. Many of the officers of the companies in this city who were seen yesterday have about settled their minds to the conclusion that it is only a matter of a few months when definite action will be taken upon the silver question. They looked with great alarm upon the Farmers' Alliance movement in the West, and express their belief that while it is of a mushroom growth, it is one that will last more than a day or a week. Lenders of money on collateral feel that a clause requiring payment in gold should be inserted in their contracts. The head of one of the largest banking houses in the city, in speaking of this, said:

"I do not see why collateral loans should not be made payable in gold coin. It is hard to tell what Congress will do in the coming session, but I think it is very certain that a silver bill will be passed. Conservative investors and lenders of money in New York and elsewhere are not only requiring that mortgages, both principal and interest, shall be paid in gold, but collateral notes also. Indeed, all the foreign houses in New York city demand it. This is the very natural result of the Farmers' Alliance movement in the West, and the wild financial notions that it seeks to propagate. Already this party has possession of several Legislatures, and the class of legislation that it has sought to engraft upon the statute books of the States is such that it can have but two results, the impairment of values and the destruction of first-class investment properties. The movement has by no means spent its force, and many fear that it will be some time before it will. Persons seeking to place their money permanently will not take the risks that confront them."

John Cadwalader, president of the Trust Company of North America, commenting on the action taken, said: "All large obligations that are undertaken now and have been for some time past have been made payable principal and interest in gold coin. This movement is due in a large measure to the disturbance in values that is expected by silver legislation. Not that gold will be at a premium, but that other currency will be debased. Gold is never at a premium. If gold is at 150 and silver or notes are only 75, then the latter is debased and is not of the same value as gold." Mr. Cadwalader was asked by what means the lenders of money hoped to employ to overcome decisions of the supreme court maintaining that silver, silver notes and legal tender notes, as provided by Act of Congress, shall be taken in payment of all debts, public and private, and he replied: "Careful trust companies and their officers provide for this. They have so drawn the clause in the obligation that it is thought that this obstacle has been overcome. While the supreme court has decided that government notes and silver shall be taken in payment of all debts, public and private, there are also decisions in special cases which affirm that where specific commodities are the consideration for the performance of a contract, then payment can be in those commodities. Careful investors so frame the clause as to specify that the obligation shall be discharged in a certain amount of gold coin of the same fineness and weight is the same amount of gold coin current at the time said obligation is entered into. The provisions for the payment of interest is the same as this. There is every reason to believe that this provision will be binding."

Samuel R. Shipley, of the Provident Trust Company, said that recently nearly all the money that had been loaned on mortgages had been in this way. "The persistent silver agitation," he said, "has given rise to almost general apprehension that the agitation will accomplish something. Should the coming Congress pass a free coinage measure, it is highly probable that gold will be at a premium. I am not a lawyer, but I do not see any reason why contracts or obligations of this nature should not be perfectly valid. I see no reason why one cannot make a contract if he sees fit payable in boots and shoes."

The president of one of the most

of companies which have taken a most decided stand in relation to Western mortgages. These companies and persons have large sums of money invested in mortgages in the very States where the Farmers' Alliance has obtained control. Many of these mortgages have, within the last few months, matured, and where payment has not been made at once we have absolutely refused to renew a single one of them unless there shall be a distinct provision inserted that both principal and interest shall be paid in gold coin of the fineness and weight now current. We consider that the risk that confronts us now is a very great one. No one knows when this agitation will end. The influences back of it are very powerful. It may end with this year, but it may last for several years. It is not that anything has been done as yet to impair the stability of mortgages, but it is the apprehension of what future Legislatures will do that makes us fearful." While gold still is on a par with legal tender notes and silver, the investors who are requiring the gold clause provision are furnishing the cash borrowed on all the various kinds of currency that are in circulation. None of the investors who are interested at present stated what would be the future course should gold rise in value.

This article discloses the conspiracy that has controlled legislation in this nation for the past thirty years. Will it continue thirty years longer? What condition would the producers of this country be in if the next ten years bring no change? It is from such oppression as this that the people must be freed.

THE TARIFF.

A few figures from the report of customs for the past ten months, as compared with the corresponding ten months of 1890, will doubtless be found interesting:

Free of duty, 1890	\$218,227,762
Free of duty, 1891	283,504,688
Dutiable, 1890	425,609,665
Dutiable, 1891	413,940,691
Total imports, 1890	643,737,427
Total imports, 1891	699,445,379

Exports for same periods were:

1890	\$736,751,977
1891	759,426,980

These figures show the excess of exports over imports for 1891, while for the same time in 1890 it was \$93,014,553. Up to the present date about \$61,000,000 of gold and silver, mostly gold, has been sent from the country, making a total of over \$120,000,000 of gold, silver and merchandise in exports over imports. How is this going to be returned, as some of the money-owners of Wall street claim. An over-estimated statement of the product of gold in the United States for the calendar year of 1889 was only \$32,800,000, and of gold and silver combined but \$79,550,000. Nearly a whole year's product of both metals have been sent abroad and absolutely lost to this country during the past six months. This is one of the beauties of a metal basis for currency. It can be taken away at any time one nation needs it worse than another. The truth is, all this gold and merchandise has gone to pay interest on alien investments, and if it ever comes back it will be in the shape of loans to bear more tribute and make necessary more shipments of the same character. The United States having refused to furnish its own people with a sufficient volume of money to con-

duct their various enterprises, they have been compelled to go to the alien for it. As a natural consequence tribute for its use must be paid. It is the payment of this useless tribute that sends the gold and grain abroad in such immense quantities. The sub-treasury plan would put an end to this false policy.

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conception of the real objects of the measure. Many of these are received every week by THE ECONOMIST. This shows an active spirit of research that must result in good. But many who do not accept the principles of the measure adopt this way of opposing it, and others are simply trying to produce confusion in the discussion.

THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER.

THE ECONOMIST has frequently received letters asking why the Progressive Farmer, which is the official organ of North Carolina State Alliance, has not since the Ocala meeting taken up the fight for the sub-treasury plan.

The answer given by mail has always been that the Progressive Farmer was squarely in favor of the demands, and that other business crowded a more active fight in favor of that particular demand.

The Progressive Farmer is a power in the land. Its circulation is not confined to North Carolina. While under the able editorial work of L. L. Polk, prior to his election as national president, it built up a national reputation and circulation. In view of the above facts it is necessary for THE ECONOMIST to take notice of the following editorial which appeared in the last issue of that paper:

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It seems certain that the Alliance can get two of its measures—the free coinage of silver and the reform of the tariff—through the next Congress. It seems also certain that the securing of these two measures would give the Order such prestige with the country by relieving the situation that it could demand any other just measure of reform with the certainty of success. The vital question just now is, will our brethren have enough of wise conservatism to undertake, with might and main, the things that are possible; or will they take the unwritten and unspoken risks of attempting the doubtful? In a few words, these are the questions that press for answering now, and they must be, they will be, answered, one way or the other within the next few months. Do we need the union of all our forces? Do we need the alliance of the country? Can we win with disunited and contending factions? Shall the conservatism that has always been the boast of the farming classes make itself dominant in the present crisis? We assure our readers that these are immensely important questions. As these questions shall be answered so shall it be well or ill with the Alliance movement.

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duct their various enterprises, they have been compelled to go to the alien for it. As a natural consequence tribute for its use must be paid. It is the payment of this useless tribute that sends the gold and grain abroad in such immense quantities. The sub-treasury plan would put an end to this false policy.

ACCOMPANYING the rapid growth of

the sub-treasury sentiment which is everywhere plainly visible, there is a perfect deluge of amendments and modifications. However, there is not one in a thousand of these "improvements upon the sub-treasury plan" that is not based on a complete mis-

WORDS FOR ALL TIME.

May 28, 1879, the Clarion, of Jackson, Miss., published a letter from Hon. Albert Gallatin Brown, elicited by a request for his views by several of his fellow-citizens. Now, after the lapse of twelve years, when the brilliant intellect and magnificent services of the lawyer-statesman are only a cherished memory in his State, it is peculiarly appropriate to bring to the public mind his conclusions upon three leading questions before his people, the constitutional duty of the government in relation to currency, the justness of issuing direct to the people, and the evils of sectional prejudice. On the question of constitutional duty Governor Brown wrote:

I am a hard money man. But I am not silly enough to suppose that the vast business of this country, at home and abroad, can be conducted on an exclusively gold and silver basis. Coin, in whatever quantities the world has presented it or is likely to present it, ought to and must, for necessities of trade, be supplemented by what, for convenience, we call "paper money." In what proportion and what extent paper money may be put upon the country, as a substitute for and a reliable representative of coin, is, and always has been, a vexed question. The nearest that financiers have ever come to the solution of the problem is, that "it depends on circumstances." And that is simply no answer. Who then, is to judge? As the government, in whose hands it may be for the time being, whether Democratic, Republican, or Independent, is the custodian of the public honor, interest and credit, that government must take charge of this, as of all other questions of public moment, and be responsible to the people at home and to the outside world for the consequences of its good or bad management. Taking the ground as I do—that coin is the constitutional currency, but that it ought to be, and must be supplemented by "paper money," I am called upon to make good these propositions or let them fall.

Is it too late to appeal to the Constitution? That sacred instrument I know has, like Caesar's mantle, been pierced by steel in envious hands; rent and torn and trampled on as it is, and has been, it still commands my veneration. And whatever others may say or do I mean at all times to bow before it with reverential awe.

Article 1, section 8, paragraph 5, says: "Congress shall have power to coin money, and regulate the value thereof."

Section 10, same article, says: "No State shall coin money, emit bills of credit or make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts." Article 10 says: "The powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the States are reserved," etc., etc.

It is clear from these extracts that the United States has exclusive control over the coinage and that no State has power to emit bills of credit or make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts. The corollary is, if I read correctly, that the United States must be responsible to the people, the States and the

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world at large for the performance of every duty connected with the currency. What are its powers? what its duties? and what its responsibilities? are the questions that cover the whole ground. Its power to coin money and regulate its value is distinctly given, and as the same power is denied to the States, the United States stands alone, without a rival, and with unlimited powers. Its duty it seems to me is to coin all the bullion it can command, or at least enough to meet the demands of labor, traffic and commerce. Its responsibility is to see at all times that these demands, so long as they are legitimate, are fairly met and generously responded to. If metal in sufficient quantities can not be obtained on fair terms to meet these demands the Constitution opens the way to supply the deficiency.

"No State shall emit bills of credit." That is a power prohibited to the States. It must exist somewhere unless it is assumed that the fathers meant to make a government which at all times, in war as well as in peace, should deal, and require its people to deal, exclusively in gold and silver, or other metal. No such absurdity could ever have taken possession of their minds, and no generation of their descendants has ever acted or attempted to act on any such nonsensical idea. Paper in some form has already supplemented the metals in swelling the volume of what we call money. * * * *

As a hard money man, the governor goes on to propose an issue of notes based on the precious metals held in the treasury, three for one. His opinion was that \$300,000,000 could easily be accumulated, thus keeping in use \$900,000,000 of paper, these notes to be the only paper money recognized by the government; national bank circulation to be retired as rapidly as possible, and the bonds to be paid as stipulated on their face. His plan to get the money out may be faulty, but his opinion as to where it should go shows that he was not far from the sub-treasury principle:

I am very frank in saying that I am utterly, entirely and emphatically opposed to making large appropriations to works of internal improvement in Mississippi or anywhere else as a means of relieving the monetary distress of the country. The remedy does not reach the seat of the disease. In fact it is almost as absurd as to give one man a banquet to appease another man's hunger. I would apply the remedy directly to a visible disease, or give food directly to the hungry. If a man had a boil on his nose I would not treat him for supposed gout in the stomach; and if he complained of hunger I should consider it down right mockery to give some one a dinner and tell him to appear again on their notes, set afloat as money, thus getting double interest for any real money they may have, they deny all credit to the laboring masses, put their notes, which they call money, in the hands of special agents who dole them out to the people at another and additional heavy rate of interest. So that we find in practice, while the government is borrowing hundreds of millions of dollars at 4 per cent interest, the laboring man, through the blundering of the master's table, Imperial France under Napoleon the Third, adorned and beautified Paris at enormous ex-

pense, not because Paris needed adorning and beautifying, but as it was said to give employment to the people. The real object was to strengthen the empire by keeping the turbulent element in the country quiet. There is no such element in our country. There is, therefore, no reason for applying any such remedy. The farmers are starving in the midst of plenty; they get no adequate reward for their labor, and the proposition is to spread a splendid banquet for great corporations, companies and associations to be paid for by the toiling millions, and if anything is left after the lords have feasted then the servants may come in. I propose to reverse all this. The producers are the lords, the consumers are their servants. It is a nice business that these great contractors should have their millions of the people's money, and the people who make the money be told "you may have a little of it back, if you will work for it." I am not opposed to internal improvements; far from it. On the contrary, I am for them, as the hand-maids of commerce and the promoters of general prosperity. But when proposed in a form that suggests the idea of jobs—that is a scheme by which a few men may grow rich, and the millions get only what they work for, I reject them as great national swindlers and assassins of public morals. * * *

Paper money, so called, has no appreciable intrinsic value. Its value consists in its representative quality. If a million dollars of gold or silver is sunk in mid ocean the world is poorer by that amount. But if the same amount in paper money is burned in a conflagration the world has lost nothing. The persons who held it may have lost, and the bank, State or corporation that issued it may have gained, but the general wealth has neither been diminished nor decreased. If anything is to be made by accidents like these, or other causes which prevent the return of paper money for redemption, let the government in which we all have an equal interest make it.

