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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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## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To all persons interested in the growth of the cause of right and justice:

THE ECONOMIST was started as a special champion of this cause and not as a money-making enterprise. It has up to date been put out to the people at cost, and will continue that policy. As a proof of which, note the following extraordinary offer: THE ECONOMIST FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1892 FOR FIFTY CENTS.

From February 15 to March 31 all 50 cent subscribers received will get the paper till November 1, provided as many as ten are in one club.

Secretaries are requested to bring this notice before the Alliance and make a special plea for as much as one club in each body. All friends are requested to get up a club.

Now is the time to renew. Now is the time to subscribe.

Eight months for fifty cents, in clubs of ten or more.

THE latest report sends the lottery to Nicaragua, where a perpetual franchise has been obtained.

THE courts have decided that a law passed by ex-Speaker Reed's method of counting a quorum is valid.

LET it be remembered that the only threats of a force bill during this session have come from the Democrats of the East.

THE ECONOMIST disires the addresses of John Epperly and Sandy Houston, having received letters from them with no directions.

THE committee on rules has reported in favor of beginning the debate on the silver bill on March 22. At that time the battle of the session will begin.

ANOTHER million dollars in gold sent to England as tribute money this week. It seems that interest and dividends on alien investments must be paid.

THE sad news of the death of the wife of Hon. E. T. Stackhouse has just been received. Brother Stackhouse will receive the sympathy of the entire Order.

## THE CONFERENCE.

The great St. Louis conference of all organizations of producers in the United States, willing to co-operate in securing reforms in the interest of the people, has come and gone. It is now a matter of history, but its effects will be far-reaching and important; they will affect the history of the near future more, perhaps, than anything which has happened since the foundation of the government.

There was almost a full representation of almost every labor organization in all parts of the nation. The action was harmonious and the platform was adopted unanimously. It is a shorter and better platform than any political party ever put forth in this country. It practically has but three parts, finance, transportation and land. The platform boiled down to its last analysis means "more money and less taxes." Every citizen of this nation is called upon to rally to this platform, not for the sake of any political party, but because it is right. The indictment in the first part of the platform is terrible but true, and the remedy proposed by the last part of the platform is just and equitable to all, and will certainly prove adequate and efficient. Who, then, dare lay any claim to honesty, and object to the call for all honest citizens to array themselves under this banner in preference to any political party?

The convention adopted the platform and resolutions, and then adjourned *sine die*, and immediately after adjournment was called to order as individual and independent citizens who loved their country, and organized into a mass meeting by the election of Gen. James B. Weaver, as chairman. A committee of twenty-five was then appointed to confer with the executive committee of the People's party, which stands on practically the same platform, and fix a time and place for holding a national convention for the nomination of President and Vice-President upon this platform. The committees met and decided upon Omaha, Neb., as the place, the 4th of July as the date, and 1776 as the number of delegates. This is immediately following the national Democratic and Republican conventions, and all who are devoted to these principles will have

seen them rejected by both those parties, and will not be leaving their old party to participate in the new because, having been turned out of their old party for the principles of justice they believe, they have no home but in the new, where they can worship God according to the dictates of their conscience. Mass meetings are to be held in every county in the Union in March for the ratification of this platform and the selection of delegates to represent it. All this is exactly as it should be. The delegates to the St. Louis convention did not seek to bind their constituents or force them into a new party, but realizing the fact that neither of the old parties would in good faith accept reform that would place capitalists and the great common people on an equal footing, they took steps which insures the organization of a party on their principles.

Now is the appropriate time for active work in behalf of this platform. Politicians do not believe the movement will amount to anything because it has no money with which to push the campaign, but the facts are, that will not retard the onward march of this grand cause of justice. The common people are tired of a party that is run by boodle from men who, as a recompense, control Congress and the administration, and for a change the people will arise in a "pauper campaign," with no rewards for party work except that merit shall be recognized, and fairly overwhelm the corrupt methods of those who would bribe American freemen with money.

Last and most important of all is, that should the Republican and the Democratic parties accept the issue between them and this movement by rejecting this platform, there is solid and substantial ground taken for the upbuilding of a greater development of American institutions than has ever been possible under existing laws. The issue between the Democratic and Republican parties from the first has been the issue between socialism and anarchy. The Republican party by advocating a strong central government and by its paternalism and centralization tending toward a complete absorption of the individual as an atomic part of the whole—the

State—which would be the unit, which is absolute socialism. The Democratic party by advocating a strict construction of the Constitution and opposing all laws authorizing the government to interfere with individual rights even for the general good have left the strong to prey upon the weak by trusts, combines, pools, and corporate exactions, all of which are forms of anarchy. The happy medium is the true ground for a successful operation of a confederated form of republican government—neither too much nor too little law. There is only one possible way of taking a middle-ground on this great fundamental groundwork of government, and that is to say, that all natural monopolies are a function of government, and the St. Louis platform breathes this sentiment in every line. This is the true key for the emancipation of productive labor from the power of concentrated capital. It is only the monopoly features of money, transportation and land wrongly farmed out by the government to individuals and corporations that has robbed and oppressed the people; these evident functions of government must be restored and kept by the government for the general good.

The belief is freely expressed that the farmers and laborers of America are so poor that they will be too cowardly to stand by their principles when the party whip is flourished and the corrupt hand of bribery is opened to them. To all such as entertain such false ideas there is a revelation in store. This movement does not depend upon agitation; there has been no haste, no enthusiasm. The St. Louis conference was called nearly a year and a half ago; every step has been the result of education, deliberate thought, and enlightened judgment. Like the grip of the vice, it is slowly, but, oh, so surely, bringing the power of an injured people to bear upon corrupt political bosses who must give place to justice and right. Such being the case, it can not be side-tracked by sham battles or by false friends; the issue must be met, and met fairly. And those who doubt either the wisdom or sincerity of the great common people to stand by this platform and elect men upon it next November will learn something as I see.

## FREE SILVER.

A Democratic caucus has been held by the House to consider the matter of free coinage. The Wall street wing of that party is getting somewhat nervous over the situation as evidenced by the strenuous efforts made by it to side-track this issue. They have resorted to the most disreputable and unfair methods in order to deceive and divide the people in regard to this measure. They have attempted to array one section of the country against the other, one portion of the producers against the other, and bring about a general contest between the debtor and creditor classes.

No falsehood has been so great, no misrepresentation so flagrant, and no advantage so brutal as not to be used in the effort to defeat free coinage.

A general campaign of abuse, slander and deception is being waged against the bill. An attempt was recently made to list gold on the stock exchange in order to frighten people into the belief that it was going to a premium.

Gold mortgages and gold notes are being exacted for the same purpose.

Money has been held back from investments, and refusals have been made to extend or renew certain forms of indebtedness for similar reasons. All this and much more in the same line has been done under the pretext of a fear of free coinage of silver. These methods of bulldozing public opinion have been supplemented by the politician with a plea that free coinage will split the Democratic party, that it will lose the East and prevent a victory in 1892. Upon this plea, more than anything else, the enemies of free silver base their hopes of defeating the measure. An effort is being made to postpone action upon the Bland bill until after election, so it will not place the politicians upon record. Strange as it may seem, there are many Congressmen who favor this cowardly course, and will give it their support.

The subsidized press are almost a unit against the measure, and are filling their columns with falsehood and misrepresentations. It is hardly safe to predict the outcome of this scheme, as it is of all others, since the bulldozer and party lash are as yet potent factors in politics.

In fact, it is a matter of the utmost indifference to the people what it may be. The end of such temporizing and deception is almost at hand. A postponement of action on the bill or a cowardly back-down will simply urge the people to a more vigorous action and hasten the day of final accounting. The people would simply enlarge their political grave-yards and prepare them for use a little earlier. The present Congress is composed largely of men who were elected upon promises—probably

seven-eights are in that situation. Some have already owned to their hypocrisy by declaring their retirement from politics. Others have gone back on their pledges, and have been marked by their constituents for the political cemetery. The greater portion however are making the usual effort of serving God and Mammon at the same time. In this they make the mistake of not taking into account the rapidity with which the people are being educated, and the increased facilities through which they are able to keep up with their representatives in Congress. The time has passed when a Congressman can go home and deceive his people as to what he has or has not done. It is quite safe to assume that, outside of New England and a few Northern States, there is scarcely a dozen Democratic members of the House that can be returned if a free coinage bill is not passed.

The people demand it, and will accept no excuse. If the present members do not enact such legislation they will be retired and others sent who will.

The Alliance demands free and unlimited coinage of silver, not as a complete remedy for present financial ills by any means, but to right a great wrong, to make partial reparation for an outrage, and restore to the people whatever benefits may result from it.

There is another idea connected with this. The adoption of free coinage would eliminate it as a political factor, would get it out of the way of other and greater reforms, which are now held back to some extent with that question in its present condition. Free coinage will not increase the volume of currency to any great extent, neither will it bring about a revival of better times to the extent predicted. It will disclose, however, what a larger volume of currency might do, and put every free silver advocate on the side of further and more radical monetary reforms.

Now, many candid people honestly believe that free coinage will bring the needed relief. Until this confidence is disproved they will go no further in the demand for currency reform. Let free coinage become a law and the results fail of their expectations, and they will be ready and earnest in their demands for further legislation in this line of reform. Because of this it is desirable to pass the free coinage bill and get this matter out of the way.

HON. RICHARD A. PIERCE, of Tennessee, the able defender of the sub-treasury plan, is also Chairman Bland's most trusted lieutenant in the contest for free coinage. While Mr. Pierce is conservative in all things, he can be trusted to do his full duty without flinching.

## THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

BY N. A. DUNNING.

Just at present much interest is centered in the Nicaragua canal enterprise, which is likely to increase until the legislation asked by the canal company is defeated or enacted. In order to comprehend this proposition clearly a full explanation of the whole matter seems necessary; for that reason I propose to give a brief history of the canal, its surroundings, its objects, and the legislation demanded.

Nicaragua is one of the five Central American States, and lies between Honduras and Salvador on the north and Costa Rica on the south. It is the largest of these states, having an area of 49,000 square miles, and a population of about 400,000 people, nine-tenths of which are said to consist of negroes and mixed races, the remainder being whites, mostly of Spanish descent. It extends from the Pacific ocean to the Caribbean sea, is irregular in shape and much broken by mountains, ravines and swamps. It is a volcanic region, as shown by the large number of extinct volcanoes, and a few are active at the present time. While there are some beautiful and fertile valleys and plains, the greater portion of the country is wild and broken, or low and swampy. The dense undergrowth forms the timbered section into one vast jungle that is almost impenetrable.

In February, 1825, Señor Don Antonio Jose Canaz, minister of the United States from the new republic of Central America, which consisted of the states of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, then recently liberated from the rule of Spain, addressed a note to the Secretary of State calling the attention of the United States government to the subject of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by a canal through the republic of which he was the representative, and inviting participation in the enterprise.

On the 10th of February, 1826, Mr. Clay, in compliance with a promise given Señor Canaz, instructed Mr. Williams, then chargé d'affaires in Central America, to make an investigation. He thus writes: "It will at once occur to you to ascertain if surveys have been made of the proposed route of the canal, and if entire confidence may be placed in their accuracy. What is its length, what the nature of the country, and of the ground through which it is to pass? Can the supply of water for feeders be drawn from Lake Nicaragua, or other adequate sources?" In short, what facilities do the country and the state of its population afford for making the canal, and what are the estimates of its cost?"

On the 16th of June, 1826, a contract was entered into between the Central American government and Mr. A. H. Palmer, of New York, for

the construction of a canal through Nicaragua with a capacity "for vessels of the largest burden possible." With Mr. Palmer was associated the Hon. De Witt Clinton, the builder of the Erie canal, at that time governor of the State of New York; the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, of New York; Monroe Robinson, Esq., president of the bank of the United States; the Hon. Edward Forsyth, of Louisiana; C. J. Catlett, Esq., District of Columbia, and others. They propose to do the work with a capital of \$5,000,000. Their scheme failed because of their inability to raise the amount proposed. The King of The Netherlands, as patron of an association of capitalists, took up the matter and sent his envoy, General Ver Veer, to Nicaragua in March, 1829, with full power to treat with the Central American government. When he arrived political affairs were in a disturbed state, and nothing was accomplished until the Congress of Central America was convened in 1830, when a decree was issued authorizing the construction of the canal and with full provisions for all financial and political relations; this was done with a view to offering the concession to the association already organized in The Netherlands. The negotiations with the King of The Netherlands were, however, fruitless of results, because of the political disturbances in his own country, which resulted in the separation and subsequent independence of the Kingdom of Belgium.

In May, 1835, the United States government ordered an inspection by Col. Chas. H. Biddle of the different canal routes then under discussion, commencing with that through Nicaragua, but although Col. Biddle visited Central America the inspection was not made.

In 1837 and 1838 Lieut. John Bailey, a half-pay officer of the British royal marines, who had resided in Nicaragua for many years, surveyed a canal route under the orders of the Central American government. Mr. John L. Stephens was sent by the United States government in 1839 on a special and confidential mission to Central America. Mr. Stephens made the inspection of the canal route one of the subjects of his report, wherein he embodied the measurements and levels taken by Mr. Bailey, together with an estimate of the cost of constructions, which amounted to \$25,000,000.

In 1844 Don Francisco Castellon, of Nicaragua, visited France to solicit from the government of Louis Philippe a protectorate over his country and the development of the project of an inter-oceanic canal. Other interests interfered and prevented the realization of his wishes, but he was permitted to solicit the interest and co-operation of Prince Louis Napo-

leon Bonaparte, then a state prisoner at Ham. The Prince had studied the object closely, was impressed with its importance, and, responding to the desire of Señor Castellon, embodied his ideas in a letter. On the 8th of January, 1847, the Nicaragua government gave Prince Napoleon power to organize a company in Europe, and informed him that it had been resolved to confer upon the new route for the commerce of the world the name of "Le Canale Napoleone de Nicaragua." The project received some encouragement from the Prince, and in the same year a pamphlet, entitled "The Canal of Nicaragua, or a project for the junction of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by means of a canal," was published under his name, but whether he ever had any serious purpose of engaging in the work itself, may be questioned.

A RAIN maker's convention was recently held in South Dakota. Among the propositions made was

the first half of my speech for me, and I told him I would say so, and would pass over without discussion the ground covered by him. Now, Mr. Chairman, let us discuss another side of this double question; the money side, if you please. That side must be considered because somebody has probably got to be taxed. We have had the money question brought in to-day aside from taxation. One gentleman advocated the free coinage of silver. I think he was right. Another gentleman said that he was opposed to paying a premium to the owners of silver bullion, and hence was not in favor of the 4½ grains silver dollar.

Well, supposing you do not agree to that, then you have given a premium to the gold dollar, so you must give a premium one way or the other, whether you coin the silver dollar or not. Let us go back to the beginning, when in 1775 the great father of American liberty, George Washington, and that other grand man, Thomas Jefferson, long before the American Constitution was adopted, agreed that they would take the Spanish milled dollar as the unit of account and standard of value for this country. They agreed to this, and it was made the lawful dollar soon after the Constitution was adopted, I think in 1792, and it remained the lawful standard dollar until 1833, when it was clandestinely dropped from the coinage. I would go back and undo the blunder, or crime, of 1873.

I would reinstate the old dollar as it was. The silver in the silver dollar has not depreciated one particle as compared with the general prices of other property. The bullion in the silver dollar will buy as much of the products of to day as it would in 1873, when it was worth 3 cents more than the bullion in the gold dollar. It has not depreciated, but by cutting off silver you have "doomed" gold and put it at a premium. I would restore silver to its ancient status, precisely as it was, and let the two metals fight it out. One gentleman remarked here that we pay this entire expense, seven or eight million dollars, with newly issued legal tender treasury notes.

We do not want a new policy. But to return to the old policy—the policy which was practiced from 1812 to 1860. I want you to Democats to listen, for I am going to tell you how to get the Presidency five times out of seven, and that is interest often.

Why, sir, in my desk at my room, I have a circular issued in 1835 by the associated bankers of New York, wherein they voluntarily proposed to pay ten millions in gold coin for the same amount in silver coin. The government agreed that they might have it. Did they take the heaviest dollar? The government had trade dollars of 420 grains, and it had subsidiary coin of 385 grains to the dollar, and when those bankers made that bargain they voluntarily took the lightest silver coin, and after they had made the first trade they wanted to make another just like it.

Another point, Mr. Chairman, fully half of the silver certificates now afloat went out on the deposits of gold coin, because the holders of the gold preferred paper, although it was redeemable only in silver dollars. Never in the world can they get the gold coin back again through those silver certificates; and yet, in 1884 and 1885, exchanges of that sort were made to the amount of more than \$80,000,000.

Now, I am going to take up a branch of the subject not yet spoken of. I am one of those men who like to do what is square and right. We have, on the one hand, a class of bankers who are in favor of getting the general currency so contracted that a dollar will buy two or three times its face value of other property. The late Senator Plumb, himself the president of a national bank, said that the contraction of the currency through the action of the banks in twelve months had been 5 per cent of its volume, and that this contraction had reduced the value of property in this country to the amount of \$3,000,000,000. I would restore some of that currency. I would restore it in the form of legal tender treasury notes.

Now, I suppose, I am tramping on ground that will not be approved; and I am going back and show you how the treasury note was first started. The treasury note was commenced by Thomas Jefferson, the great father of the Republican party and of the Democratic party—the grandfather of both of them. Mr. Jefferson said:

Bank currency must be suppressed and the circulation restored to the nation where it belongs. That was right, that is good Democratic doctrine; and that was good Republican doctrine before that party was vaccinated with the virus of Wall street. For years that doctrine was in force. The first issue of treasury

notes was soon after the close of Mr. Jefferson's administration. It was under Mr. Madison. Prior to 1860 there were twenty issues of those treasury notes all of them receivable for duties on imports, and none of them at any time went below par as compared with coin. During the Mexican war, in 1846, these notes were 9 per cent above coin in the middle of Mexico.

For the benefit of gentlemen who do not agree with me, I will throw out this statement, that no paper money ever issued by the government of the United States, or by the government of Great Britain, if receivable in the revenues of the issuing government, and made a legal tender in the payment of debts, has ever gone below coin at any time. I have made this declaration in the presence of Senator Plumb, when he and I were discussing these matters before a large audience; I have submitted this proposition a hundred times in public; and I have never met any man who has been able to point out a single case where such paper as I have described, backed up by the action of the issuing government, has ever gone below coin in par value.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to do justice to those people of the United States who only wear one gollows, as remarked by a gentleman yesterday, and to those who burn corn because they can not buy coal—people whose children are not well enough dressed to go to school, or to go to church—those people whom you are going to tax, as proposed in this bill, to send the Indians to school when their own children can not go there. I am going to propose that you restore some of the currency which Mr. Plumb said the banks had retired. I propose to add to this bill a section providing that we pay this entire expense, seven or eight million dollars, with newly issued legal tender treasury notes.

We do not want a new policy. But to return to the old policy—the policy which was practiced from 1812 to 1860. I want you to Democats to listen, for I am going to tell you how to get the Presidency five times out of seven, and that is interest often. The great fight of that great

of men, Gen. Jackson, was on the bank. He stood squarely in the footsteps of Mr. Jefferson, who said, "I sincerely believe that banking institutions are more dangerous to liberty than standing armies."

He stood right in the steps of that grand man over in England, Lord Chatham, the best friend American liberty ever had on that side of the ocean, who said, "If the Americans adopt our banking and funding system their liberties are gone." I stand where John Adams stood when he said, "I always did abhor our banking and funding systems; I shall live abhorring them, and I shall die abhorring them."

Gen. Jackson made the highest fame that he has enjoyed by a fight on the bank of the United States; and he beat the bank, although, according to good authority, the bank spent \$3,000,000 in bribing persons in order to defeat him.

And during that fight, as I have understood, his life was attempted out here on the eastern portico of this Capitol because of his fight on the bank. More than that, when a successor of his sent to the Senate a veto message of a bank bill, that message was hissed—the only occasion, so far as I have ever heard, where the message of any President has been hissed in the Senate chamber. You see now the enemy we have to deal with.

Gen. Jackson made his reputation fighting the bank. He was re-elected. Martin Van Buren said, "I will walk in the footsteps of my illustrious predecessor." He was elected. Then for five successive campaigns the Democratic party had in its platform the declaration "A national bank is unconstitutional and dangerous to liberty." There were seven Presidential elections which were fought on the bank question from the time of Gen. Jackson down to 1856, and during that time the Democrats gained five victories in seven campaigns. In 1860 that plank was left out of the Democratic platform. Since that time there have been eight Presidential elections, and the Democratic party has gained but one.

Now, I want to tell you Democrats what you must do. You must quit bidding for the patronage and help of Wall street, because the Republicans will outbid you seven times in eight. If you want to win the Presidential elections, and win glory that your children will be proud to speak of if ever they are gone, bid for the people

as Jackson bid for it, as Jefferson bid for it, you must follow in the footsteps of your illustrious predecessors who gave birth and fame to your grand party. This is what you must do.

Mr. Alderson. Are you going to vote the Democratic ticket?

Mr. Davis. If you will inspire me with confidence that the Democratic party will live up to its ancient platform.

Mr. Reed. That would be impossible. [Laughter.]

Mr. Davis (continuing). If you will induce me to believe that the Democrats can be relied upon to do what they promised in their ancient platform I will vote with you. If you will make a platform such as Jefferson and Jackson would have written on the banking question and inspire me with confidence that you will live up to what you profess, I will vote for it.