I am pointedly, positively and emphatically opposed to all national or other incorporated banks. Besides being of doubtful constitutional creation, they impose burdens which the labor of the country ought not to bear, and are of no use to any one except the favored few in whose special interest they are generally managed. It can not be shown that the owner of the foundation, the mud-sill, so to speak, on which the whole superstructure rests, disturb it, and you shake the whole business fabric of this country. This one interest on which every other interest so directly depends, is the very one which has received the least of the fostering care of the government. Surely, this ought not to be. I would loan the government credit directly to the farmer at a low rate of interest, and thus rescue him from the grasp of the money dealers, vampires who are slowly sucking away his life blood, and the life blood of the country. This is what I mean by applying the remedy to the disease.

The details for carrying out such a sweeping financial reform will require study, but they can be arranged. Not many years ago the United States treasury was first suggested. It was declared impracticable, and was opposed on this and many other grounds. It was adopted after a long and bitter struggle. The whole country is satisfied with it now. The idea of the government loaning its credit directly

to the people, through its own agents, is not a whit more dangerous, impracticable, or visionary, than is the idea now in constant practical use, of collecting, and disbursing hundred of millions of dollars every year through agents of the same kind.

Surely, if the government can collect and disburse its hundreds of millions annually, commencing with a petty post master, whose total receipts are two dollars a year, and ending with the collector of New York who handles more than two hundred millions of government money annually, it can find trustworthy men enough to loan its credit directly to the people, who are after all the government. It now loans its credit after a fashion to what are called national banks, and then stands responsible for the good or bad use they make of that credit. Ours is a government of the people. Trust one another. But take ample security that no dishonest man shall escape punishment if he defrauds, or attempts to defraud, a paternal government that rears him a friendly hand when he is in distress.

If the people are capable of self-government, as I think they are, a scheme like this can be made to work for the interest of all classes. So I think, and so I say. I hope you now understand what I meant when I promised to tell you when, and where, and how, you could get cheap money. If not, let me state it in a word. You will get it when the government loans you its credit. You will get it where the government establishes loan offices. You will get it when you offer incontestable evidence that you will in good faith redeem your obligations. If this plan for relieving the labor of the country is objected to, pray suggest something better. It is admitted, I think, on all hands, that the present state of our financial affairs must be changed or our farming interests of this country will starve out.

Upon the evils of the system of caucus dictation, Gov. Brown was not less emphatic, as his scorching criticism of the conduct of his party in keeping campaign issues ahead of reforms will show:

I am told that times have changed and men must change with them. I thought principles were immutable. But suppose I was wrong in this, who is to declare the change and who is it that has the right to declare me a traitor to principle because I do not follow the changes? I am heartily tired of caucus dictation.

The country is greatly in need of sound legislation on many subjects and especially on the currency question. We have been told only give Democrats control in both houses of Congress and such beneficial changes will be made as will electrify the whole country. Well they have undisputed sway, and what are they doing? playing brag, the Presidency being the stake. Has any legislation been proposed, is any promised, looking to the relief of a suffering country? No. The politicians are preparing for a distribution of the spoils and the people are left as usual to take care of themselves. Have you, has the country, looked to the foundation of the pretended conflict now going on in Congress on the so-called army bill?

The unwise are told, it is a mighty contest for vital principles. It is a contest for party ascendancy, and that is all there is in it. Take the Presidential election for 1880 out of

the way and the whole question could be settled in a day as in a century.

Governor Brown's appeal for an end to sectionalism is worthy of the high place he held among his people. How small the vapors of the hate-breeders of to-day when considered beside the strong patriotism of this splendid type of the people's leaders in the regime that has passed away:

There is in our politics of to-day not only too much partisanship, but by long odds too much sectionalism. I never hear of a solid South but with feelings of horror. It rings in my ears like a fire-bell at night. A solid South suggests the idea of a solid North. In the name of all that is sensible, haven't we had enough of sectional divisions, sectional strife, sectional wars, sectional desolation?

I appeal to you as patriots to set your faces against this whole business. If you are not moved by the loftier consideration of patriotism, then I appeal to you as Southern men, not to allow yourselves to be drawn a second time into a sectional conflict. I warn you that you will be beaten a second time just as you were the first.

Allow me to add, resolutions may be treated as forms; platforms disregarded, and laws circumvented. But a united, determined, energetic public opinion is always efficient, and never suffers defeat.

the government and inaugurate another war, but to rally the clansmen to the defense of the spoils of office, which party leaders consider their own especial property.

Democracy! Whoop up the Democracy! not in reality to keep the radicals out of power, but to keep us in. That is what the office-holders and nine-tenths of the office-seekers mean. There is not a man among them who does not feel in his secret heart, and absolutely know, that there is no more to be feared from a revival of the Radical party in Mississippi than there is from the materialized spirits of Egyptian mummies. That party is dead, very dead.

The last quotation that will be made is short, but is a bit of wisdom which must be recognized as long as the people are free:

Hear the Other Side.
BY B. C. BROWN, GLENWOOD, CAL.

I desire in the following lines to narrate the substance of a conversation which I recently had with a gentleman who is affiliated by sympathy and by financial connection with the capitalistic interests. He is, as I say, a gentleman. He is not a farmer. He is not a mechanic. He is not a man who performs manual labor. He is a lawyer by profession; himself a man of capital; a man whose clientele is chiefly of the capitalistic class; a man who has for years been their representative in the courts of this state, and who has been sent by them as a lobbyist to the State legislature.

He is a man of more than average thoughtfulness, and believing him to possess great penetration into the signs of the times, it was a pleasure to me to ascertain his views on the probable result of the agitation which now pervades the masses. He was unaware of my connection or sympathy with the Alliance, and although knowing me now as a farmer, he evidently believed (perhaps from having known me in other occupation) that I had not become inoculated with the views of the new movement. For this reason he was willing to speak his mind more freely than perhaps he would have done otherwise.

What is the remedy? Raise up a national party, which standing between these contending forces, shall repeat in tones of thunder the advice of Franklin Pierce: "No North, no South, no East, no West, but a country and a common brotherhood."

surely there are non partisans enough in the country to inaugurate and finally carry out a movement like this. Then, and not until then, shall I expect to see the dawning of that season of prosperity which all parties promise us, but which no party has brought us since the war?

A. The turbulent spirit among the masses will be put down by the strong hand of the government. In such a struggle the government always wins. It is organized. It is backed by the full resources of capital. It must of necessity win.

Q. What form is the contest likely to assume before it is finally decided?

A. One cannot forecast this with certainty. But it seems likely that the labor unions will continue to increase in numbers and in cohesiveness until they are substantially a unit

throughout the land. This increase in strength will be accompanied by an increase in intolerance of spirit and in unreasonableness of demands. Strikes will be precipitated on grounds as causeless as those of the present day. Some one petty strike will be joined in by the unions of all trades all over the length and breadth of this land. Capital will assert its right to employ whatever labor it chooses. Labor will deny this right, and will seek, as it does now, to prevent its enforcement. Blood will be spilled, as it has been. Property will be destroyed, as it has been. The difference will be that the labor element, having a broad and well-knit organization, will completely block the wheels of commerce; will grasp the financial throat of the nation and endeavor to strangle it. The police will be powerless. The militia will be inadequate. The government, as a last resort against the spirit of lawlessness and anarchy, will be compelled to meet it by bringing into action the whole force of the regular troops. A state of civil war will ensue. Millions of dollars worth of property will be destroyed. Thousands of lives will be lost. The bitterness of the conflict will be even greater than was that of our late rebellion; for it will be a war not of states against states, but one of the strong arm of the government against the unruly element in every state. The struggle will be short, but bitter and bloody.

A. By no means. The cheap dollar would buy him no more than the dear 50 cents would.

Q. Do you think the wages of labor are tending lower or higher?

A. Lower. If it were not for the disturbing elements of the labor unions they would rapidly assimilate to the scale of the old world. In these days of cheap transit it will not long be possible to maintain a high rate of wages in the United States, owing to the 100% of Europe and Asia.

Q. And do you think if the dollar would buy as much as it will in Asia that laborers would be as well off here if they were paid but 7 cents a day, as they are in some parts of Asia?

A. Most certainly. If the 7 cents would keep them two days, what would be the difference? They could save 3 1/2 cents a day, and in ten years they would have a comfortable nest-egg laid by. It makes no difference what you call a certain piece of money; call it a cent, a nickel, a dollar, a sovereign, an eagle, or what you like; it is its purchasing power that determines its value. If in Asia 10 cents will buy a working man a pair of shoes, is it not as good to him as the \$2 for a pair which he will have to pay here? Indeed I consider the laboring classes in Asia working for 7 cents a day to be better off than are our common laborers who work for \$1 or \$1.50. They are happy; ours are not.

Q. Your forecast of our immediate commercial future is very gloomy. Suppose the struggle is not to be fought on the lines you suggest; suppose the labor unions gradually increase in intelligence and in self-control; suppose they curb the unruly element among them, and permit no infraction of the laws of the land by any of their members; suppose they direct their energies to the modification of those laws so that instead of being favorable to capital as they now are, they will be favorable to the labor interests?

A. It is not impossible that they may endeavor to do that, but they will not succeed.

Q. Why? They have votes enough. If they can concentrate them they can effect any legislation they wish.

A. A boy has the right to be educated at public expense until he is sixteen years of age. He then commences to work, learning a trade or otherwise. By proper economy he can begin to save money by the time he is twenty. When he has reached thirty he can have money in the savings bank, perhaps some thousands of dollars. He is then old enough to marry; he should marry a woman like himself, brought up to work. Together they work to save; they have enough to enable them to raise a family of children to the age of sixteen, to which age they are educated at the expense of the government, and they in their turn commence to earn a livelihood. This idea of cheap money being in the interests of the masses is a complete fallacy. The wages of a common laborer ought to be sufficient to enable him to live two days on one day's pay. He can thereby save, and can follow the course I have outlined.

Q. Suppose his wages to be a dollar a day, and he is able to live on 50 cents and to save 50 cents. Would it not be better for him, even though money were 50 per cent cheaper, to be paid \$2 a day, and thereby be able to save a dollar a day?

A. By no means. The cheap dollar would buy him no more than the dear 50 cents would.

Q. Do you think the wages of labor are tending lower or higher?

A. Lower. If it were not for the disturbing elements of the labor unions they would rapidly assimilate to the scale of the old world. In these days of cheap transit it will not long be possible to maintain a high rate of wages in the United States, owing to the 100% of Europe and Asia.

Q. And do you think if the dollar would buy as much as it will in Asia that laborers would be as well off here if they were paid but 7 cents a day, as they are in some parts of Asia?

A. Ah! right there is the grand opportunity for the conservatives. Every man who has borne arms in the struggle against the government will be deemed a traitor to his country and will be disfranchised. That being done, and the right of suffrage thus limited, there will be no difficulty in procuring the enactment of laws providing for a property qualification, which every government ought to have. This once accomplished, the nation can set out on a career of prosperity unknown in the annals of the world. Capital will be untrammeled; it will be free to employ labor where it chooses; it will be at liberty to send to Europe, to Asia for it. Manufactures and commerce will flourish as they never have flourished. Labor will be regulated to its proper position, and its wages will be regulated as they ought to be, by the laws of supply and demand. Labor strikes will be unknown, for no organization among the labor element imminical to the interests of the vested rights of property will be tolerated.