But, Mr. Chairman, on this question of platforms I am reminded of a little joke.

We have a man in Kansas who made a study of platforms. He was fond of discussing the matter. He was once talking about platforms, and it happened to be about the Republican and Democratic platforms. The question was, what are they worth? He illustrated it by stating that he boarded a railroad train at one time, and got upon the platform for the purpose of entering the car. When the conductor came along he told him to get off the platform. "Why," he says, "I want to ride on the train." The conductor replied: "All right, you can ride, but don't stand on the platform." "Why," he responded, "what are platforms for?" The conductor said: "To get in on! Not to stand on!" [Laughter.] So you see what confidence he had in platforms.

Now, I want to speak a little while on the contraction question as I understand it. I have before me some excellent extracts taken from the speech of the late Senator John A. Logan, delivered in 1874. He was discussing the evils of contraction under which we are now suffering, in regard to which we are now engaged in devising measures of relief.

—The question so that you will understand it thoroughly and simply. Almost all of our school children out West can cipher a little in long division. Suppose we had here a blackboard suspended before us and on it written a sum in long division. We have the divisor, the dividend, and the quotient. The divisor is the people and their commodities which they have for sale; the dividend is the volume of currency in circulation; and the quotient is the price of commodities. For twenty-five years we have, by increase of population, been increasing the divisor, while by contraction we have been cutting down the dividend, and the quotient is nearly all gone.

Now, the men who believe as I do believe we should increase the dividend as the divisor is increased. It is a simple problem, and that is all we ask; all we have ever asked for. Those who oppose us must drive us out of the way, must drive the common people out of contact with their betters, as they sometimes call it. In this manner you may reduce the divisor. But looking back over the history of the nations, from Rome down to the present time, you will find that the rule has been to cut down the divisor by killing the people, by revolutions, or some such process as that.

Senator John A. Logan, in his great speech of March 17, 1874, discussing the hard times and the panic of 1873, said:

It is a fact that the panic was not due to the character of the currency, but to the history of the panic itself. No, sir; the panic was not attributable to the character of the currency, but to a money-famine, and to nothing else. In the very midst of the panic we saw the leading bankers and business men of New York pressing and urging the president and the Secretary of the Treasury to loan to us, for the purpose of getting more of the same paper for their relief, the very same men who to-day denounce it as a disgrace to our government. It was good enough for them when they were in trouble.

Again, Gen. Logan quotes approvingly from the Berrien County (Mich.) Record, as follows:

The people have and do realize that their most prosperous times were when currency was the most plentiful, and that it was not so good for the laborer and the capitalist, for the

millions in gold. This placed Germany

in good fix financially and France in bed fitter. Germany adopted the contraction policy, France did not. France kept afloat plenty of silver and paper. In 1859 our American consuls report that 80 per cent of the German real estate is mortgaged beyond redemption. In France only 13 per cent and the debts are decreasing. I am trying to show you that it is not our fault cut in Kansas that we are mortgaged. They tell us that out in Kansas we are lazy and shiftless. No, we are not. We are the hardest workers out there that you have anywhere. I have stated before a hundred audiences that the farmers of Kansas, one day with another, winter and summer, all the way through, with their wives and children, do almost twice as much work under the stress of mortgages and debts as the slaves of the South ever did under the lash, and I have not found a man to dispute it. We work without masters and we yield almost everything we earn to the other fellows. We do not think that is right. We ought to have better prices.

I want to give one reason why Kansas is mortgaged worse than other places. The Republicans are partly right when they say our debts are an evidence of enterprise and activity, because when a man is in a quicksand and is sinking, the more he struggles the faster he sinks. We are a struggling, enterprising, and active people. We are the same people upon whom the slave power broke its sword, and the money power seems likely to break its sword on the same people. Now I will tell you another reason why we are mortgaged so much. When the soldiers came back from the army they were paid just half the contract price for their services. They came back poor. They found in Kansas good homesteads. There were many in Illinois (my native State) who were bankrupt there, and they went West.

These glorious men who had upheld the flag in a struggle for existence found Kansas a land of promise, and they went there. But, in spite of themselves, they have made it a land of promises. [Laughter.] These promises they can not redeem unless legislation is changed on the finances. If there was any other land beyond, then we would not have mortgages in Kansas. We would go to the last point before we would stop and borrow money or mortgage. They tell us that our mortgages are an evidence of prosperity. They are an evidence of enterprise, of a determination not to quit and do nothing simply because we have no money. We are doing the best we can, and we hope to get along. Yes, we are paying off the mortgages, and I will tell you how we do it.

In Clay county, the central county in my district, lately, in the courts, there were a number of farms foreclosed, and they sold, as a rule, I understand, for just enough to pay the costs. Our farmers in Kansas are paying off their mortgages precisely as Napoleon Bonaparte settled with the allies at the battle of Waterloo. After a terrible death struggle they surrendered everything, with no St. Helena to go to, as Napoleon did. That is just our condition. This country, like Great Britain, and like Germany, is mortgaged, beyond redemption unless we can have the means of payment.

Here in my amendment to this bill is a very small portion of the means to accomplish this. This policy gives Georgia a little hope. It will give Kansas hope, it will hurt the money lenders of the East just a little, not much, and it will not cost us anything to take care of the Indians. I am in favor of taking care of the Indians, and I am in favor of helping the white man at the same time instead of taxing them.

Their working people were in such a condition of suffering that they added 35,000 men to the troops to keep them still while they were starving. Finally, as matters kept getting worse, Mr. Castlereagh went into Parliament one night and said, "The country is in great danger. We have got to do something." Did they pass a bill to call out more troops? No, there would have been a big row if they had. But they suspended the rules and passed five money bills, making money plainer; and in a very short time, sixty or ninety days after that, the factories were running, prices were rising, the people were employed, and the troops were dismissed.

He also quotes approvingly from Hon. Isaac Buchanan, of Ontario, Canada, as follows:

It is seen that the question of money and the question of labor are one question, the solution of the one being the solution of the other, plentiful and therefore cheap money being a convertible term for plentiful and well-paid employment.

He then goes on to say:

Why is it that Representatives forget the interests of their constituents and statesmen forget the interests of the great-brokers and traders? Christ turned over, and whom he lashed out of the temple of Jerusalem. . . . Carry on the theory of the contractors and what must be the interests of the contractors? Every enterprise and every interest must be dwarfed by the contractors. The hand of the spindle will cease its sound in many a mill, which now gives employment to hundreds of active hands, and supplies the comforts of life to many a happy home. The bright blaze of many an iron foundry, which gives life and cheerfulness to the grand scenery along the streams of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, will be dimmed. And the same industry in my own State, and that of the Senator from Missouri, which has been so rapidly increasing of late, will be crippled, and hundreds who now find employment there will be compelled to seek a home elsewhere for want of work. The underdeveloped resources of the South will be developed, and we have just begun to appreciate, will rest in abeyance till a wise policy shall bring them into use.

On the subject of the panic of 1873 to the United States Monetary Commission says:

The true and only cause of the stagnation in industry and commerce, now everywhere felt, is the fact everywhere existing of failing prices, caused by a shrinking volume of money. . . . This is the real cause. All others are material, circumstantial, and the effect of that which is and they all set it alike, and, without formalizing their ideas into set words and phrases, they state it alike. Capitalists, large and small, give one and only one reason for refusing to invest in productive enterprises. Uniformly and universally they give it, that prices are failing and may continue to fall, and that that is the cause that drives them to get and hold that state of things continuous.

Falling prices is only another expression for an increasing volume of money by contracting its volume.

Mr. Picker. What year was that?

Mr. Davis. This speech was made in 1874.

Speaking of the progressive contraction of the currency then going on, Senator John Sherman, in 1869, said:

The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing thing than Senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that process before. It is not possible to take that voyage without the sorest distress. To every nation except ours, that is, to every nation but ours, on an annual basis, it is a case of loss, danger, latitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy and disaster.

To attempt this is to impose upon our people, by arresting them in the midst of their business and applying a new standard of value to their property, without any deduction of their debts, and giving them any opportunity to come into agreement with their creditors and discharge their losses, would be an act of folly without example of evil in modern times.

The Senator afterward changed sides on the subject and was duly charged with his treason by Senator Logan, March 17, 1874, as follows:

But, sir, leaving that for a moment, I will say, that even the chairman of the committee on finance [Mr. Sherman], abandoning the high stand he first occupied, has gone back, as a final resort, to the record of the past to hang up the poor skeleton of an argument. Senator — has abandoned his guns and left the field of open warfare. A question like this, bristling on every hand with facts concerning its various phases, certainly does not need a resort to the past expressions of an individual Senator to sustain a true and correct position in reference to it. The Senate will long remember the efforts of Sir Archibald Alison to refer by referring to former records on this question his own speeches having been immediately produced, showing him to have been the leading advocate in the Senate Chamber of the same principles now advocated by our side of this question. It is strange, sir, but it is true, that men like the chairman of the committee on finance do, within a short period of time, change their opinions on great questions.

But, Mr. Chairman, the contraction of the currency in the United States is by no means a new thing. Gold and silver rendered everything, with no St. Helena to go to, as Napoleon did. That is just our condition. This country, like Great Britain, and like Germany, is mortgaged, beyond redemption unless we can have the means of payment.

The Senator quotes and approves the following, from the Berrien County (Mich.) Record:

It is a lamentable fact that the financial question is leading to a conflict between capital and labor, money and production. The capitalists, the persons who are getting money, who are getting it from the laboring and producing classes, are setting themselves in hostile array to oppose with might and main every effort to increase the currency of this country to something like an equal ratio with other commercial nations. The East, especially the Wall streeters and banks, want no more money. They prefer to have the volume of currency limited, and the circulating medium contracted, and the money cornered. Every time a few millions of the currency are locked up in the East, the West suffers, the products of the West decline in price, and the Western producer suffers, while the Eastern capitalist makes money. The time has come when this state of affairs should and must be remedied. The interests of the South, the West and the West Indies, are at stake, unless the East will yield to that which is just and right; the result can not be otherwise than disastrous in the end. This the money lenders of New York will learn, but perhaps, not until it is too late.

Mr. Davis. Mr. Chairman, I have thus dwelt on this matter, citing the most undoubted authorities, because it is the most important question now pending. In the language of the late Senator Plumb:

It is the most important subject now pending in either House of Congress, or that can be pending.

Mr. Pickler. Will you insert your proposed amendment in the Record?

Mr. Davis. Under the leave given I will insert the amendment.

The amendment proposed by Mr. Davis is as follows:

Sec. 1. That the several amounts hereby ap-

pointed shall be paid in newly-issued legal tender treasury notes, of the usual denominations, and in the usual form, and the treasurer of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to issue and pay out said amounts as they become due and payable.