Q. You do not, of course, favor the policy of free coinage of silver, or the increase in the quantity of the circulating medium?

A. Certainly I do not. If the purchasing power of a dollar is decreased by half, the laborer is no better off with doubled wages than he was before. If laborers would only let strikes alone and work steadily, they could save enough to keep them comfortable in their old age.

Q. How?

A. No; they can not. I will answer your question by relating a circumstance. On the day of the last election I was riding home in a street car. By my side chanced to sit an acquaintance, a millionaire well known on this coast. I said: "I suppose you have voted." He replied that he had not. I expressed my surprise that a man with so large a property should not take interest enough in public welfare to go to the polls. He replied by saying that some years ago he had taken an active interest in politics, believing it to be the duty of every good citizen to do so. He joined ward clubs, and went to primaries, and went as delegate to conventions. But he found that whatever he might, the majority of those nominated for legislative office were corrupt; and in order to protect his interests he was obliged to contribute to a fund for use in influencing legislation. So he had ceased taking any interest in politics before election.

He contributed not a cent to the success of either party. For whichever might win the result would be the same—a senate and an assembly the majority of whose members were for sale.

His contributions, he said, were now given after election; and he

found that plan a great financial saving over the former. "And this," said my companion, "is the secret in a nut-shell. The property interests at stake are too large, and the moral standing of legislators is too low to permit any change in our laws dangerous to the vested rights of capital."

Q. Do you not consider the increasing growth of immense fortunes an unfavorable sign of the times?

A. I do, and I wish there were

some way to prevent it, and yet have a strong, stable government. But I

would rather trust my interests to a

Stanford as king, ruling by the power

of concentrated millions, than to the

rabble of which the labor unions are

composed. I do not see any security

for the vested rights of property ex-

cept in yielding to wealth the un-

trammeled power to protect itself.

This was the substance of our con-

sideration. Read it again, brother

farmer. Ponder it well; for therein

you may find suggestions worthy of

consideration. Are we not working

against our best interests in seeking

to dethrone King Capital? Would

we not be better off if we could hire

our help at 7 cents a day? To be

sure the toiling masses who are work-

ing not at agriculture would receive

but 7 cents a day. To be sure they

would have no money with which to

pay for our produce, and we would

be compelled to sell to the capitalist

speculator, who, having all the money,

could and would fix his own price;

and that price would certainly not

average more than the bare cost of

production. Our time, like that of

other laborers, would be worth 7 cents

a day. Of course we would not get

rich. We are not getting rich now;

but we would have the pleasure of

knowing that we were the mud-sills of

the wealthiest nation on earth; for the

margin between the purchaser's pay-

ment to us and his receipts from for-

eign markets for our products would

be sufficient to cause millions of dol-

lars to flow into our glorious country!

And those millions would not be in

the hands of the despicable laborers.

They would be controlled by the aris-

tocratic few. The despicable labor-

ers are not men of brains. Do you

not see how presumptuous it is in

them to attempt to dictate to property what prices it shall pay for labor or for any commodity?

Let us, then, stand by the grand old parties as we have stood for years. Let us cast our votes in favor of a stable government. Let us continue by our labor to add to the wealth of the nation. What matters it if others reap where we have sown? Let us be content to sow, happy in the assurance that financial questions are for those of talent and enterprise, and not for us. Recognizing our inability as financiers, let us be joyous in the proud consciousness that we are able to shift the burden of financial issues upon those who are our superiors. And as the angel of death draws near to us, one by one, let us call to our bedside our penniless children and admonish them to follow in the footsteps of their father, thus bequeathing to their children and to their children's children the proud heritage of having added their mite to the stability of the most powerful government on earth.

An Honest Dollar.

BY C. H. PIERSON, LECTURER FIRST DISTRICT, ALLIANCE OF VIRGINIA.

The great glory of the Farmers Alliance is that it has called attention to the financial condition of the country in a bold, practical way which compels thought. The wealth-producers of the land are defrauded of their fair share of that wealth through the instrumentality of a dishonest dollar; a dollar which measures less wealth to-day than it did yesterday, and how much it will measure to-morrow no one can say. The so-called standard of value is an elastic measure, which measures much when the farmer is selling his produce, and measures little when he is buying. It is like the flour-tub which the old farmer used to measure corn with; when he was buying corn he took the top hoop off, and the tub spread open, but when he was selling corn he was very careful to knock the hoop back again. That old farmer understood the principle of manipulating the currency, and if we other farmers understood it as well it would not be long before we secured the needed reform.

Let us quietly consider the situation. Suppose 100 farmers have produce to sell, and they all want to sell at the same time, which is as soon as possible, because they have been out of money so long that they can not wait any longer. They all want money at the same time, and must have it. But there is only so much money available to pay for that produce, and as each farmer must have his share, each one must be satisfied to take less than his produce is really worth, so the money may go all round. If instead of offering their produce all at one time, those hundred farmers would come one at a time they would have a better chance of getting the money value of their produce. But they can not do this because of their straitened circumstances, and their produce is filched from them at much less than its real value, from the mere accident that there was not a sufficiency of currency to allow each one his fair share. The price of farm produce depends upon the amount of money it can command in competition with all the other demands upon the currency, and these demands vary from day to day. At the same time the volume of the currency itself is constantly varying, every money-owner having it in his power to lock

it up, or to let it out, as his interest may dictate. When he locks it up the outstanding money becomes more valuable and buys more produce, and when he lets it out money becomes less valuable and buys less produce. The price of produce is therefore purely accidental, depending upon the chance of how much demand there may be for money on any particular day, and on the further chance of how much money may happen to be locked up. It will thus be seen that under the present system we have no exact measure of value, the so-called standard varying from day to day, just as the demand for the dollar and its supply vary. The consequence is that we farmers have no guarantee that we ever get the fair value of our produce, and as a matter of fact the bulk of our produce leaves us at much below its real value, piling up wealth in the cities and impoverishing the country.

Now for the remedy. We must have an exact measure of value, so that when we offer our produce for sale we shall have a guarantee that we are getting its full value. The dollar must always be one and the same thing, and it can only be made so by fixing its price, which is the annual rate of interest: This the Alliance fixes at 2 per cent, which rate can be defended as entirely reasonable. Now, the volume of money must be made to conform to this rate of interest. Money must be so plentiful that it can always be had at 2 per cent, and so restricted that it can never be had for less. To put this theory of a true standard of value into operation we shall need a sub-treasury in every business center, which sub-treasury shall loan to all comers offering perfect security money at 2 per cent, and the same sub-treasury shall sell to all comers \$100 bonds at par bearing 2 per cent. Perfect securities shall be half the assessed value of unencumbered real estate, 80 per cent of the face value of public warehouse receipts for imperishable farm products, and gold and silver bullion. These securities would probably put more money in circulation than would earn 2 per cent, and it would therefore flow back to the sub-treasuries, where it would receive 2 per cent. If the price of money went above 2 per cent money would immediately flow out of the sub-treasuries, and bring the price down to 2 per cent; and if the price of money went below 2 per cent money would flow into the sub-treasuries until the price came up to 2 per cent. Under this system money would always and everywhere be in full supply to meet all demands at the fixed rate of 2 per cent, and the value of farm produce would be measured exactly in terms of a uniform dollar, one which earned no more and no less than an annual 2 per cent. This would be an honest dollar, always meaning one and the same thing. The gold dollar is the most dishonest dollar in existence. Its purchasing power is never the same two days running, depending altogether on the whims of the gold-bugs; whether it shall be hoarded or put in circulation. At present these gold-bugs regulate the value of the dollar, and yet the laws are administered in which the laws are administered than in the passage of those laws. By it the people gained a little in interest, from 1 to 2 per cent, but lost over 25 per cent in premium, to which we may hereafter refer.

Now comes the plan for decreasing the money in circulation. As I have before said, all the gold and silver which was mined might by law be

coined into money and be added to the circulating medium. To stop the coinage of either of these was to gain one point in their favor, and as the object was to make money scarce, it would suit them best to stop the coinage of the one of which the most was being mined. This happened to be silver. Never before in modern history can I remember that silver was refused the right of coinage.
1890. 1889.
Gold \$151,613,070 \$172,717,140
Silver 126,023,460 118,671,985
Copper 6,001,265 3,361,520
Total \$283,637,795 \$294,750,645

These figures can be taken only as approximate, owing in part to the fact that accurate figures regarding the coinage of some countries, as, for example, China, are not available, and in part to the fact that there may be some errors in the reduction of the coinages to a common denomination. It should also be remarked that gold and silver coins to the value of about \$8,750,000 sterling were coined by Spain in 1889, and should be credited to the total for that year, so that the falling off was greater than is apparent from the face of the figures.

Note well that at the time silver was refused coinage 37 1/4 grains of pure silver, or 41 1/2 with the alloy added, was at a premium of from 2 to 3 per cent over the corresponding quantity of gold in the dollar, and that it was only the fact that coinage was refused to it that ever made the bullion in the silver dollar worth less than the bullion in the gold dollar.

To refuse to silver the right of coinage was one point gained, because it made that much less money which the people could get except through the banks, and it opened the way for another point.

After silver was no longer a money metal except to an exceeding small extent, of course the bullion sank in price just as gold bullion had done fifteen years before when it was demonetized in Europe, and just as it would then had it been demonetized instead of silver, just as wheat, or corn, or pork, or beef would do if they could no longer be used as food by half the world, or just as iron would do should Congress legislate to prevent its use as railroad rails. And that fall in value, caused by class legislation, was used as an excuse by that class in whose behalf the legislation was enacted, to denounce the silver dollar as a dishonest dollar, and to demand its demonetization. Think of it, a dishonest dollar to pay a debt contracted in depreciated paper worth less than half the silver. A dishonest dollar to pay a debt contracted when the debtor had, and had ever had, the right to pay in either silver or gold. Before the measure of payment can honestly be changed every debt contracted under that measure must be paid or adjusted to the change. All our national debt, and State debt, and private debt prior to 1873 was contracted under that double measure, and the private debts contracted since may well be claimed to have been contracted under it too, for even the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House, and the wisest men (except John Sherman) and best statesmen—if we had statesmen—in Congress, did not know of the change until just before silver was demonetized, and how could our ignorant debt contractors have known of it; and a debt can only honestly be paid in the sort of currency in which it was contracted, and if two parties make an agreement, believing that such conditions exist, so far as they are concerned they do exist and they can not be changed without moral wrong; 41 1/2 grains of silver is an honest dollar for the purpose of paying any debt contracted in American money.

We will see first how the bonds were magnified. We have already seen that the interest on them was made payable in coin, but the principle was payable in lawful money, the first step was to make it, too, payable in coin and to fix the fineness of that coin. Now then they would have those bonds in such shape that the government may not pay them off at will and thus deprive them of their splendid investment. These two things were accomplished at a stroke by an act entitled "The public credit strengthening act," which was passed in 1870. It was not passed without much opposition and more fraud, and has never been executed as it was passed, for this class gain, perhaps, more in the partial manner in which the laws are administered than in the passage of those laws. By it the people gained a little in interest, from 1 to 2 per cent, but lost over 25 per cent in premium, to which we may hereafter refer.

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History says that the ladies at-

tended the mass meetings in thousands (as they will in 1892), and in

their honor, the following is a sample

of the songs frequently sung:

The beautiful girls, God bless their souls,

souls, souls,

The country through,

Will all, to a man, do all they can

For Tippecanoe and Tyler too.

Indeed, the women, in their con-

stant attendance upon the meetings of

the Alliance throughout the length

and the breadth of the land, are be-

coming well informed and well drilled

to take their places in the ranks of

this great army of veteran toilers who,

like the Athenian hosts under Mil-

tiades on the plains of Marathon, will

drive the corporate combines of Per-

sonal plutocracy from the shores of

Columbia's soil.

Among the records of history are

found great sieges and contests, like

the siege at the gates of Thermopylae,

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND
INDUSTRIAL UNION.

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Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are reasonable for circulation. 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 following is the resolution unanimously adopted at the national meeting:

We, the NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our adopted official organ, have 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 and read this paper as one of the most valuable of education in the way of industrial freedom.

Reaffirmed at Ocala as follows:

Resolved, That this Supreme Council reinforce THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and the action of Brother C. W. Macune and his associates in said paper, and will do all we can to urge them onward.

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.

N. R. P. A.

WANTED.

A county agent for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST in every county in the United States. Applicants must furnish letter of recommendation from officers of the County Alliance, and must agree to take the field and canvass for the paper and sell our literature. A special agent's commission will be given when above is complied with. Write us for further particulars. Do not write unless you mean business and expect to work for the good of the Farmers' Alliance. Always inclose evidence of the fact that you are a member in good standing. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL LECTURER J. F. Willets, will fill appointments as the following times and places:

ALABAMA.

Montgomery, June 27.
Calera, Shelby County, June 29.
Athens, Limestone County, June 30.

The following bundle of Alliance information postpaid to any address on receipt of one dollar net at this office:

1 copy Philosophy of Price.
1 copy Handbook of Facts.
1 copy Some Ideas.
1 copy History United States Dollar.
3 copies Power of Money to Oppress.
3 copies Sub-treasury Plan.
3 copies It is Constitutional.
3 copies President Polk's Speech.
1 copy Harry Tracy's Speech.
3 copies National Economist.

Frequent calls for Alliance literature have induced THE ECONOMIST to make the above offer, which barely covers the cost of printing and postage. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington D. C.

THE Alliance in New York and Ohio is on a genuine boom. The growth is phenomenal and threatens to make it lively for the two old parties on both sides.

THE Cincinnati convention has accomplished one good result that is plain to be seen. It has put all those plutocratic, high-toned so-called agricultural papers between high and low water. They are at last compelled to throw off the mask so long worn and take sides one way or the other. Some have begun to hedge and are giving an unwilling hearing

to both phases of the contest. The people have learned that politics disguised under the name of an agricultural paper is as bad, if not worse, than in any other form.

Just now the partisan papers both North and South are filled with war stories, incidents and pictures. Can any one surmise why there is such an unusual revival of this kind of literature? The truth is, a presidential campaign is near at hand and the two old parties are indulging in the usual preliminaries preparatory to such an event. It is done to continue the cry of sectionalism and thereby array the people of the North and South against each other. This scheme has worked very satisfactorily for years past, but just now the Alliance seems to block the game quite effectually.

OWING to the fact that so much is being written and talked about the Constitution of the United States, THE ECONOMIST has printed it in full in the March number of the "Library of Extras."

Hardly a farmer in the country has a copy of this instrument in his house, and doubtless three-fourths of the people, including the politicians, have never read it. The cost is but trifling, being 15 cents, including a history of the United States dollar. Let the brethren purchase this little volume, and learn something about the Constitution themselves.

The opposition papers are printing some resolutions said to have been passed at a Kansas Alliance meeting declaring against the independent party and going back to Republican party. It would be interesting to know who started that story. When an Alliance in Kansas goes back like a dog to its vomit it will be when \$232,000,000 in mortgages upon that fair State are paid and forgotten. Kansas will take care of itself, never fear.

SEE that none but Democrats participate in nominations of Democrats. Watch the sneaks. They are plentiful in many localities. They will assume a virtue which they have not, in order to vote in the primaries for a sub-

The above is taken from the "Mississippian" and fully discloses the reckless methods which that paper advises its readers to pursue. Such sentiments can have but one result, disgust and defeat. No fair minded man can read them without regret and a rising feeling against such arrogant domination. The Alliance brethren have been too long educated in the principles of equal rights to be driven like dumb brutes as this writer would dictate. It is just such unfortunate and foolish expressions as the above that will in the end bring disaster to the party and ruin to the cause it seeks to serve. In striking contrast to the above brutal methods is the advice to the Democratic party by the Charleston (S. C.) World. The writer evidently has had "his ear to the

ground" and knows more than he is willing to admit:

Is there to be an attempt made to array the Alliance against the democracy? Unquestionably there are signs that this may be done, and in the near future. There is a gradual drift toward a more hostile tone in the allusions made by some prominent men in the Alliance to the democracy, and in the next month or so we may expect to find the third party with a following in some of the Southern States. Now, to those who believe in the Democratic party and its ability to rectify all abuses, we have only this advice to give, Interest yourself in the detail work of that party. Be as tolerant of the opinions of your fellow Democrats as you possibly can, without forsaking principle, for that is the only way in which the democracy can retain its full strength. If there is intolerance, or if there is lack of interest among the members of the Democratic party as well as to the Republican party in this same third party, for the sentiment in favor of it is perceptibly growing.

The two extracts can be read with interest and considered with great profit. Let the Alliance brethren in the meantime not only keep cool, but in the middle of the road.

The last phase of the sub-treasury plan in Mississippi so far as heard from is the urgent solicitude on the part of the politicians lest the plan when in operation would place the poor farmers in the clutches of the pirates of Wall street.

Listen to the tale of woe as told by the Meridian, Miss., News:

Imagine the farm products of the United States at the mercy of Wall street speculators operating through the administration at Washington. Who for a moment would consider but that the speculators would manipulate the markets for their own benefit, and not for that of the farmers?

"Ye who have tears to shed, prepare to shed them now." This same paper in its anxiety to save the dear people from ruin continues in the following pitiful refrain:

Can the farmers of the United States afford to place themselves at the mercy of Wall street speculators and a political ring at Washington for \$1.50 addition to the currency, and that addition not to be permanent, but lasting only till the products to be disposed of are sold?

The strain upon the tender feelings of the writer of this gush must have been terrible. Just as though the people were not already in the hands

of the money owners of Wall street, and that this whole contest was not for the purpose of being freed from such bondage. Such vaporings as these will not catch the watchful and earnest brethren of Mississippi.

THE brethren of Mississippi are making a gallant fight for Alliance principles. The entire Democratic force inside and outside the state are in the contest against them. It looks now as though the Alliance would surely win. What a victory it would be, and how the henchmen of Wall street would feel! Let the fight go on, the Alliance will prosper and grow stronger in the midst of it.

The proposition to establish sub-treasuries in all the agricultural districts, where the frugal and far-seeing farmer may borrow money at 2 per cent, by the simple process of throwing a load of wood into the back yard or sliding a barrel of peanuts down the cellar stairs—this proposition, we say, long since lost the charm of novelty. It is useless for Mr. Donnelly to try to mislead us by speaking of "non-

perishable products." There are no such things in agriculture. The only absolutely indestructible articles we have ever seen in the rural districts are the rhubarb pie of New Hampshire and the brindled jackass of Mississippi, and neither of these would be negotiable. The sub-treasury plan contemplates the indefinite borrowing of money upon watermelons, roasting ears and gooseberries, and, consequently, the unlimited manufacture of paper money to meet the demand. But, as we have said, this is not new. The principle involved has been advocated for centuries, and, even within our own recollection, by such financiers as Mr. Harold Skimpole and Mr. Wilkins Micawber.

The above is a sample of the arguments set forth by the New York Tribune against the principles of the sub-treasury plan. The leading Republican paper of the nation getting down so low as the above extract indicates is a spectacle worthy of notice.

It discloses the real status of the farmer in the opinion of this autocratic and plutocratic journal. Verily the party of Lincoln and the organ of Greeley have fallen into the political gutter. The time was when such sentiments could find no place in the columns of that paper.

The politicians of both old parties appear to be greatly surprised and grieved that the Alliance through its papers and sub-Alliances does not condemn by editorials and resolutions the action of the recent Cincinnati conference.

Such action on the part of the Alliance would be a serious reflection upon the good sense and judgment of its members. This conference met in convention, and decided to accept, defend and propagate the demands of the Alliance. Nothing but trifling, being 15 cents, including a history of the United States dollar.

Let the brethren purchase this little volume, and learn something about the Constitution themselves.

The opposition papers are printing some resolutions said to have been passed at a Kansas Alliance meeting declaring against the independent party and going back to Republican party. It would be interesting to know who started that story.

When an Alliance in Kansas goes back like a dog to its vomit it will be when \$232,000,000 in mortgages upon that fair State are paid and forgotten. Kansas will take care of itself, never fear.

SEE that none but Democrats participate in nominations of Democrats. Watch the sneaks. They are plentiful in many localities. They will assume a virtue which they have not, in order to vote in the primaries for a sub-

The above is taken from the "Mississippian" and fully discloses the reckless methods which that paper advises its readers to pursue. Such sentiments can have but one result, disgust and defeat. No fair minded man can read them without regret and a rising feeling against such arrogant domination. The Alliance brethren have been too long educated in the principles of equal rights to be driven like dumb brutes as this writer would dictate. It is just such unfortunate and foolish expressions as the above that will in the end bring disaster to the party and ruin to the cause it seeks to serve. In striking contrast to the above brutal methods is the advice to the Democratic party by the Charleston (S. C.) World. The writer evidently has had "his ear to the

ground" and knows more than he is willing to admit:

fastened the guilt upon John Sherman in such a clear, indisputable manner that it is painful to hear at this late date any one try to explain the infamous fraud in any other way. The writer of this article should go over to Mansfield and ask the chief manager for the true explanation.

"DROWNING men will catch at straws." In sheer desperation men will sometimes use very weak arguments rather than yield. They will seize upon anything that seems to have for them one ray of hope and make a great fuss over it, and unfortunately for them they sometimes use evidence they know to be false. This must, sooner or later, be discovered, and then react unfavorably upon the cause they have used it to support. A case in point is the great hue and cry raised by partisan political papers about the division in the Alliance upon the sub-treasury plan. They first said the St. Louis meeting passed it without authority, and that the membership did not indorse it; a few Alliance men were found to oppose it, and they were lionized throughout the country as paragons of wisdom and heroes for principle, but after a year's discussion in all the States but Missouri (where the State organ refused to present it to the people for discussion), the Ocala meeting gave the plan a practically unanimous indorsement. It was then said that Missouri, Texas, Tennessee, Mississippi and all the northwestern States were divided upon the subject, and that if it was insisted upon it would split the Order. Every county and congressional district Alliance reported to this office in Missouri and Mississippi up to date has indorsed the plan, and nearly all have been reported. The northwestern States were heard from at Cincinnati, and gave it a unanimous indorsement. Texas, in the April association of lecturers of the State, about 350 present, only lacked two votes of giving it a unanimous indorsement; and Tennessee at the recent county lecturers' conference of the State voted 62 out of 65 for the measure, and one of the three voting against said that he was now about ready to advocate it. Verily the opposition papers are hard up for a split in the Alliance.

It would seem from an extract taken from the "Toledo Blade" is printing a series of articles on finance, and is childish enough to declare that the demonetization of silver in 1873 and 1874 was a legitimate piece of legislation and was the result of careful investigation and deliberate action. The writer, whoever he may be, should get a copy of Senator Stewart's speech at the last session of Congress, and he would learn that it has been proven beyond a doubt that John Sherman engineered the passage of that bill, and that it was done surreptitiously and with the knowledge of but few if any besides himself. That speech has

agent for the cotton manufacturers will buy their cotton at the government ware houses. The immense sums derived from handling cotton, which enriches Memphis and other southern cities will be lost to them and paid to farmers in increased price for their cotton. The citizens and newspapers of these cities violently oppose these measures, presuming on that account. They misrepresent the strength of the sub-treasury and pervert, or omit from publication, almost everything done in its advocacy. They have represented small meetings of town men as large gatherings of farmers opposed to the sub-treasury. The Memphis Commercial has been in the lead on this line. No one who has attended any meeting of farmers where the sub-treasury was discussed, and the matter reported in the Commercial, can fail to see that its account of the matter is a total perversion of real facts.

There is not the least doubt that the sub-treasury plan would effectually put an end to all gambling in futures and wipe out the illegitimate methods of the various boards of trade that now curse the country. It would also transfer a continuous market for cotton, wheat, etc., from the large business centers to the smaller ones in the country, and thereby give to them the benefits which the larger markets now receive. It is apparent that the sub-treasury plan is meeting the present bitter opposition from the stock gamblers, the wheat gamblers and the cotton gamblers simply because it interferes with their nefarious business, and not because of its legal or moral bearing. It is self-interest, greed, and a desire to perpetuate the present reign of plundering the people under forms of law that lie at the bottom of nearly all the contention against this plan. There are, without doubt, many honest men who do not accept the principles of the sub-treasury plan; such opposition comes through honest convictions, and is always respected. But when it is discovered that the banks, money owners, bond holders, railroad and insurance companies, each and every syndicate, monopoly or corporation and a large per cent of the politicians are exerting their utmost to defeat the measure, it is sufficient evidence of itself to induce every honest man to give it a careful consideration.