Safety is only another name for greed. The black man was not held in bondage for the mere pleasure of ownership, but that the white man might subsist in idleness off his labor. On the strength of the slaves, the owners gained a few thousand acres of the land, all the time, and the white men of the South were wrought up to a fury of passion, pressing them forward to the sacrifice of their lives and fortunes on the altar of a false cause. What is the situation to-day? The same battle is being waged in a different field, with different weapons. In the National Senate chamber the battle is being waged by the representatives of the moneyed aristocracy on the one hand, and by the representatives of the masses of the people on the other. The proposition on the part of the capitalists is to grasp and firmly hold the largest possible percentage of the profits of all the country. They want high rates of interest where they can, and low rates of wages where they can. By contracting the currency they secure both of these objects, for they force traffic to supplicate the banks for loans, and drive labor to beggary; and as the necessities of merchants render more pressing their opportunities for loans, the rate of interest is raised, and the profits of the capitalists are also increased. On the other hand, the proportion of the people, those who live by labor and traffic, is to extend the volume of currency, thereby cheapening money, and so stimulating manufacturing and other industries into such activity as will insure employment to the laboring classes at remunerative rates of wages. Hence was born the great rebellion. At no time in the history of our country, not even in the history of the rebellion, has it been more evident that the interests of the many clash with those of the few.

Joseph Arch knows by experience the hardships

of an English laborer's life.

He has lodged for

months where the fare was "dry bread for break-

fast, dry bread for dinner, and for supper bread

still, but not dry bread, the bread for this,

the final meal of the day, being moistened by having

boiling water poured over it, and having in addition

the flavoring of salt," a dish sometimes

called "tea kettle broth," sometimes "scald

chops."

The Nineteenth Century, January, 1892, says:

"Whatever mistakes Mr. Joseph Arch may have

made in his public career as a leader of the farm

laborers, his sagacity in making the extension

of the franchise to them the principal object of his

political agitation has been abundantly vindicated."

"It required a great deal of eloquence to

persuade even a considerable minority of them

that the surest and quickest method of obtaining

attention to their grievances was the indirect one

of first getting political power.

No one doubts the

power of the farm laborers or their leaders to sway

the policy of political parties."

Article in Nineteenth Century, January, 1892,

says: "The Berkshire laborer earns a weekly

wage of 10s. in these days of reviving agricultural

prosperity; a few years ago he earned only 9s. and

his kind during my progress through the parish."

In case of a death occurring in a family,

should there be but one bed room, which is,

I think, generally the case, the inmates of the house

are compelled to pass their nights in the same room

with the corpse until the time of burial."

PAST CONDITIONS.

Mr. Kay's book is a volume of 323 pages, about

200 pages of which is devoted to such descriptions

as we have quoted. It contains sickening details

in regard to burial clubs and other matters not

suitable for public discussion.

What we have

given is bad enough, but we have not given the

worst. We have left the moral side of the subject

untouched.

Dean Dudley describes the arrest of a boy who

had worked for a tailor and been shamefully

treated, and who attempted to collect his wages;

he was sent to prison for "insulting a gentleman,"

while it was not even insinuated that the tailor

should pay the debt which he did not deny owing.

He says: "The rich men of England openly boast

that 'they have the poor under their thumbs,' and

an army at command to keep them in the dust

where they belong."

The feeling has changed since then, yet A.

Wilcox, writing to the editor of Public Opinion,

December, 1891, says: "But the interests of the

upper classes, to which the members of the gov-

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

P. E. Dove tells us in the "Theory of Human Progression": "Gradually and surely has the separation been taking place between the privileged landowner and the unprivileged laborer. And the time will come at last, that there shall be but two parties looking each other in the face, and knowing that the destruction of one is an event of necessary consequence. That event must come. Nor is it in man to stay it or to produce it. It will come as the result of the laws that govern nature, and that govern man. Of the two parties one must give way; one must sink, to rise no more; one must disappear from the earth. Their continued existence is incompatible. Nature can not support both."

The Annual Statistician of 1890, says: "The increase of wealth in Great Britain is more than \$2,000,000 per day." Queen Victoria's daily income is placed at \$6,300. England, as a nation, is not poor. She owns and controls vast wealth outside of her own territory. It is the "lower classes" who are poor.

The Financial Reform Almanac says: "Of the 72,000,000 acres in this country, 50,000,000 are owned by 15,000 persons, and of these 50,000,000, no less than 30,000,000 are owned by 1,000 persons. Can we wonder then, that when we have landowners and capitalists, with wealth the real amount of which we can not conceive, at one end of the social scale, we have extreme poverty at the other? It is reckoned that one out of every twelve persons in the United Kingdom needs parish relief to keep them from starvation. In London, in 1889, out of every nine people who died, two died in a hospital, or other public institution; almost all in Chester, it was one out of five; in Liverpool and Birmingham, one out of six."

## PAUPERS—1890.

Over 60 and under 65, 41,180—one in thirteen.  
Over 65 and under 70, 62,240—one in six.  
Over 70 and under 75, 77,708—one in three.  
Over 75 and under 80, 60,879—three in five.  
Total number of paupers over 60 receiving aid August 1, 1890, 286,867.

## BLACKBOARD EXERCISE.

47 landholders own 3,220,000 acres.  
25 landholders own 5,113,500 acres.  
72 landholders possess between one-fourth and one-fifth of English soil.  
About 3,000,000 destitute.

## UNITED KINGDOM.

Houseless, 165,500.  
Starving, 1,550,000.  
In workhouses, asylums, etc., 190,000.

## LONDON.

Population about 5,000,000.  
Paupers, 51,000.  
Homeless, 33,000.  
Starving, 300,000.  
Very poor, 609,000.

London, or London, is about 2,000 years old. It was one of the principal towns of the Britons, and in its early history it exported corn, cattle, and slaves.

Such books as the "Bitter Cry of Outcast London," and "In Darkest England," bring to our notice facts so terrible in their significance that we would be glad to disbelieve them if it were possible. But it is not possible, for they are facts, and not exaggerations.

By starving, is meant that vast army of unfortunate who are seldom able to obtain sufficient food, who deem themselves fortunate if they secure one meal a day, but who are often compelled to go without food, sometimes for two or three days in

succession, and sometimes until death relieves them from further suffering.

We shall give a series of quotations from "In Darkest England," which was published by General William Booth late in 1890. This is a book which those interested in the present condition of the poor of England would do well to read. The facts it contains are not disputed by English writers.

Forty years ago Carlyle said that the four-footed worker, the English horse, had already obtained all that the two-footed worker was clamoring for—food and lodging. Said Carlyle: "The human brain looking at these sleek English horses, refuses to believe in such impossibility for English men." Yet we find on examination that this cab horses standard, although an humble one, and certainly one very far from satisfactory to the American worker, is, as General Booth tell us, "at present absolutely unattainable by millions, literally by millions, of our fellow-men and women in this country."

According to Lord Brabazon and Mr. Samuel Smith, "between two and three millions of our population are always pauperized and degraded." Mr. Chamberlain says there is a "population equal to that of the metropolis, that is, between four and five millions, which has remained constantly in a state of abject destitution and misery." Mr. Giffen is more moderate. The submerged class, according to him, comprises one in five of manual laborers, six in one hundred of the population. Mr. Giffen does not add the third million which is living on the border line. Between Mr. Chamberlain's 4,500,000 and Mr. Giffen's 1,800,000, I am content to take 3,000,000 as representing the total strength of the destitute army.

Three millions of destitute human beings in a territory smaller than the State of Michigan!

## THE HOMELESS.

"There are still a large number of Londoners and a considerable percentage of wanderers from the country in search of work, who find themselves at nightfall destitute. These now betake themselves to the seats under the plane trees on the embankment. Here, between the Temple and Blackfriars, I found the poor wretches by the score; almost every seat contained its full complement of six, some men, some women, all reclining in various postures, and nearly all fast asleep. Here on the stone-abutments, which afford a slight protection from the biting wind, are scores of men, lying side by side, huddled together for warmth, and, of course, without any other covering than their ordinary clothing, which is scanty enough at the best. Some have laid down a few pieces of waste paper, by way of taking the chill off of the stones, but the majority are too tired even for that, and the nightly toilet of most consists of first removing the hat, swathing the head in whatever old rag may be doing duty as a handkerchief, and then replacing the hat."

## HOW THEY LIVE.

Statements of men found sleeping on the embankment on the nights of June 13 and 14, 1890: No. 1.—"I've slept here two nights; I'm a confectioner by trade; I come from Dartford. I got turned off because I'm getting elderly. They can get young men cheaper, and I have the rheumatism so bad. I have earned nothing these two days; I thought I could get a job at Woolwich, so I walked there, but could get nothing. I found a bit of bread in the road wrapped up in a bit of newspaper; that did me for yesterday. I had a bit of bread and butter to-day. I am fifty-four years old. When it's wet we stand about all night under the arches."

No. 2.—"Been sleeping out three weeks all but one night; do odd jobs, mind horses, and that sort of thing; earned nothing to-day or shouldn't be here. Have had a pen'orth of bread to-day; that's all. Yesterday had some pieces given to me at a cook-shop. Two days last week had nothing at all from morning till night. By trade I'm a feather bed dresser, but it's gone out of fashion; and besides that, I've a cataract in one eye, and have lost the sight of it completely. I'm a widower; have one child, a soldier, at Dover. My last regular work was eight months ago, but the firm broke; been doing odd jobs since."

No. 3.—"I'm a taylor; have slept here four nights running; can't get work; been out of a job three weeks. If I can muster cash I sleep at a lodging house in Vere street, Clare market. It was very wet last night. I left these seats and went to Covent Garden market and slept under

coven. There were about thirty of us. The police moved us on, but we went back as soon as they had gone. I've had a pen'orth of bread and pen'orth of soup during the last two days; often goes without altogether. There are women who sleep out here. They are decent people, mostly char-women and such like, who can't get work."

## HOMELESS BOYS.

"In addition to these sleepers, a considerable number walk about the streets up till the early hours of the morning to hunt some job which will bring a copper into the empty exchequer, and save them from actual starvation. I had some conversation with one such, a stalwart youth lately discharged from the militia, and unable to get work.

"You see," said he pitifully, "I don't know my way about like most of the London fellows; I'm so green, and don't know how to pick up jobs like they do. I've been walking the streets almost day and night these two weeks, and can't get work. I've got the strength, though I shan't have it long at this rate. I only want a job. This is the third night running that I have walked the streets all night; the only money I get is by minding blacking boy's boxes while they go into Lockhart's for their dinner. I got a penny yesterday at it, and two pence for carrying a parcel, and to-day I have had a penny. Bought a ha'porth of bread and a ha'penny mug of tea."

"Poor lad! Probably he would soon get into thieves' company, and sink into the depths, for there is no other means of living for many like him; it is starve or steal, even for the young. There are gangs of lad thieves in the low Whitechapel lodging houses, varying in age from thirteen to fifteen, who live by thieving eatables and other easily obtained goods from shop fronts."