The course of Hon. Rice A. Pierce, of the 9th congressional district, was heartily endorsed by the members of the conference in session here last week, for his manly and outspoken defense of the rights of the people. Following in the footsteps of Allen G. Thurman, the "noblest Roman of them all," he has not hesitated, although the election is over, to continue to educate the people of the state on the true principles of democracy, and the conference did itself honor in recognizing his meritorious services, and he may rest assured that he is making friends on every hand who will show him in the future that he has not labored in vain.

THERE have been strong efforts made to connect Postmaster-General Wanamaker with the failure of the Keystone Bank in Philadelphia. It gives us pleasure to state that Mr. Wanamaker has appeared as a witness and has made it clear that he had no connection whatever with the bank failure. We have no sympathy whatever with Mr. Wanamaker's politics. But we are unfeignedly glad that the present investigation discloses nothing to cause any one to lose confidence in him, as an honest man. We take this occasion to say that we think it infamous in the newspapers to denounce men as scoundrels upon the promptings of mere suspicion. How can those papers whose habit it is to deal in wholesale denunciation of public men upon the stinkings insinuations of hireling correspondents maintain the respect of honest and decent men?—Progressive Farmer, Raleigh, N. C.

Many of the same papers so vigorously denounced, have been guilty of the same offence in regard to those prominent in Alliance work. They have, without even "suspicion" to rest upon, shamefully slandered and lied about, Polk, Macauley, Jones, Livingston, and nearly every Alliance president and secretary in the land. They also deserve unmeasured condemnation for that.

It is remarkable that from 1814 for many years the Bank of France was the bank of bankers rather than of the merchants. The position of intermediary between the bank and the great class of borrowers on a small scale, should have been held by a class of independent banks, it appears, in fact, to have been held by private bankers, and during the revolution of July, 1830, this class of establishments either disappeared or became inactive, so that

FROM THE PEOPLE.

Sample Parcels of What the Mail Brings The Economist Every Day.

The propaganda fund is receiving attention from the Order, and promises to be the means of material help in the work of education. T. E. Brooks, secretary, writes from Hurtsboro, Ala.:

Hurtsboro Alliance has sent to J. H. Turner \$10 for the propaganda fund.

W. F. Jackson, Jetersville, Va., writes:

Inclosed please find my check (individual contribution) of \$5 to the propaganda fund. Use 50 cents of it for as many copies of THE ECONOMIST of the date of June 13 as it will buy and mail the batch to me. I want to put them where they will "do the most good." Do you expect the remaining \$4.50 to the best advantage for "the education of the people in the correct principles of economic and honest government" on the holy plane of "equal rights to all, but special privileges to none?" This last number of THE ECONOMIST, each and every one of the edition, is worth its weight in precious stones, and would that it were only possible to get it under the eye of every honest man and woman in this broad land. The tidal wave of Alliance reform hereabout is moving on, bearing down before it all in its way with the ease of the Johnstown flood in the ill-fated Conemaugh valley. Such is the enthusiasm in the lodges often that cooler heads have measuredly to restrain it. Politicians and wolves in sheep's clothing in the garb of the agricultural press may cry "peace! peace!" that the era of better times and higher prices is at hand for the toiler, but there is no peace. The steady and measured tread of earnest battalions are everywhere heard marching on to the dethronement of trickery, tyranny and treachery. Let not the West, eaten up by comorant capital and squeezed to death by corporal monopoly, distrust her Southern brother. It may be hard to part with those we have long loved and esteemed our friends; it may cause us to drop a tear over the necessity that we must sever, it may grieve us, but let us be sincere, know, to realize the fact that we have loved you truly, that we have been faithful to you, but that now we discover, sadly discover, that you have been only our friend in name, that all the days of the past you have fed us in return for our fidelity, only upon the husks of promise. There is a wail going up in the South; it is the wail over the dying throes of the Democratic party, alive ever in her grand principles, but dying—most dead—stabbed to death by the bosses and the machines. Let the West not doubt us. The South was never unfaithful, she will not be now.

R. B. Carl Lee of England, Ark., writes:

Senator George asserts that for 20 years prior to 1860 the country enjoyed unexampled prosperity. In 1857 there was a terrible money panic. Banks broke and suspended specie payment all over the United States. Merchants and manufacturers failed by the thousand and the country was still suffering from its effects when the war commenced. The g-r-e-a-t Senator's memory is deficient. It is very bad—too bad. Is a man fit to be trusted to legislate for the people that forgets such a panic occurring after he was of age?

The following tribute for consistency and honesty is chipped from, The Toiler, Nashville, Tenn. It is a proper recognition of the manly course Hon. Rice A. Pierce has pursued toward the demands of the distressed and discouraged farmers. It is an example that others can emulate with profit to the country.

The course of Hon. Rice A. Pierce, of the 9th congressional district, was heartily endorsed by the members of the conference in session here last week, for his manly and outspoken defense of the rights of the people. Following in the footsteps of Allen G. Thurman, the "noblest Roman of them all," he has not hesitated, although the election is over, to continue to educate the people of the state on the true principles of democracy, and the conference did itself honor in recognizing his meritorious services, and he may rest assured that he is making friends on every hand who will show him in the future that he has not labored in vain.

A. N. Rude, Paso Robles, Cal., secretary San Luis Obispo County Alliance, writes

Every farmer in the United States that wants to better the condition of the agricultural class of this great country, should read and support the National Organ of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST; it is one of the best and brightest reform

APPLIED SCIENCE.
In Agricultural and Rural Economy.
EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY.
Woodstock, Md.

NOT A SUB-TREASURY FIGHT.

Hon. Charles E. Hooker, member of Congress from the Jackson (Miss.) district has taken the stump in that State in opposition to the sub-treasury scheme. He is thoroughly posted on the question, having defeated the Hon. Ethel Barkdale on that issue for the Democratic nomination for Congress last fall. Each made several speeches during the campaign.

The above comes from Mississippi as press news. One after another of the old set in the politics of that State at the call of the machine comes to the front to annihilate the sub-treasury scheme. It will not be long before every machine hand will be at work on full time threshing out Alliance schemes. Their harvest is going to turn out nothing but chaff. In the outset it was announced that Senator George had stamped the sub-treasury to fine dust beneath his senatorial feet and blown the dust itself beyond the clouds in the whirlwind of his constitutional wrath. The sub-treasury bill was pronounced utterly dead. If that thing was true, why has every machine hand the old set can muster in the service been hurried to the front to kill this "dead Injin" of the Alliance? The fact is, this is not any sub-treasury fight. It is a deadly assault upon the Alliance itself, upon all its men, and upon all its measures. This fact is well understood by Alliance leaders, and is instinctively appreciated by every Alliance man. The pretence that the purpose animating these machine champions is to destroy the sub-treasury and save the Alliance alive is a bald cheat and a naked lie.

Now, from a party standpoint this whole performance is a Democratic folly, verifying for the one thousandth time the wisdom of General Grant when he said, "Always rely upon the Democrats to do a fool thing." When the people sent up their proposition to the senatorial committee on which Mr. George sat to have this measure discussed, he sat there in silent scorn, refusing even to notice the thing. As soon as the scene shifts and his personal interests become involved as a direct issue he opens his great constitutional batteries in a furious cannonade, calling frantically upon the old set, "All hands to the machine." You were told, Senator George, in that committee-room, that the people demanded discussion of this measure and intended that it should be discussed, and you regarded it with the stolid silence of mocking scorn. Scorn begets scorn, Mr. Senator; wrath begets wrath; quell now, if you are able, the storm of scornful wrath and railing which you have aroused. Where is the unseen force that obviously works the two great party machines which are manned by the old set in each party? The same slimy hand is upon the throttle of both machines. It is the same foul hand which directs and has directed all the workings of machine parties in this country.

It is the obscene hand of the scarlet woman of American politics; the Madam Restelle of Wall street. The ulcerous corruptions which have so hideously deformed the features of both the great parties are the print of the seductive embrace of the same foul fiend and spouse of the Devil. The Alliance has pictured the des-

perate extremities in which the people are placed at the feet of the money power, and has offered a measure of relief asking fair, honorable, dispassionate discussion and amendment; gladly willing to accept a substitute, as soon as any better and wiser measure is proposed. You admit the existence of our difficulties and of the extremities to which the legislation of the past twenty-five years has reduced us, but your contention is that the sub-treasury plan is not capable of affording the relief the urgent necessity for which is admitted, or pretended to be admitted, by both parties. And now, Senator George, what do you propose? What have you done? What have you tried to do in that behalf before you began to denounce the people's plan, and to ridicule and vilify its authors? Neither your contemptuous silence nor your loud-voiced wrath and scorn will be a sufficient answer; your record is a ghastly blank, so far as your record speaks for you. You have done nothing. What have you tried to do? You ask our votes in the same breath in which you denounce our leaders and cover our suggestions with scorn and contempt. Sir, what have you done to deserve them, we demand of you? What do you propose? What are you going to do to deserve our votes? What does the party of which you stand forth the champion propose, and what is it going to do to deserve our support? We know that your attack is not directed against the sub-treasury. We know that you are animated by a purpose to destroy the Alliance. We understand you, sir; understand us: You may divide the Alliance, you may deceive many, and bring them to heel under the lash of the master of the hounds and his whippers. But where are the residue to go whom you are following up with fire and swords. Will they also fall into your train utterly cowed and whipped? Never! sir, never! Divide the Alliance you may; destroy it you never can. You are sowing a whirlwind, and you are going to reap a storm. Where will we go? We will go whithersoever we are driven if we may not abide in our father's house. You point us to the rising sun of prosperity which begins to gladden the new South with its resplendent and inspiring beams. Turning, you point to the cloudy spectre of the force bill, lowering upon the distant horizon's verge, and threatening to overshadow and darken the whole land. And you ask us whether we will flee from the wrath to come! We ask you a question, whether we will flee? Is the candidacy of an individual for the Senate more in your eye than the peace and prosperity of the people? Whither will we flee? When driven forth, when the worst comes, when the storm arises and the land is darkened; then! "sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish," we will stake our existence upon the issue, and throw ourselves upon the magnanimity and the justice of the great West. But in that day, where will you appear? Men and brethren, think of these things, and consider what you ought to do.

A LETTER FROM GEORGIA.

A friend incloses several specimens of what appears to be species of leguminous plants of the wild pea family, but not in a condition for exact identification as they arrived in the letter. He thinks he has discovered evidence that these plants, like the

cultivated clover and peas, are endowed with the power to assimilate free nitrogen of the atmosphere. We see no reason why not. We are of the opinion that this power is more general among plants than has been believed. Agricultural facts point that way. The writer has always regarded the experiments held to have demonstrated the contrary as insufficient to establish a negative. Fertile soils physically and chemically are extremely complex bodies, having varied relations to heat, light, electricity and moisture, which are infinitely complex. When we introduce into the midst of surroundings physically and chemically so complex and so constantly varying a living organism in the full exercise of its varied and complex functions, which give full play to all physiological forces, a definite statement of results can be made in the present state of knowledge. It was once regarded as proven that the free nitrogen of the air takes no part under any circumstances in the nutrition of any plant. It is now regarded as established that the legumes do possess the power to bring certain portions of atmospheric nitrogen into such combinations as to bring it in reach of their assimilative powers. A method whereby this is accomplished appears to have been demonstrated in the case of legumes, whether other methods exist as yet undiscovered can not be stated, most likely they do. Whether other plants than the legumes possess this power, whether all plants possess it, remains, we believe, an open question. That a certain amount of combined nitrogen in forms capable of assimilation by growing plants must be present in the soil in order to support the physiological activities which enable any plant to reinforce its available supply of assimilable nitrogen by draughts upon the atmospheric supply of the gas seems to be undoubtedly true. This whole question is of great interest. Undoubtedly abundant organic matter seems to be essential to all fertile soils, when it is lacking no success in growing crops with chemical manures seems possible in this country. We are much obliged to our friends and to numerous others for their friendly interest in these columns as so often expressed in valued correspondence.

THE SINGLE TAX.