## HOMELESS WOMEN.

"In addition to the embankment, all fresco lodgings are found in the seats outside Spitalfield's church, and many homeless wanderers have their own little nooks and corners of resort in many sheltered yards, vans, etc., all over London. Two poor women I observed making their home in a shop door-way in Liverpool street. Thus they manage in the summer; what it's like in the winter time is terrible to think of. In many cases it means the pauper's grave, as in the case of a young woman who was wont to sleep in a van in Bedfordbury. Some men who were aware of her practice surprised her by dashing a bucket of water on her. The blow to her weak system caused illness, and the inevitable sequel—a coroner's jury—came to the conclusion that the water only hastened her death, which was due, in plain English, to starvation."

## A STREET SPEECH.

The poor of many other English cities are no better cared for than those of London. A Liverpool paper reports a street speech of an out-of-work to other out-of-works:

"What we want is work, not work-house bounty. What we want is honest work. Now, what I propose is that each of you get fifty mates to join you; that'll make about 1,200 starving chaps; and we'll go in a body to the town hall, and show our poverty and ask for work. We'll take the women and children with us."

"Too ragged! Too starved! They can't walk it," interrupted his hearers. "The women's rags are no disgrace; the staggering children will show what we've come to. Let's go a thousand strong and ask for work and bread."

There have been such processions in London, when the starving out-of-works and the half-starving in-works have crawled out in their tattered raggedness, with their gaunt hungry faces and emaciated wives and children, and marched up the streets—a procession of despair from the depths of human wretchedness, only to be summarily dealt with in the name of law and order, and driven back to their dens as hopeless and as helpless as ever.

## QUESTIONS—REVIEW.

1. What king, at what date, introduced the feudal system into England?
2. What king granted the great charter, and at what date?
3. What king asserted the "divine right of kings?"
4. What important bill was passed in 1832?
5. When was the second reform bill passed? The third?
6. What is the usual attitude of the House of Lords in regard to such bills?
7. Mention some of the most important bills that the House of Lords have opposed.
8. What do you think of the English legal maxim, "The king can do no wrong?"
9. Give some example of court etiquette in regard to the queen?
10. About how many families constitute the aristocracy of England?
11. What is the effect of rank upon the character? Why?
12. For how many offenses was capital punishment inflicted at the beginning of the present century?

power lies with the masses. It is not kings, nor aristocracies, nor landowners, nor capitalists, that anywhere really enslave the people. *It is their own ignorance.* Most clear is this where governments rest on universal suffrage."

a. "We have to consider man both as an individual and as a member of the community, and the object should be to secure to each the fullest exercise of his rights as an individual, and the fullest advantage that being a member of a community confers, consistent with the preservation of the rights of each other member of the community. That action should be preceded by correct thought.

b. "What was the usual size of the laborer's allotment?

c. "What was the price of women's work in the field?

d. "Mention some of the laborer's hardships?

e. "How many tenant-farmers are there in Great Britain?

f. "What is the average size of a farmer's "holding"?

g. "What is the average rent paid per acre?

h. Could an American farmer pay \$840 yearly rent for fifty-six acres of land, and live?

i. "What was the condition of the cottages occupied by the laborers twenty and thirty years ago?

j. "Describe the origin of the Agricultural Laborer's Union?

k. "Who addressed the Rural conference December 10 and December 11, 1891?

l. "Describe the present condition of the agricultural laborer in England."

m. "In what respects has it improved? Why?

n. "Has there been any great change in the expense of living in the last forty years?

o. "What is supposed to be the average amount of wages received weekly now?

p. "Should laws which tend to create "upper classes" and "lower classes" be said to be for the good of the people?

q. "Undoubtedly, the work of the educated human being, the labor of a trained mind and body, accomplishes more, and is, therefore, worth more to the human race than the labor of the ignorant and unskilled. But is \$6,300 per day to one woman, and 14 to 30 cents per day for other women, a just and proper division of compensation?

To be spoken at the open lodge:

## ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

Friends and neighbors: We are glad to see you with us. We have met here to-night to study together some of the important problems of modern social life. The author of a recent book, entitled "Poverty," tells us that it is not a necessity. He says: "We have not discovered any stern law of nature proclaiming poverty to be inevitable; but we have, on the contrary, clearly discerned that poverty is due to man, and need not, therefore, be perpetuated."

If poverty is not a necessary condition, why has it been allowed to gain an abiding place among even the most prosperous nations? Why does wealthy England condemn her faithful workers to a miserable existence, too often with all the horrors of starvation staring them in the face? Is a home in the work-house and a pauper's grave the fitting end to a life of unremitting toil and hardship? Is this justice?

Charity lightens many of the hardships of the English laborer's life. But is not the laborer entitled to something better than charity? Is he not entitled to justice? Where justice reigns will charity be necessary?

The lean, gaunt giant of poverty has clutched the very heart of England. Its laborers are fleeing by thousands and seeking homes in our own beautiful land. But here, too, the giant, poverty, the most malignant friend which ever dwelt upon the earth, is making his appearance. He already dwells in our great cities, and is stretching his lean arms out toward the homes of our people. What shall we do with this insatiable monster? Shall we feed him with unjust laws, that he may grow and increase, and rule us and our children? Or shall we seek some method of stopping his ravages, and of driving him from our land?

In a country as productive as ours, with a people so intelligent and industrious, poverty should have no abiding place. Then let us study the history of other nations; let us examine into the condition of their people; let us profit by their example, learning wisdom from their failures; let us seek earnestly to put in force that combination of laws which shall bring in truth, and not in name merely, "the greatest good to the greatest number."

## QUESTIONS FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION.

1. Are laws which tend to create "upper classes" and "lower classes," or which tend to widen the division between rich and poor, beneficial to a nation?
2. Do you believe that there are any laws in the United States which tend to increase the wealth of the rich at the expense of the poor?

## SELECTIONS FOR SPEAKING.

1. "Under all forms of government the ultimate

power lies with the masses. It is not kings, nor aristocracies, nor landowners, nor capitalists, that anywhere really enslave the people. *It is their own ignorance.* Most clear is this where governments rest on universal suffrage."

a. "We have to consider man both as an individual and as a member of the community, and the object should be to secure to each the fullest exercise of his rights as an individual, and the fullest advantage that being a member of a community confers, consistent with the preservation of the rights of each other member of the community. That action should be preceded by correct thought.

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p. "Should laws which tend to create "upper classes" and "lower classes," or which tend to widen the division between rich and poor, be said to be for the good of the people?

q. "Undoubtedly, the work of the educated human being, the labor of a trained mind and body, accomplishes more, and is, therefore, worth more to the human race than the labor of the ignorant and unskilled. But is \$6,300 per day to one woman, and 14 to 30 cents per day for other women, a just and proper division of compensation?

r. "There is a great deal in the political situation that awakens anxiety and gives food for reflection. Social discontent keeps pace with political freedom, but the dangers that are to be dreaded may probably be averted by the rapid movement of intellectual and economic progress. Peace and freedom must benefit by the diffusion of science and comfort. Reason will at last triumph over unworthy ambitions as it has already triumphed over tyranny. As tyranny has given way to liberty, as aristocracy has given way to democracy, so plutocracy, the tyranny of the capitalist over the laborer, must give way soon or late to a more equal distribution of wealth, and to more equal opportunities of development for both men and women."

## BOOKS USED IN PREPARING LESSONS ON ENGLAND.

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Advertisements inserted only by special contract.  
Our rates are reasonable for the space given.  
Discounts for large space furnished on application,  
size and 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 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 reinforce  
THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST and the action of  
Brother Appling, 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.

Publication office, 233 North Capitol street.  
ENTERED AT THE POST-OFFICE AT WASHINGTON,  
D. C., AS SECOND-CLASS MAIL MATTER.

## N. R. P. A.

The drawbacks allowed by the treasury department on certain articles amount to fortunes in many cases, and with a view of getting some information the Secretary was requested by the House a few days ago to submit a statement of all drawbacks paid on tin-plate, salt used for curing fish, and salt imported and used by exporters of meats. This information was furnished yesterday, and the statement shows that from October 1, 1890, to December 31, 1891, \$1,711,061 in drawbacks were allowed on tin cans, etc., manufactured from imported tin-plate exported in the time given. For the same period, the drawbacks allowed on imported salt used in curing exported meat was \$92,201, and the value of the salt withdrawn from warehouses for the purpose of curing fish, on which the duty was remitted, was given as \$102,856, aggregating \$15,995,600 pounds.

**SENATOR WASHBURN**, of Minnesota, presented a bill to the Senate which provides for the incorporation of the Yellowstone Park company. Thos. Lowry and others are the incorporators. The capital is to be \$800,000, and \$500,000 is claimed to have been already subscribed. If this bill should pass the syndicate will have absolute control for twenty years of every desirable location for the entertainment of tourists to that grand and beautiful national park, the Yellowstone.

The recent Democratic caucus called by the anti-free coinage members was a sad failure. The usual tactics of that wing of the party proved unsuccessful, much to the chagrin and consternation of the manipu-

lators. The plain fact was brought prominently forward that eastern domination had well nigh come to an end and that the South and West would yield nothing further. This caucus disclosed the hopeless minority of the opponents of free coinage and the utter folly of opposing the passage of the Bland bill, but in the face of all this, desperate measures will be resorted to, no doubt, in order to defeat it. The methods indulged in by Mr. Harter and others have already aroused a spirit of resentment that will force the issue at whatever cost, and that a member of Congress friendly to free coinage that does not feel outraged and insulted by the conduct of these eastern representatives of Wall street.

**CONGRESSMAN LIVINGSTON** spoke in Covington, Ga., on the 27th, and the reporters for the daily press quote him as follows:

He quoted the words of Ignatius Donnelly, who said the new order of things would wipe out the color line in the South, and asked a number of negroes in the audience if they wanted to eat and sleep with the whites. "No! No! No!" they yelled while the whites applauded. He said if the negroes wanted to follow Gilmore, who was a foreign Georgian and a deserter from the English army, they could do so, but if they did, he hoped God would have mercy on their ignorant souls.

This is undoubtedly a canard of the worst sort and does Livingston a great injustice. He has been one of the most active in teaching the necessity for harmony of action between the South and West; he has shown from one end of this country to the other that the only chance for the South to get a representative voice in this government was to unite with the West in demanding justice for all; he has been the fiercest among the fierce in denouncing those who waved the bloody shirt for political purposes. Donnelly said no such thing, and Livingston did not so wave the bloody shirt in the interest of Wall street. If he had he would deserve all the censure he would surely get.

The following editorial correspondence from President L. L. Polk to his paper, the *Progressive Farmer*, of Raleigh, N. C., will be of general interest:

The conference of the great industrial organizations of the country at St. Louis on the 22d ulto. was an event that is destined to become memorable in history. It was not a convocation of party leaders to devise methods for the ascendancy of party, to promote personal ends, to plan for the distribution of patronage among partisan favorites, to further the designs and demands of dictatorial money power; but it was a mighty gathering of honest wealth-producers, bread-winners, and tax-payers; from the farms, factories and shops all over the land, earnestly, honestly seeking a remedy for the evils and oppressive and unjust burdens which have been heaped upon them through corrupt class legislation and which so seriously threaten the safety of the country and the liberties of the people. No grander body of men with a grander purpose ever assembled in any age or country.

In some respects it was the most remarkable body that ever convened in our country. Every State in the Union, except perhaps, Rhode Island and Delaware,

were represented. Life-long Democrats, life-long Republicans, greenbackers, prohibitionists, single-tax men, equal suffragists, old soldiers of the "blue" and the "gray," representing thirteen different industrial organizations, met together, and with wonderful unanimity and fraternity aligned themselves solidly under one banner and pledged their faithful allegiance to one platform of principles.

The committee on platform was composed of one hundred and twenty delegates representing every State. It unanimously recommended the address and the platform. The conference, composed of over one thousand delegates, unanimously adopted the address and the platform, except two votes cast against the address.

When before, in the history of this or any other country, has such thorough and harmonious concord of action characterized such a body? Can any one doubt for a moment the ultimate and overwhelming success of such a force and power?

The friends of reform throughout the Union will recognize the fact that the great principles set forth are substantially the same as those of the St. Louis meeting in 1889, and the Ocala and Indianapolis meetings, and are confined chiefly to the great questions of money, land and transportation. A generous spirit of concession and fraternity prevailed throughout. A large portion of the delegates were in favor of an open declaration by the conference for independent political action, but in deference to those who held that the conference should not take such action as would appear to bind the different organizations to any particular political party, generously yielded their views on this point. But they immediately availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the mass convention to emphasize their position as to independent political action. Any other course would have been ridiculous, inconsistent, unmanly and cowardly. If that great body of representative men had adopted the address and the platform, and had dispersed without providing for some definite and decisive method for enforcing its principles, it would have incurred the contempt of all intelligent men, and would have been laughed to scorn by the whole country.

All the Southern States were well represented, and between their delegates and those from the North there existed a generous and magnanimous rivalry in the grand and manly work of uniting and fraternizing the two sections.

Presuming that you will procure the details from our special correspondent and other sources, they may be omitted here.

Since my arrival in this city, I had the pleasure of meeting Hon. S. B. Alexander, and asked his opinion of the action of the St. Louis meeting. He said: "I have seen only the accounts that were given out by the associated press, and I have been patiently waiting the truth. Fortunately I have just seen President Butler, and from him have learned the truth of the matter. I am greatly gratified to learn of the harmony that prevailed, and especially am I pleased with the platform. It is one that I think all true Alliance men can and will heartily support. The three planks, money, land, and transportation, are the exact doctrines which I have advocated as president of our State Alliance, and by all my votes in our meetings. You will remember that on the government ownership of railroads you and I were the only ones in the Ocala convention who cast our voice and votes in favor of it, and we are so reported in the official proceedings."

ECHOES from the St. Louis meeting continue to pour in. From their general tenor it would seem that the action taken there meets with almost universal approval. Many who have been in doubt, and waited for the result of this meeting, are coming out strongly in favor of the platform adopted; especially is this true in the South.

**NOTES BY REFORMER.**

New England is becoming alarmed at the growing disposition on the part of the South and West to enter

into a partnership for their natural protection and the advancement of their prosperity. This alarm crops out in the utterances of her public men, in her press, and in her periodical literature. Even New England Democracy is threatening the South with the "force bill" in order to prevent her turning her attention to the West. On this point we can not forget that Western Republicans in the Senate gave the death blow to the measure, and that at a supreme moment when the "lodge bill" was pending in the House, and when its destruction was possible, one half of New York's Democratic members failed to count.

But the efforts being used by the New England press and periodical literature is mostly indirect and insidious. They are trying by every means to revive in the heart of the Western voter the old war-time spirit; trying to keep the West and South apart by fanning into life again the fires of hate and prejudice that have almost gone out.

I had occasion a short time ago to call attention to the efforts of the Century Magazine in this direction, that periodical being engaged in the publication of "Prison Pen Horrors," and now among the latest I notice the "New England Magazine" engaged in digging up the corpses of the war. It publishes an interesting sketch of Dr. Phillips Brooks, now Bishop of Massachusetts; a large minded, liberal and evangelical preacher. It gives as supplemental thereto, and as a sample of his thought and mode of expression a sermon preached by him in Philadelphia, in 1865, when the body of President Lincoln was lying in the city on its way to the West. Dr. Brooks was then only thirty years old, and with riper powers has done much better work since, but this address was chosen by the "New England Magazine," it would seem, because it had in it the full spirit of hate, the national offspring of the time, and the circumstances under which it was delivered. Bishop Brooks himself to-day has no sympathy with some of its thoughts and expressions, as, for example, charging the South with the assassination of Lincoln, an act which we all now know to have been that of a madman, and not instigated or desired by a single man identified with the Southern cause.

I cite the foregoing in order to show the insidious manner in which the effort is made to keep alive the fires of hate and thereby prevent the union of the West and the South.

When Hon. Jerry Simpson had concluded his speech, during the discussion of the "rules" in the House of Representatives, in which he referred perforce to the condition of the people of Kansas, because out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh. Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts, took the floor. His first sentence was: "Mr. Speaker. If the House can return for a moment from the plains of bleeding Kansas I should like to make a few remarks." etc. Snearing at the distresses of the people. What more could you expect from the Representative of Massachusetts plutocracy. But the country remembers how anxious he was in the last Congress to have a bayonet put behind every vote in the South in order that the life of the

Republican party might be prolonged. That was a vital question, but he takes no interest in the mortgaged homes of Kansas. Alas! Massachusetts mocking at the miseries of Kansas!

It is a pleasing thing to see the great interest the whole country has taken in the anti-lottery fight in Louisiana. The newspapers and periodicals of New York have been especially prominent in giving their moral aid and support to the opponents of gambling. This may be occasional in some degree by the fact

that there is a day of reckoning coming. Still you find in the South and West men who will continue to worship the golden calf of New England.

It is a pleasing thing to see the great interest the whole country has taken in the anti-lottery fight in Louisiana. The newspapers and periodicals of New York have been especially prominent in giving their moral aid and support to the opponents of gambling. This may be occasional in some degree by the fact

that the leader of the lottery forces was born and has a residence in that State. At the same time one can not but compare the lottery of Louisiana, and its evil effects, with the gambling hells of New York, and other cities—their stock and produce exchanges—their boards of trade. These are the gilded dens that destroy fortunes and souls. The lottery absorbs the savings of the poor wage-earners of New Orleans with their own co-operation and consent, while the arch-gamblers of New

York rob millions of producers without their knowledge or against their will. And when Congress attempts to put a stop to this gambling in the products of labor, its halls are invaded by these gamblers from every section, like a swarm of locusts, crying out against the attempt.

The New York Mail and Express says, in speaking of the lottery-policy shops of that city: "These 300 lottery-policy shops take from the negroes of this (N. Y.) city every day over \$15,000."

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## COTTON-TAIL RABBITS.

My masters inform me that I must not say anything about political questions. They have agreed that I may discuss farm topics. Being of an inquiring turn of mind, I like to investigate questions pertaining to social farm life. During the past week I have been engaged in experimenting with dogs and rabbits. My dog, Major, has taught me a lesson long to be remembered, and I will repeat the lesson in hopes that some brother farmer may profit by my observation.

Major was up with the sun. Wending his way to the grove, west of the house, he beat about for a time till he routed out a cotton-tail, which he chased diligently, and at the end of an hour captured. Having killed the rabbit, he carried it to the hay-stack, and having selected a soft bunch of hay, he sat down upon it, and at once went to work to devour the product of his labor. As he sat there enjoying his breakfast I could but think him a noble specimen of his race. A cross between the deer hound and the fox, large body, long limbs and chair.

"We belong to the elect 400. We do not wish to labor for a living—labor is nasty. You dogs of the South and West are lusty and stout.

You need not labor more than one hour per day to obtain a good living.

Now, sir, this is all wrong. Good, cheap, poor dogs are never idle, and they do not need any rest, because it injures their health, gives them an opportunity to think and makes them cranky. Having the natural desire of all good Christians, we have had certain laws passed for your good. It will do you no good to object to the enforcement of these laws, as we have pledged your neighbor dogs to you should you remonstrate and refuse to submit. First, then, you must catch three rabbits for "Money Monopoly," first thing each morning, one for "R. R. Monopoly," two for "Manufacturer Monopoly," one for "Taxes, Politician," fifth, "Hog Monopoly," sixth, "Standard Oil." Each pug had a red, white and blue ribbon tied to the end of his tail, and stamped thereon, in large letters, "Pat-rot-ism."

The little fellow with "R. R. Monopoly" on his collar mounted the pump-platform facing Major, and his fellow pups sat down behind him. It goes without saying that I do not understand fully the dog language, yet I can give the reader a fair idea as to what the orator had to say upon this occasion. I think he spoke as follows:

"We belong to the elect 400. We do not wish to labor for a living—labor is nasty. You dogs of the South and West are lusty and stout.

white teeth. The last word was hardly uttered when he made one jump and landed in the midst of the congregation. Some of the aristocratic brood went flying over the haystack, some against the side of the barn, while two, more fortunate than their fellows, escaped punishment by crawling under the pump platform. After observing this picnic my admiration for my noble dog Major has greatly increased.

Happening to meet my neighbor Braddock the next day, I related to him my cotton-tail story. He seemed agitated in his mental center, and I had hardly finished when, in a broken voice, he said to me: "Major simply refused to do what I have done, and I now fear that I have taken upon myself a form of slavery even more exacting than that imposed upon our colored brother in the South, because in his case the law required that the master provide a rabbit for his slave before he went to his work in the morning, and in my case I must catch the nine for my master before I can have one for myself and family."

WM. BUNDE.

Major sat quietly; he elevated his ears slightly; his upper lip curved upward, showing a fine set of ivory

teeth. The last word was hardly uttered when he made one jump and landed in the midst of the congregation. Some of the aristocratic brood went flying over the haystack, some against the side of the barn, while two, more fortunate than their fellows, escaped punishment by crawling under the pump platform. After observing this picnic my admiration for my noble dog Major has greatly increased.

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WM. BUNDE.

"There Must be Something Wrong."

By Alfred S. Houghton, M. D. (Con't.)