The opinions expressed in our articles on equal taxation have brought upon the writer letters and documents very numerous from the advocates of the single-tax theory. Some of these we have read with interest and with respectful attention. We have not been able to see from anything which has been stated anything else than injustice and tyranny in the selection of any particular form or forms of property for taxation, and the selection of any other form or forms of property for exemption from taxation. A tax law which gives any form of property any advantage over any other form of property, or any portion of property any advantage over any other equal portion of property, or the property of any person any advantage over the property of any other person, is an abuse of the taxing power of the government. It discriminates against certain citizens and in favor of other citizens, and falsifies the boast that here all citizens are equal before the law. Nor does the fact that the owners of a certain class of property who

others defraud the revenue by concealing their property constitute a valid reason for their exemption by law, any more than the fact that all counterfeitors and all thieves can not be detected constitutes a valid reason for the repeal of all laws for their punishment. Let the members of the Alliance, let all farmers be warned. There is a strong, insidious movement in the direction of an odious and tyrannical discrimination against them by the abuse of the taxing power. It is a crafty movement of those made rich by the favoritism of law to exempt their hoards from taxation and throw the whole burden of public expense on the property of men of moderate capital and meager income. It is an insidious movement in the same line with the demonetization of silver and the burning up of the greenbacks, and the conversion of the people's money into an interest-bearing debt, as so lucidly and compactly shown in recent issues of this paper by Mr. B. T. Turner, of Virginia. In support of this general plan of wholesale exemptions and false assessments for the benefit of coupon-clippers is the movement for the extension of the veto power of executives, so as to allow them to select articles of tax and appropriation bills for approval and others for veto, thus virtually transferring the taxing power from the people's representatives to an executive who may be fair-minded, honest, and capable, or may be ignorant, avaricious, and corrupt. Take warning, brethren of the Alliance, and look narrowly into all these fine schemes before you vote.

ORIGIN OF ANIMAL LIFE.

The following is received from Lily Lake farm, Alleyton, Tex:

I run a broom factory; I have a large box in which I subject my broom brush after wetting it, to the fumes of burning brimstone preparatory to working it up. On last Sunday evening I prepared my bleach as usual and set it going and left it closed until Monday morning, when, upon opening the box, I found therein a live scorpion. Having sometime ago received a request from a friend in Ohio for a scorpion, I took a quarter ounce quinine bottle, rinsed it out with pure well water, (did not dry it) put the scorpion into it and tightly corked it up and placed it in a north window of my house. Not having an opportunity to mail it, it remained there until Friday, when upon examination the scorpion was much decayed and there were several well developed maggots feasting upon the carcass. Now, where did the maggots come from? No fly or insect had ever deposited an egg, for the bottle had never been uncorked from the time the thing was put in there alive up to that moment. Did the necessary assemblage of material elements accompanied by the proper conditions of moisture, heat and light generate the living creatures? If so, did not the assemblage of the necessary material elements in the clay of Palestine hatch Adam and likewise Eve? Are all living things from the water and the earth?

It would be impossible to prove how the ova from which the maggots were developed got into the scorpion and were not destroyed by the sulphurous acid fumes of the bleach. We think they were in the bottle and not washed out, or more likely in the water used to wash the bottle, and thence adhered to the bottle. If these maggots were kept until the perfect insect was developed the species would become known and light might then be thrown on the origin of the ova. So far as the law of life can be traced, it now seems to be that every living organism is derived from pre-existing organisms similar to itself. In no single case has the spontaneous generation of a living organism been

established by science. Science is unable to point to a pre-existing organism from which Adam was derived. So far as science has shown, or is able to show in the present state of knowledge, the origin of life is a profound mystery, as profound to-day as in the ages before Darwin. Those who believe in God think the origin of life the act of God. Such as do not believe in God do not, in fact, believe anything. Lord Byron sums up for them thus: "All that we know, is, nothing can be known." We shall be pleased to hear from our friend again.

FROM NEW MEXICO.

We have a letter from our friend, Mr. G. O. Shields, the well-known and popular author, written from the town of Eddy, New Mexico, giving an interesting description of the country which we quote below. There are more productive lands yet undeveloped in this country than some of our statisticians would have us believe. It will be more than one more decade before we shall consume all the wheat we can grow; it will be more than a century. The valley which Mr. Shields describes can support a population equal to that of some of our older States. This is a greater and a grander country than some would have us believe, and under wiser and more progressive government is destined to become the seat of a civilization of which the world has at present no realization, and no adequate conception. The following is Mr. Shields' description:

We have here one of the most fertile valleys in the world. It is 30 to 40 miles wide, 300 miles long and as level as a floor. The Pecos river, which flows through the valley, carries a bountiful supply of water and is fed by hundreds of living springs from its source to its mouth. The work in whose behalf our feeble efforts are engaged here to-day is noble and grand, and should command our best efforts. The aims of the organization are high; the means certainly justify the desired end. The good of the organization must accrue, not from any new political party or doctrine, but from the influence thus brought to bear in securing the faithful execution of the promises of the parties already in existence, or the insertion of just and equitable principles in their platforms. To do this obviously necessitates a willingness on our part to quit following blindly where our party leaders call us. We must let the candidate and the officer of any party whatever understand that the mere party to which he belongs will not supply the want of proper qualifications and integrity of purpose on his own part. To do this it is necessary that we be educated up to our requirements. This necessity has been already greatly obviated by the Union, and the time is not far distant when the laborer will be as well posted in matters pertaining to political economy as the politicians of to-day. True, my friend, but persons, not property, pay the taxes. This being true, who in justice should pay the taxes on that \$10,000? Who, I ask, but the person or persons who are interested in preventing the property from being sold for the taxes?

Who is interested in keeping the taxes paid? The reputed owner who has a \$5,000 interest in the farm. How about the owner of the note for the deferred payment? Is not his interest in the property equal to the interest of the reputed owner? Is it not a fact that under the law the interest of the mortgagee is superior to the interest of the mortgagor. If the land is sold, and all of it goes to pay the tax, which is the almost invariable rule in this State, if the mortgagor redeems it, it is for the equal benefit of himself and the mortgagee; but if the mortgagee redeems it, which he has a right to do, he does so for his own exclusive benefit. If from any cause the purchaser is unable to meet the deferred payment and the mortgage is foreclosed, and the farm sells for \$5,000, then it is that men realize that the mortgagee's interest is not only the superior, but the only interest; then it is that the iniquitous double taxation of the debtor makes itself manifest to the dullest observer. As I contemplate the existence of such an organization as the Farmers and Laborers Union, the philosophy of this question confronts me. That the union does exist is sufficient evidence of an actuating motive.

The philosophy of any existence establishes a beginning, and the beginning brings with it evidence of a design on the part of the Creator for the beginning and the end of the thing created. We might illustrate this statement by the words of God when he declared that the "sun should give light by day and the moon by night." We who live to enjoy the fulness of this declaration are able to faintly appreciate the wisdom and goodness of the Creator in such a creation.

In the same sense we who are factors in the workings of this Order ought to look into the motive of the beginning and the end of its existence. Such is necessary to a faithful and efficient discharge of the various duties and responsibilities devolving

upon us. And no less should it be done by the many people not identified with us who realize the dire necessity of some change in the legislation of things to-day, but yet seem hopelessly at a loss to know what that change should be.

To get a clear idea of these things it is only necessary to study the history of our country for the last twenty-five or thirty years. Then we will see the slow but sure narrowing of the bounds of the constitutional liberty so dear to the heart of every true American citizen, and the constant widening of the power of that political sovereignty that portends ill to the people that are governed by its supremacy in exercising the various duties and obligations of the citizen.

These years have developed a fierce spirit of antagonism between labor and capital that threatens if not checked to so concentrate the wealth of the nation that the laboring classes will become slaves to the moneyed aristocracy. These results have been attributed to different causes. Each of the two great parties attributes such a state of affairs to a want of co-operation on the part of the other party, in the patriotic measures whereby they have thought to right these wrongs. Be that as it may, the wrong exists, and in this wrong lies the motive that actuated the few brave sons of toil when they met and organized.

Should we,

who are liberty-loving, intelligent creatures, remain deaf or dumb to these facts? No; let us try to realize fully the importance of the work the labor organizations all over the United States have set about to do. Let us drink in the sweet strains that still reverberate from the thousand stringed harps that awakened our people first to their needs, and gave them strength of determination to declare war against their common enemy, that we too may lend a hand at the grand old wheel around which revolve all the real happiness and wealth of the world.

If we will honestly consider the existing conditions of our country to-day and without prejudice refer them to their prime causes, we must be convinced that mere party affiliation will not right the wrongs that have strengthened steadily with these passing years. What is in a party that we should lose sight of our own vital interests and come and go blindly at its beck and call? This is a question that is perhaps harder to answer than many are at first inclined to believe.

Why the Union?

BY MAGGIE WILLIAMS, LIVERMORE, KY.

An extensive system of irrigating canals is in course of building, over 100 miles of which are already completed. These canals are each 40 to 55 feet wide on the bottom and carry 5 to 7 feet of water.

Over 400,000 acres of rich land have been reclaimed by these canals, at least 20 per cent of which is still in the hands of the government subject to entry under the homestead laws. A fallow has lately been built into the valley, of which this town is the present terminus, so that farmers have a direct outlet for their products. We have the same climatic and soil conditions as exist in southern California, and being 1,000 miles nearer the eastern markets this valley is destined to become, in the near future, as rich a fruit country as any portion of that State.

THE SINGLE TAX.

The following is received from

Lily Lake farm, Alleyton, Tex:

I run a broom factory; I have a large

box in which I subject my broom brush

after wetting it, to the fumes of

burning brimstone preparatory to

working it up. On last

Sunday evening I prepared my

bleach as usual and set it going and left it

closed until Monday morning, when, upon

opening the box, I found therein a live

scorpion. Having sometime ago received

a request from a friend in Ohio for a

scorpion, I took a quarter ounce quinine

bottle, rinsed it out with pure well water,

(did not dry it) put the scorpion into it

and tightly corked it up and placed it in

a north window of my house.

Not having an opportunity to mail it, it

remained there until Friday, when upon

examination the scorpion was much decayed and there were several well developed maggots feasting upon the carcass. Now, where did the maggots come from? No fly or insect had ever deposited an egg, for the bottle had never been uncorked from the time the thing was put in there alive up to that moment. Did the necessary assemblage of material elements accompanied by the proper conditions of moisture, heat and light generate the living creatures? If so, did not the assemblage of the necessary material elements in the clay of Palestine hatch Adam and likewise Eve? Are all living things from the water and the earth?

It would be impossible to prove

how the ova from which the maggots

were developed got into the scorpion

and were not destroyed by the sul-

phurous acid fumes of the bleach.

We think they were in the bottle and

not washed out, or more likely in

the water used to wash the bottle, and

thence adhered to the bottle. If

these maggots were kept until the

perfect insect was developed the spe-

cies would become known and light

might then be thrown on the origin of

the ova.

So far as the law of life can be

traced, it now seems to be that every

living organism is derived from pre-

existing organisms similar to itself.

In no single case has the spontane-

ous generation of a living organi-

sm been

that I turn to is "Applied Science." In your issue of May 23 is an argument by Dr. Elzez on the subject of double taxation that surprises me, not so much that its author is an Alliance man as that he is the eminent scientist which his writings on scientific questions prove him to be.

Next to the money question the question of taxation should be studied, and its inequalities and rank injustice to the debtor class and to honest taxpayers should be removed. The writer has given this an exhaustive study, and has formulated his ideas into a bill which he introduced in the Arkansas legislature at its last

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months from date. Now, under our law B pays taxes on the horse, and A pays taxes on B's note, or in other words the assessor finds, or is supposed to find, \$200 of taxable property where only \$100 had existed before B signed that note; or in other words B wrote his name or his mark at the end of a few lines of writing, and presto, \$100 of value was created. That is what our Supreme Court has said.

Now, as a matter of fact, B did not create any value; he simply promised to pay value twelve months from that time, and the presumption is that he would create it in the meantime. Now, is not this a simple truth? The only thing of value is the horse in the possession of B? The title is still in A. Double taxation would be to tax B on the horse and A on B's note. The horse is tangible property. He never escapes taxation, and B pays it; or, in other words, he is paying on what he does not own. He is also paying 10 per cent interest on his note to A. What is A paying on? Nothing, or next to nothing; 95 per cent escapes taxation.

What should A pay on? On what he owns, of course. What does he own? He owns the horse which he turned over to B, and the only thing of value. B is paying for the use of the horse not less than \$25 a year, although his note calls for but 10 per cent interest. Explain: In cash, \$80 or \$85 will buy a horse that will sell for \$100 on time. B does not own the horse until he pays for him. Why should he pay taxes on him? A law which compels a man to pay taxes on property which he does not own, or to pay all of the taxes on property which is owned in part by another, is rank injustice. While most of the States tax notes, bonds, credits, etc., we know that all these practically escape taxation by downright perjury on the part of the party who is bound by law to list them for taxation or a failure of the assessor to perform his duty. It was a knowledge of this fact that induced me to formulate the bill requiring all evidences of debt to be either filed with the clerk of the county or have on them the assessor's stamp for every year that they were subject to taxation. If these requirements were not complied with they could not be collected by any legal process. A very simple device, but wonderfully effective.

Something of French Finance.

By J. I. ARNOLD, M'CUNE, KANS.

I think whoever becomes acquainted with the financial history of France will see it is not excelled by any other of the civilized countries of the world. France extricated herself from as great financial difficulties as ever befell a government and during the time her prosperity continually increased.

After the revolution of 1848, by decree of March 15, the notes of the Bank of France were made "legal-tender" to the amount of \$350,000,000, \$14, per capita (I change the equivalent of francs to dollars, the amount being more readily understood). There notes could not be printed fast enough for public consumption. The amount taken in the first ten days was \$6,000,000. The English press, or English financiers, said it would lead to the destruction of her currency, but M. D'Argout, a prominent statesman of France, said it was necessary to meet demands of public and private, to supply manufacturers, lest workmen should unite

with the enemies of public order, also to provide food for Paris and support of the troops, a failure of which would bring difficulties.

The war between France and Germany was declared July 19, 1870, and terminated May 10, 1871. In April, 1870, the circulation of the Bank of France was \$283,750,000, bullion and specie was \$261,550,000, a little over \$18 per capita.

In August, 1870, the French government suspended specie payment, and made notes on the Bank of France "legal tender." In consideration the bank loaned the government \$306,000,000, at one per cent and paid one per cent on its entire circulation. Under these conditions the Bank of France and other credit institutions advanced or loaned to the people in two weeks \$36,000,000, and the only collateral or security required was an honest name and a fair business or commercial standing.

It is recorded that not a single failure of moment occurred in the liquidation of these loans. It is also noteworthy that not a commercial or industrial failure occurred. The decree of legal tender fixed the maximum of issue at \$48,000,000. In December, 1871, it was raised to \$560,000,000, and July, 1872, to \$640,000,000.

When the irredeemable circulation on legal tender had increased from \$460,000,000 to \$490,000,000 the premium on gold fell to one percent. In October, 1873, when the volume of money reached \$640,000,000, the premium was only nominal and only demanded on large sums; gold, silver and legal tender were equal at par.

At the close of the war named Germany forced upon France an indemnity or war fine of (principal and interest) \$1,100,000,000, by contract to be paid in gold, in four years. The last payment of this fine to be paid in four years was paid September 5, 1873, two years and four months after treaty, one year and eight months before due. We don't know what changes may occur before that time, but there is a mighty upheaval of the people now in favor of a new party. Our farmers say that the Western Alliance men have stood by their every promise, and they are going to do their part as well. You may just as well try and change the course of the wind by talking to it as to argue with a Georgia Alliance man against a new party.

They say the Democratic party has done nothing for their relief, and they intend hereafter to rely on their own exertions. When they elected Grover

Cleveland President he vetoed the ware-

house receipts represented something of value, for which money had been paid, the transaction would be more reasonable, but they represent spirits which cost about 10 cents a gallon,

with the tax added of 90 cents a gallon, which tax is not paid until the liquor is withdrawn from the warehouse and sold.

Practically then the government indorses for the distiller

to ten times the value of the goods stored, and indirectly loans him the money by allowing him three years in which to pay the tax.

The amount of tax due and undue last year was \$8,600,000, nearly (at that time) four times our national debt.

In fact this monetary system caused the industries of France to be kept active.

This effect on specie was peculiar. The Bank of France was burdened with excess of gold, but was not allowed to resume specie payment until January, 1878. To escape tax on circulation it would have resumed before.

In August, 1877, the specie in the three countries was as follows:

Bank of England, specie..... \$125,146,000

Bank of Germany, specie..... 133,845,000

Bank of France, specie..... 442,483,000

Showing more than one and one

half times more specie in France than in both England and Germany, the result of a just and rational financial system.

The contrast of the financial conditions of France and our own country, from the official reports of the two countries in 1877, shows very clearly how the industries one country are kept alive, while in the other the industries are paralyzed.

Report of French minister of finance, 1877: Circulation, paper, \$1,800,000,000; coin, \$434,000,000; total, 2,234,000,000. Population, 34,000,000; \$66 per capita; loans and discounts, \$107,700,000, at 2½ per cent; paid fine, \$1,100,000,000; answered loans, \$1,382,000,000, and ready to take six times more with coin reserve over \$442,000,000. Our country: Circulation, \$675,384,579; population, 45,000,000; \$15 per capita; loans and discounts, \$931,300,000, at 10 per cent. After heavy sales of bonds in 1877, coin reserve only \$10,754,037. While the settlement of the money question finds its greatest difficulty in that selfish and political interests are too important to make it subject to scientific investigation, nevertheless education is the one great thing needed to formulate our considerations upon just principles. The book is published by D. D. Merrill & Co., St. Paul, Minn.

Solely for Party.

Farmers' Advocate, Charlestown, W. Va.

The Baltimore Sun, in a recent number, editorially commends an article, which appears in the Augusta Chronicle, of which the following is an extract:

Mr. Polk would displace the tariff issue,

upon which the Democratic party is a unit, and substitute for it a silver issue, upon which the party is divided. He

would have the Democratic party abandon a cause which is rapidly gaining it recruits and take up another that would not only repel recruits, but alienate its old voters in States where, in 1892, it will need all the votes it can get.

That the party will be so wanting in political sagacity as to do this is beyond belief.

It will be a very difficult matter to persuade the people of the South that ex-President Cleveland is not only the best,

but the most available man for the Democrats to nominate for President. It will be a still more difficult task to persuade the Democrats of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey to vote for a candidate for the presidency pledged to the unlimited coinage of silver.

New York—Machias, July 11; Pen Yan, August 18 and 19. President L. L. Polk and Mr. Ralph Beaumont will be at Machias and Senator Peffer and Hon. Jerry Simpson will attend the Pen Yan meetings.

North Carolina—Goldsborough, June 27; Charlotte, August 26. President Polk and Mr. Mann Page, president of Virginia State Alliance, will be at Goldsboro. Speakers will be provided for Charlotte later on.

North Dakota—Valley City, July 28; Grand Forks, July 30. Hon. J. W. Harmer of South Dakota, and Hon. Van B. Prather, lecturer of Kansas State Alliance, will address these meetings.

Oklahoma Territory—Oklahoma City, July 4. Mr. W. N. Wilkins of Kansas, is the visiting speaker.

South Carolina—Florence, July 9; Greenwood, August 28. Lecturer Willets will be at Florence. Greenwood has not yet been provided for.

Tennessee—Knoxville, July 4. President L. L. Polk will be present.

Texas—Austin, July 23; Sulphur Springs, July 25 to 27; Fort Worth, August 5. Senator Peffer will be at Austin and Sulphur Springs and Hon. J. B. Weaver of Iowa, will be at Fort Worth. Also Mr. B. E. Kies of Kansas.

Virginia—Staunton, July 28; Roanoke, September 23. Lecturer J. F. Willets has been assigned for Staunton, and other speakers will also be sent there. Roanoke will be provided for later.

West Virginia—Charleston, July 8; Martinsburg, June 23 and 24. Mr. Ralph Beaumont and Mr. J. Brad Beverley will be at Martinsburg. Mr. Beaumont will also attend the Charleston meeting.

The Farmers' Union.

Plow and Hammer, Tiffin, Ohio.

The old party papers and their allies are making a great ado over the vote of the Farmers' Union on last Wednesday. One would think from reading their papers that the one vote majority against the proposition put an eternal quietus on the People's party in Ohio; that it was buried beyond hope of resurrection. "What fools these mortals be!" It is told of a Grecian general that when he first made battle with the Romans he found the foe in an unorganized condition and very easily vanquished. In a few short months another contest for the mastery was had. The Grecians were again victorious, but in the contest they found the Romans better disciplined and more numerous than before, and the contest more stubbornly resisted.

"Ah," said the General, turning to his aide after the battle had been won, "another such victory as the last one and our hosts will be vanquished."

The lesson ap-

plies particularly to the contest in the Farmers' Union on Wednesday. Last year when the Union was organized they took a nonpartisan stand and resolved to work within old party lines.

Some dissatisfaction was expressed by those who were there ready to throw off party allegiance, but no discussion was allowed on the subject. In one short ten months they again came together under very different circumstances.

The representation was on a different basis. The organized farmers were without a fair representation of their strength, and the farmers' institute men (not representing organized farmers, but rather organized court house politicians) had a very small constituency of the farmers' vote as compared with the Farmers' Alliance and President L. L. Polk will be at Mt. Sterling and Catlettsburg.

Kentucky—Grand Rivers, July 2; Bowing Green, July 4; Mt. Sterling, July 6; Catlettsburg, July 7. National Lecturer C. W. Macune and National Lecturer J. F. Willets will be present and address the speakers.

Indiana—Rensselaer, August 4; Newcastle, August 8; the speakers will be Senator Peffer and Lecturer J. F. Willets.

Kansas—Horton, September 7 and 8; Concordia, September 9 and 10; Hutchinson, September 14 and 15; Chanute, September 16 and 17; President L. L. Polk. Other speakers will be assigned.

Illinois—Virginia, August 6; Spring-

field, August 13; Senator Peffer, Dr. C. W. Macune and National Lecturer J. F. Willets will be present and address the speakers.

Indiana—Shreveport, August 18; Baton Rouge, August 25; Hon. Beaumont will attend both meetings and Dr. C. W. Macune will also be at Shreveport.

Maryland—Annapolis, August 22; Mr. J. Brad Beverley of Virginia, and other speakers will be assigned.

Kentucky—Grand Rivers, July 2; Bowing Green, July 4; Mt. Sterling, July 6; Catlettsburg, July 7. National Lecturer C. W. Macune and National Lecturer J. F. Willets will be present and address the speakers.

Mississippi—Holly Springs, June 17 and 18; Durant, June 19 and 20; Hazlehurst, June 22 and 23; Meridian, June 24 and 25; Tupelo, June 26 and 27. All these meetings will be attended and addressed by President L. L. Polk, Hon. L. F. Livingston, lecturer J. F. Willets, Mr. J. H. McDowell, president of the Tennessee State Alliance, and others.

Missouri—Sedalia, August 11; Chillicothe, September 2. Senator Peffer will be at Sedalia. Speakers for Chillicothe

are yet to be assigned.

New York—Machias, July 11; Pen Yan,

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Very Like the Sub-Treasury.

Durant (Miss.) News.

There is a striking analogy between the sub-treasury plan proposed by the Farmers' Alliance and the fiscal plan devised by the sturdy Hollanders at Amsterdam as early as 1605. It may be inferred that the former was really patterned after the latter. The plan of the Hollanders is clearly stated by Mr. Calhoun in his celebrated speech of October, 1837, on the bill to authorize the issue of treasury notes. He said:

It was a mere storehouse for the pur-

pose of keeping the precious metals and facilitating the vast system of exchanges which centered there. The whole sys-

tem was the most simple and beautiful

that can be imagined. The depositor on

delivering his bullion or coin in store re-

ceived credit estimated at the standard

value, and a certificate of deposit for the

amount which was transferable from

hand to hand, and entitled the holder to

withdraw the deposit on payment of a

moderate fee for the expense and hazard

of safe-keeping. These certificates be-

came circulating medium of the commu-

nity, performing, as it were, the hazard

and drudgery, while the precious metals

which they represented lay quietly in

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determined. If the people stand firm and united, the enemy can only retreat as a pack of wolves vanish before the horny handed tiller of the soil, as he advances on the wilds of a new and unsettled country.