While soft Te Deum's echo o'er the fields  
of ripened grain;  
While burdened orchards join the chant  
of nature's grand refrain;  
While fruits and flowers, ears and sheaves,  
From our prolific soil  
Proclaim the Great Creator's power to  
fill the hands that toil.  
If little children droop and die mid pesti-  
lential want;  
If stalwart men parade the streets with  
aspects grim and gaunt;  
If graceful women bend and break o'er  
shirts without a song;  
If plenty elbows poverty, there must be  
something wrong.

While vernal days gestations urge  
throughout our mother earth,  
And crisp autumnal frosts compel the  
harvests' golden birth;  
While nature's strong impartial hand  
distils the evening dews,  
And paints the hedges, fields, and wood  
with rainbow tinted hues.  
If gentle women, budding forth as  
mothers of the race,  
Be blighted by the fear of want to  
damnable disgrace;  
If noble motherhoods, debased by brutal  
passions strong;  
If virtue flees for help to vice, there must  
be something wrong.

While looms and forges, steam and  
steel, increase the nation's store;  
While grand inventions, genius, art, are  
adding more and more;  
While science man's producing power  
doth many fold augment;  
While warehouse rooms are crowded full  
and shelves with goods are bent.  
If strikes and lockouts multiply; if want  
and failure spread;  
If greedy rob the needy ones of fuel,  
clothing, bread;  
If hungry children, idle men and weeping  
women throng  
The cities' cheerless tenements, there  
must be something wrong.

While marble sanctuaries bear the blessed  
Redeemer's cross,  
While altars flame with sacred fire and  
gleam with glittering dross,  
While pews with shining silk adorned  
blaze out with diamonds rare,  
While richly cushioned floors support the  
wealthy when at prayer.  
In the crowded, filthy dens where serv-  
ice labor dwells  
The anthems sung are vengeful threats,  
the prayers are funeral knells.  
If grief is drowned in drink and joy is  
sought in liquor strong;  
If love is lost, if hate is found, there  
must be something wrong.

To right these wrongs, to make this earth  
a paradise, indeed,  
To feed the hungry lambs of God, to  
succor those in need,  
To rescue those whom grim despair is  
driving to the wall,  
To lift the prostrate to their feet, to  
strengthen those who fall,  
To help the weak, the curb, the strong,  
to plant upon this soil  
The reign of justice till no man shall ask  
for leave to toil.  
This is the work we're pledged to do,  
united now we stand.  
Opposed to special privileges and equal  
rights demand.

**ADDRESS OF BEN TERRELL,**  
President Confederated Industrial Or-  
ganizations.

Gentlemen: You are here by the au-  
thority of the several industrial organiza-  
tions which you have the honor to repre-  
sent, and for the purpose of conferring  
together without prejudice of any kind,  
and to the end that you may agree upon  
such a platform of principles (for the  
government of our loved and common  
country) as will secure equal justice to all,  
and special privileges to none. Believing  
us we do in the fatherhood of God and  
the brotherhood of man, and considering  
that the interests you represent are those  
of the toilers of our land, it is hoped and  
believed that your deliberations will be  
marked by that earnestness, fairness and  
manliness which should characterize the  
discussion of such interests. It is possi-  
ble that the future of our country is in the  
hands of this convention to-day. If you  
act wisely, I believe a revolution of the  
ballot attainable, and our country be-  
saves from the fate of all nations whose  
financial policy concentrates in the hands

of the few its wealth, and the many are  
made paupers.

The responsibility resting upon you is  
not less than that of the grand old heroes  
and fathers who signed the declaration of  
independence in 1776, and your country  
is expecting of you the same fearless de-  
votion to justice and right.

I beg of you that you will remember  
that the eyes of the toiling masses are  
upon you to-day, and they are expecting a  
second declaration of independence. I  
pray God you may be able to rise above  
all party prejudices, lay aside self, throw  
off every weight, and do your duty like  
men worthy of the trust confided to you  
by those whose cause is just.

In view of the depressed condition of  
labor and the absolute necessity for the  
unity of action, I hope the convention  
will be conservative and just in its de-  
mands. Let us not attempt too much.  
There is much truth in saying that "you  
can unite many on few things, and but  
few on many." I would, therefore, ad-  
vise that you confine your demands to  
land, transportation, taxation, and  
money, believing that when conditions  
are so changed that men can enjoy the  
fruits of their labor, they will find more  
time and inclination to attend to those  
moral reforms so much needed, and so  
earnestly desired by all who love hu-  
manity.

The question of who shall own our  
lands, is to ask who shall own our people?  
For those who own the land own the  
people; so if they would be free, they  
must continue to own their land. There is  
no escape from this truism. It has held  
good since history began, and the con-  
tinuance of popular government depends  
upon the ownership of our lands by the  
masses, for when the monopoly of the  
land is accomplished, slavery for the  
masses begins. If, gentlemen, you can  
prevent the condition of landlord and  
tenant from obtaining in this country,  
you will deserve the gratitude of future  
generations.

Laws of communication and transpor-  
tation are for public use, and should be  
controlled by the government as to pre-  
vent abuses. Their power to fix and rob  
labor is too great to be trusted to cor-  
porations without control, but the con-  
trol of government should be to prevent  
abuse, and not to unduly burden them.  
There can be no antagonism between  
capital invested in them and the true in-  
terests of labor, unless abuses are prac-  
ticed. Government ownership, at a fair  
value, is more just than such control as  
would destroy values and prevent the re-  
turn of fair dividends on their actual  
capital invested.

The abuses practiced through the in-  
equality of the laws controlling taxation  
are a shame to any government and de-  
mand radical changes. All wealth should  
bear its equal part in support of govern-  
ment, and all indirect taxation should be  
avoided as much as possible, and the  
luxuries of life, not the necessities, should  
be left them.

It seems that all of our great statesmen,  
whose names are revered to-day for their  
integrity, love of country, and statesman-  
ship, have all feared and opposed the  
power of money to rob and oppress the  
people. Jefferson, Clay, Calhoun, Web-  
ster, Adams, Lincoln, with others, have  
stood in groups and talked earnestly of  
the objects sought to be attained by the  
conference. They were mostly gray-  
haired, sun-burned and roughly clothed  
men, these delegates. The "ward-burner,"  
the political "boss" and the  
"worker at the polls" were conspicuously  
absent from this peculiar political picture.

Among the delegates were many  
women, nearly all of them middle-aged,  
dressed in unfashionable gowns, but  
with thoughtful faces and earnest eyes,  
with hair brushed smoothly back from  
their brows, with hands that looked as  
though they were familiar with "house-  
work."

These women seemed to feel that they  
had personal interests at stake in the  
Industrial Conference, and that those inter-  
ests were being recognized. They  
talked pleasantly but firmly of what  
"we" were going to do during the con-  
vention.

Each failure is a stone in the monu-  
ment erected to perpetuate the memory  
of the absurdity of our financial policy.  
The monument grows apace, the people  
refusing to open their eyes that they may  
see. Strong men are crushed because  
of scarcity of money, and yet allow  
others to blind them to the necessity  
of an increase. A sick man would be  
an idiot if he refused to take a curative  
medicine because its taste was disagree-  
able; or because he had never before  
tested its virtue.

Before the session opened, Jacob  
Beck, an old farmer from Decatur,  
Neb., delivered an humorous speech  
on the subject of land and money, which  
kept the audience roaring with laughter

### ST. LOUIS CONVENTION.

SECOND DAY.

The morning session of the Industrial  
Conference to-day, witnessed by a casual  
visitor to Exposition Music Hall, sug-  
gested to the mind that wise and famous  
sentence, "Let me make the songs of  
the people, and I care not who makes  
their laws."

It was a singing session. Therein lay  
its distinctive unlikeness to any other  
political gathering ever witnessed in St.  
Louis, and therein lay, possibly, a signifi-  
cant indication of its possibilities of  
strength. Songs from the platform of a  
political convention do not, perhaps,  
seem exactly in keeping with the occa-  
sion. But it is a fact well to be kept  
in mind that never has there been a resolu-  
tion of the people peaceful or other-  
wise, the keynote of which was not first  
sounded by a song that went to the peo-  
ple's heart and stayed there until the  
resolution followed.

Monarchy fell in France to the ringing  
sloga of the "Marseillaise," in America  
to the quaint pibroch of "Yankee Doodle,"  
and later met its resistance to the patriotic strains of the "Star Span-  
gled Banner." Thirty years ago the  
words and music of "Yankee Doodle,"  
"Maryland, My Maryland" and "Dixie"  
played no inconsiderable part in the  
awful struggle between the States. These  
facts are recalled merely to show that  
the "singing sessions" of the Industrial  
Conference are not without precedent.

Exposition Music Hall echoed and re-  
echoed this morning with the favorite  
songs of the Farmers Alliance. It may  
be that among those songs there is one  
which will go down in history as the  
song which led the farmers and laborers  
on to a political victory, world-wide in  
influence.

At 8:30 o'clock this morning the Ex-  
position doors were thrown open for the  
second day's session of this Industrial  
Conference. There were already several  
hundred delegates waiting outside, and  
they hurried in to the places allotted their  
respective States in the majestic hall.  
At 9 o'clock the electric lights were  
turned on. By 9:30 o'clock all the dele-  
gates were seated, and the scene again  
presented the notable spectacle offered  
by yesterday's opening session. The  
banners of the different States rose above  
the delegates throughout the hall, flutter-  
ing like the flags over an army encamped.  
The great stage, brilliant and vivid with  
the national colors, was filled with the  
leaders of the Alliance, the Knights of Labor,  
the single tax people, the Prohibitionists,  
the People's party, the Reform Press  
and the Women's Alliance. To the  
right of the stage was stretched a broad  
poster of bunting which bore the words:  
"We do not ask for sympathy or pity;  
We ask for justice."

Opposite this "strange device" there  
flattered the gay silken standard of the  
Colorado delegation, the only attempt at  
finery made in this gathering of farmers  
and wage-workers, where all seemed to  
be purposely arranged on the basis of  
simplicity and bold plainness.

In the aisles and lobbies delegates  
stood in groups and talked earnestly of  
the objects sought to be attained by the  
conference. They were mostly gray-  
haired, sun-burned and roughly clothed  
men, these delegates. The "ward-burner,"  
the political "boss" and the  
"worker at the polls" were conspicuously  
absent from this peculiar political picture.

Mr. S. H. Snider, master of ceremonies  
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There was a characteristic incident on  
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"It is my baby, the Farmers Alliance,"  
said the sweet-voiced old lady. "I love  
to sing to it, and it loves to hear me!"

And while Alliance and third party  
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of the gray" pledge ourselves to do our share in this splendid consummation. We know that you "soldiers of the blue" are ready to do your share. Let us clasp hands and go forward, never ceasing our labors until the glorious end is accomplished! [Tremendous cheers.]