Chickasaw Messenger (Okolona, Miss.) says:

Pontotoc, Calhoun and Rankin have held Democratic primaries or mass meetings and each have declared for Barkdale for the United States Senate. Bolivar, we believe, is all the Democratic primary yet held in which George representatives have been elected. Six for the sub-treasury, two against, is as good a showing as we could hope for this early in the fight. The "miserable abortion" is growing—growing so fast, there is hardly room for it to spread in this part of the State, so that by the time the November election comes along, there will be nothing left of the opposition to the enraged farmer, out of which a greasy spot might be made.

The Farmers and Laborers Friend (Booneville, Ind.) says:

When the Wall street bankers were in close circumstances an account of loans on real estate in the West, the government opened the vaults of the United States treasury and supplied them. When expositions are talked of, our legislators vote large appropriations to them. When railroads are to be built our legislators loan them the credit of the nation, besides giving them large tracts of land; but when the people, who are in distress on account of the failure in crops or lower prices for their products, ask for a loan, then a howl is made that it is "unconstitutional."

Southern Mercury (Dallas, Tex.) says:

Four hundred and thirty-four farmers advertised in Lonoke county, Arkansas, at delinquent tax sale, for taxes due for the year 1890. Still, plutocrats brag about the prosperity of our people. No wonder the people are kicking. The same state of affairs will come to Texas, and that soon, if reforms don't stop the system.

Farmers' Weekly (Troupsburg, N. Y.) says:

The position of chaplain in the Alliance is not one of the least importance. If we believe in the existence of a Supreme Ruler, as we all have made oath upon entering the gates of the Order, we must also believe that His dominion extends over all temporal affairs, that he overrules the nations and that only by adhering to principles of right in His sight can there be real success. Every chaplain should be an exemplary man, a true disciple of Christ, a man whose character is untainted. Observe the religious exercises of the Order in a reverential manner. Let the Divine hand lead us. Trust in Him as did the sturdy old Cromwell, who in God's name, gave England her liberties, and in all our acts may we be able to discern the right and say as did that old "Farmer of St. Ives," "God is with us."

The Alliance Dispatch (Windfall, Ind.) says:

If there is ever a time that men should be thoroughly in earnest now is that time. For more than a quarter of a century, by means of the most cunningly devised schemes, the money power has robbed the people of more than their annual profits, and no hand has been raised with power to stay their unholly and ruinous schemes, and to-day not a party, save the grand new party of the people, offers to raise a hand to stay the work of legalized robbery. Why should not the people unite in an earnest, determined effort to maintain their God-given right to the fair reward of their industry? Why should the proceeds of your toll be taken from you to enrich some one else? Why should you, who, by natural birthright, are the proud sons of freedom, be made the enduring sons of plutocracy? The work before you is holy, the duty resting upon you is imperative. The responsibility is a solemn one. When aroused, the American people have been equal to every emergency. Let the grand rallying cry be justice and equal opportunity. Be united and stand firm, and victory and freedom is ours.

The Alliance Dispatch (Windfall, Ind.) says:

A limited volume of currency increases the purchasing power of money, and consequently brings low prices. Foreign capitalists are taking advantage of these conditions in our country, and buying largely in stocks, etc. And now, in place of having simply to multiply the millions of American capitalists, the suffering and toiling people must begin to pile up millions for the foreign capitalist. What do you think of this? ye toilers from dawn till dark for a bare living?

News Reporter (Three Rivers, Mich.) says:

The gold base for money is like standing a church on its steeple. The base is too small, however well balanced. Every jar or thunder storm is liable to bring either the church or the gold basis money system down to wreck. All Europe is in a money panic, and on account of which the business interests of the United States are in distress, because Russia drew a few million dollars in gold on deposit in England. The gold base is but a scheme to make money dear; to compass all wealth with a small amount of gold, giving to Shylock a corner to exact the pound of flesh, not only from the debtor, but also from owners of real estate and all industrial interests. No good reason can be given why all credits and why all wealth shall be measured by the insignificant amount (one cent to one

hundred dollars) of gold in existence. Such is the present condition through an alliance known as the "gold" basis conspiracy, which embraces the United States, England, France and Germany. The Farmers Alliance, together with the people's party, propose a base for money which will stand on real estate, personal property, including gold, silver, 62,000,000 of industrious people (when given a fair chance) and all the other resources of this nation.

The Oregon Alliance (Pendleton) says:

The great reform movement has had for one of its aims the annihilation of sectionalism and sectional prejudice. It has almost accomplished this object, and now for the first time in a third of a century this is a united country in fact as well as in name. People from the different sections are wanting to exchange ideas and views and come together in one great fraternal unity for the preservation of liberty and beneficent public institutions. Applications and requests are being received and are on file in the national president's office, from western northern State; for southern speakers to be sent among them, and from the south for speakers from among their northern and western brethren. Cordial hand shakes and glorious welcomes are awaiting the men who will soon be going from one section to another to verify the unity of the people, which it was declared by the Alliance, should prevail in this broad land; and this great uniting of the people is being viewed with frothing rage by those partisans and sectionalists who have spent a quarter of a century in trying to promote hatred between the sections of what should be, can be and must be the greatest country on the planet.

Independent (Grand Forks, N. D.) says:

The question is often asked what shall we do to advance our interest? It is sometimes an easy matter to tell what ought to be done, but to act unitedly seems quite another thing. The monopolists can unite with ease. The great difficulty with the farmers is a want of confidence in themselves, and a distrust of each other. We have very little surplus money. We are almost wholly at the mercy of organized capital where the interest upon the capital employed is the great object which controls their action. Were it possible for the farmers to agree upon some well-defined plan of action a trust might be formed for mutual protection. Perhaps the surest way for us to reach this combination is with our united votes to get control of the government and destroy the special legislation which enables the classes to oppress us. The farmers are very conservative and have no desire to go into the trust business, but are determined that the trusts and unprincipled politicians, they will not remain quiet and be fleeced.

The Alliance Dispatch (Windfall, Ind.) says:

The bloody work of the mortgage has begun. Out in Kansas on the 26th a constable went to a farmer to take possession of some mortgaged horses. To give up the horses meant to give up all hope—to give up all means of making bread and butter for his dear wife and little innocent babies, and in sheer desperation he refused to let the horses go; and when the constable undertook to take them by force, the farmer opened fire on him. Several shots were exchanged and both men fell mortally wounded. This is the first one; others are bound to follow. As the producers wake up to the fact that the terrible financial condition of the masses is the direct result of enactments by unprincipled politicians, they will not remain quiet and be fleeced.

The Alliance Dispatch (Windfall, Ind.) says:

The action of some of the so-called leaders of the farmers movement at Columbus was entirely in harmony with our remarks in the first issue of the Forum. Every man who has figured as a politician in the old parties was opposed to independent action. They must be true to party—the people are nothing to them when they secure office. The fact of a man being a farmer does not prove him true to farmers' interests, or the people's interests.

People's Forum (Canton Ohio) says:

The new third party is making the welkin ring, and is causing the old parties no small amount of trouble. A person would think from reading some of the partisan press reports that the new party had no platform, was nothing but a bag of wind and would cut no figure in the politics of the country, but we would like to ask them, if such is the case, what they are making all the noise about? It seems very singular that the best editorial ability in United States would bother their brains over anything that there was nothing to, but nevertheless they are making a terrible fuss over something that they hold there is nothing in.

Kingsbury Independent (De Smet, S. D.) says:

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The Farmers Alliance is neither dead, dying nor divided. It is a unit upon the Ocala demands, and the poor miserable few who set themselves up against the whole order, who are conspicuous in the partisan press for their opposition to Alliance demands, are neither Alliance men nor Democrats. To be a Democrat it is to be willing for the majority to rule; hence, they are not Democrats because they still kick over the traces after the great body of the Alliance has endorsed the Ocala platform.

They are not Alliance men, because they do not endorse the motto, "In things essential, unity; and in all things charity."

Because, they do not endorse the the first

of our declaration of principles, "To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government, in a strictly non-partisan spirit." They declare the Alliance to be non-political, and violate their obligation by telling the Alliance to quit talking politics, be more economical. They openly violate their sacred pledge when they endeavor to hold Alliance men in the Democratic party by waving the bloody shirt, appealing to the prejudices resulting from the war in the face of the sixth of our declaration of principles, which says: "To suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices; all unhealthy rivalry and all selfish ambition." But it must be remembered that only a few of the members of the Alliance are opposing the demands. These, will in time become educated up to the point where they can comprehend the situation, or in their prejudice will quit the order altogether. No considerable breach can possibly result in the order from their opposition, and to be sure the Alliance will not be any the weaker because of their withdrawal. The day has come when the cloak a man wears, is no index to his character. People are testing every man by his principles, and they have become sufficiently informed to very quickly discover whether a man is wearing the proper badge or not.

Gentlemen of the opposition may tell us we are "about to split" as long as it amuses them, but we are fully conscious of the fact that they are not telling the truth."

Hood's Sarsaparilla (Arkansas Expositor (Eureka Springs), says:

The bloody work of the mortgage has begun. Out in Kansas on the 26th a constable went to a farmer to take possession of some mortgaged horses. To give up the horses meant to give up all hope—to give up all means of making bread and butter for his dear wife and little innocent babies, and in sheer desperation he refused to let the horses go; and when the constable undertook to take them by force, the farmer opened fire on him. Several shots were exchanged and both men fell mortally wounded. This is the first one; others are bound to follow. As the producers wake up to the fact that the terrible financial condition of the masses is the direct result of enactments by unprincipled politicians, they will not remain quiet and be fleeced.

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The Farmers Alliance is neither dead,

products, the details of which are to be worked out and finally adopted or rejected after revision and discussion in Congress. The statement that but few people would derive benefit because every county possibly would not have a warehouse and every man did not grow deposite products is the veriest nonsense, but where argument is not to be had we presume assertion is the only recourse. The primary object of the plan is to increase the currency and distribute it among the people, and if that is done every man is benefited who has anything to sell from a horse to a day's labor. Why? Because there is more money to pay for it. The man who deposits draws his money and forthwith pays his debts or purchases necessities, thereby putting the money into circulation. The editor of the Beacon could collect from his subscribers who are in arrears, because if all did not have products to deposit they would have something to exchange for the money received by those who did. A large increase in currency is demanded; the sub-treasury plan not only guarantees it, but proposes the widest range of distribution possible. Unless some better objection can be offered we advise our contemporaries to maintain a grave silence.

Hood's Sarsaparilla (Arkansas Expositor (Eureka Springs), says:

The bloody work of the mortgage has begun. Out in Kansas on the 26th a constable went to a farmer to take possession of some mortgaged horses. To give up the horses meant to give up all hope—to give up all means of making bread and butter for his dear wife and little innocent babies, and in sheer desperation he refused to let the horses go; and when the constable undertook to take them by force, the farmer opened fire on him. Several shots were exchanged and both men fell mortally wounded. This is the first one; others are bound to follow. As the producers wake up to the fact that the terrible financial condition of the masses is the direct result of enactments by unprincipled politicians, they will not remain quiet and be fleeced.

The Alliance Dispatch (Windfall, Ind.) says:

The action of some of the so-called leaders of the farmers movement at Columbus was entirely in harmony with our remarks in the first issue of the Forum. Every man who has figured as a politician in the old parties was opposed to independent action. They must be true to party—the people are nothing to them when they secure office. The fact of a man being a farmer does not prove him true to farmers' interests, or the people's interests.

People's Forum (Canton Ohio) says:

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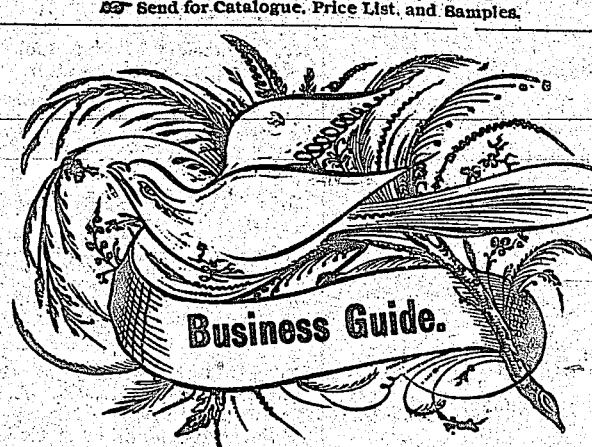
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