Mr. Paul Vandervoort was introduced. He said that long before this meeting it had been proposed to hold a reunion of the soldiers engaged in the late war in order to put an end to the sectional hate which that event naturally left. Perhaps we Grand Army men have done our part toward allaying sectional feeling; yet I have always felt that when a proposition came from our late antagonists, I would meet them more than half way. This reunion is a step in the right direction, and I hope and trust that we may live long enough to bind our whole country in indissoluble bonds of patriotic love. We have a grand country—one with a mission grand beyond conception, and now let the blue and gray march together to fulfill that destiny! God speed this movement! May it march forward to victory! Let us as soldiers consecrate ourselves to this sublime work!

Col. L. L. Polk said that he wished all the politicians in the country could look upon the spectacle afforded by this reunion. He could not make much of a speech—his heart was too full. "Oh, heroes of the North, Ye men who followed this flag with a devotion and courage which would have added new lustre to Roman renown. Old heroes of the South, who followed this Southern cross to its doom—a more forlorn hope than ever marched to a forlorn doom with a sublimer courage than even the six hundred at Balaklava displayed! My brethren in the blue and gray, you can't afford to pass away without doing what you can to reform the crying needs of our common country, and send the country along toward its magnificent destiny. Our Lees, Shermans and Grants, and all the great leaders, have crossed over the dark river; and soon the great review will summon us all to the grand review on the eternal plains! Let us do what we can to leave to our children the legacy of one flag and an undivided country. But who must not speak? I can not speak! I clasp you in the arms of brotherly affection! We have met each other in the clash of battle. I now thank God that I have seen the day when we can look into each other's eyes as brothers. To the blue—we expect at your hands such treatment as a gallant foe should accord. [Cries—"You shall have it!"] Such a scene as is afforded this morning in this hall has seldom been witnessed—never, perhaps, since the singing Mariam led the joyous hearts of the Israelites in a song rejoicing over their escape from the armies of Pharaoh. Brothers, let others do as they may, but let us be united! Let us do all we can to preserve our country—the grandest country God's sun ever shone upon! [Very great applause.]

The Hon. C. H. Van Wyck, of Nebraska, ex-Senator, etc., was able to say with the old patriarch, ("It is good to be here.") The occasion shows what was always understood—that there was no strife in the heart of the common soldier.

Nothing but a supposed regard for "the old party" could have kept the soldiers apart hitherto. It can keep them apart no longer. They are coming together as a band of brothers. When the blues and grays come together there won't be any need of large navies to be built only to rot at the dock. The blue and the gray united can give peace to this continent for ages. Let the work of reconciliation go on! If the common people could win victories on the battlefield, they can also win greater ones at the ballot box.

Thomas Wadsworth, of Indiana, said the rank and file had it in their hands to settle this difficulty now, and called on some good brother to sing a song for this occasion of reconciliation. "Kellogg! Kellogg!" called a number of those who sat in the hall.

There was some confusion and calls for various men, and then Chairman Terrell announced that Bro. J. A. Powell, of Indiana, would sing. Mr. Powell is a man about fifty, with a grayish-yellow mustache. He sang in a weak voice, "United We Stand, Divided We Fall," and accompanied the song himself with a guitar, which he put on the table of the chairman. During the singing there were shouts of "Everybody shake hands!" and a few did, but the most did not. E. C. Cabel, a negro, was brought forward on the platform, and shook hands, laughing, with everybody sitting in front.

"Where are you from?" asked one man, grasping his hand cordially. "Kansas City and Virginia," said the colored man, with a smile.

The regular order of business was then taken up, and Chairman Polk took up the gavel.

Hugh Kavanaugh said that the preliminary address of the committee would be read by Ignatius Donnelly, and then he would read the platform proper. Mr. Donnelly came to the front of the stage and read as follows:

#### PREAMBLE.

"This, the first great labor conference of the United States, and of the world; representing all divisions of urban and rural organized industry, assembled in national congress, invoking upon its action the blessing and protection of Almighty God, puts forth, to, and for the producers of the nation, this declaration of union and independence.

"The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation.

"We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized.

"Many of the States have been compelled

to isolate the voters at the polling places

in order to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are sub-

dized or muzzled, public opinion silenced;

business prostrated, our homes covered

with mortgages, labor impoverished,

and the land concentrating in the hands

of capitalists. The urban workmen are

denied the right of organization for self-

protection; imported pauperized labor

beats down their wages; a hireling stand-

ard army, unrecognized by our laws,

is established to shoot them down, and

they are rapidly degenerating to Euro-

pean conditions. The fruits of the toil

of millions are boldly stolen to build up

colossal fortunes, unprecedented in the

history of the world, while their possess-

ors despise the republic and endanger

liberty. From the same prolific womb

of governmental injustice we breed the

two great classes—paupers and million-

aires. The national power to create

money is appropriated to enrich bond-

holders; silver, which has been accepted

as coin since the dawn of history, has

been demonetized to add to the purchas-

ing power of gold by decreasing the

value of all forms of property as well as

human labor; and the supply of currency

is purposely abridged to latten usurers,

bankrupt enterprise and slave industry.

A vast conspiracy against mankind has

been organized on two continents and is

taking possession of the world. If not

met and overthrown at once it forebodes

terrible social convulsions, the destruc-

tion or the establishment of an absolute

despotism.

"In this crisis of human affairs the in-

telligent working people and producers

of the United States have come together

in the name of peace, order and society,

to defend liberty, prosperity and justice.

"We declare our union and indepen-

dence. We assert our purpose to support

the political organization which repre-

sents our principles.

"We charge that the controlling influ-

ence dominating the old political parties

have allowed the existing dreadful con-

ditions to develop without serious effort

to restrain or prevent them. They have

agreed together to ignore in the com-

ing campaign every issue but one. They

propose to drown the outrages of a

plundered people with the up roar of a

sham battle over the tariff, so that cor-

porations, national banks, rings, trusts,

"watered stocks," the demonetization of

silver, and the oppressions of usurers,

may all be lost sight of. They propose

to sacrifice our homes and children upon

the altar of Mammon, to destroy the

hopes of the multitude in order to secure

corruption funds from the great lords of

plunder. We assert that a political orga-

nization presenting the political prin-

ciples he stated, is necessary to re-

dress the grievances of which we com-

plain.

"Assembled on the anniversary of the

birth of the illustrious man who let the

first great revolution on this continent

against oppression, filled with the senti-

ments which actuated that grand genera-

tion, we seek to restore the government of

the republic to the hands of the plain peo-

ple, whom it originated. Our doors are

open to all points of the compass. We ask

all honest men to join with and

help us.

"In order to restrain the extortions of aggregated capital, to drive the money changers out of the temple, to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, we do ordain and establish the following platform:

"Mr. Chairman," said he, "we would like to know who this gentleman represents."

"Yes," said Chairman Terrell, "will the gentleman say who he represents?"

Swaine looked around him. The eyes of the whole convention were on him. "There's a gentleman here that wants to make that motion," said he.

A storm of hisses and yells broke over his head. Delegates cried, "Put him out!" He stood there still, and a big delegate from Texas named E. S. Peters caught the agitator by the collar of the big overcoat he wore and gave him a jerk. Swaine resisted, and Peters pulled him off his feet. Then a dozen delegates ran to his assistance, and while the delegates yelled approval, Swaine disappeared up the aisle, fighting like a baby in the hands of the stalwart countryman. The delegates threw him out of the hall doors into the lobby and then came back. The noise subsided a little. Then the chairman got silence and said:

"I want to congratulate the committee on its ability to meet any emergency. You have devised the most perfect roll call. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver.

"We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

"We demand a graduated income tax.

"We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand all national and State revenue shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

"We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

"LAND.

"Second—The land, including all the natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporation in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

"TRANSPORTATION.

"Third—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

"The telegraph and telephone, like the post office system, being a necessity for transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

"When Chairman Kavanaugh finished, the delegates cheered, yelled, and threw up their hats, and the big flag was brought out and waved.

"Move we adopt it unanimously," shouted several members.

A Kansas man threw his arms about his head, as he protested against adopting the platform without discussion.

"If you do that you will carry con-

sternation in our ranks," said he.

J. L. Jordan, of Illinois, rose to say he had a substitute to the platform. Great confusion followed, hisses and yells.

"Mr. Chairman," said Stump Ashby, of Texas, rising shaggy haired and black bearded, "I think a man who would offer a substitute for that platform is a zephyr, blown away by a cyclone."

Fred Swaine, the red-haired labor agitator, who was a Missouri legislator not long ago, was sitting in the convention, but nobody had noticed him. At this point, just as silence fell on the body for an instant, he advanced to the front, got the eye of the chair, and called out:

"I move to put an eight-hour plan in that platform."

"You've no right in this convention," cried Frank Wit, the secretary of the Knights of Labor assembly that ousted Swaine not long ago. "Mr. Chairman, he's a Democratic voter."

The convention then on motion of J. F. Willets adjourned sine die.

Immediately upon the adjournment of the Industrial Conference last evening, Dr. Macune asked the delegates to form themselves into a mass meeting to elect

the chairman. "Ask him who he represents," he said. The chairman hampered away with his gavel. Swaine stood his ground in spite of the threatening looks and the delegates who clustered around him. Jerry Simpson got up.

"Mr. Chairman," said he, "we would like to know who this gentleman represents."

"Yes," said Chairman Terrell, "will the gentleman say who he represents?"

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Stone, Pa., and Mr. Wangb, Ind., in favor of the contestants. The House at 2 o'clock and 55 minutes adjourned.

## SENATE.

Saturday, February 27, 1892.

The Senate was not in session to-day.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, February 27, 1892.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the chaplain, Rev. W. H. Milburn, D. D.

The journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Smith, Ariz., a bill was passed ratifying the act of the Arizona legislature, making appropriation of \$2,000 for a bronze statue of Christopher Columbus, and removal of the Peace monument now at the foot of Capitol Hill, Washington.

Authorizing the purchase of a site for a building for the Indian appropriation bill.

Mr. Powers, Cal., offered an amendment authorizing the appointment of agents of the service as Indian agents whenever an opportunity offered or a vacancy occurred in any of the agencies. He said that then, and then only, the Indians would be fairly dealt with. The Indians respected the officers, and with them in charge of agencies there would be no more wars. It would be demanded that the Indians be given the same rights as the army.

Mr. Wilson proposed the amendment. They were educated as soldiers, not as agents.

Mr. Stockdale, Miss., was forcibly impressed with the propriety of the amendment. Army officers prided themselves upon their integrity and honor. An Indian agent might be dishonest, or negligent, but an army officer would not be.

The joint resolution to provide for the internal improvement appropriations having been read on calendar, on motion of Mr. Sherman was laid over without action.

The Senate accepted and ratified the conference report on the census deficiency bill.

The Idaho election case was resumed. Mr. Vance addressed the Senate in support of Mr. Claggett, Tex., and the amendment of his claim to a seat for two hours. Went over without action.

Briefly, the claim of Mr. Claggett rests upon a charge made that the legislature of Idaho was not constitutionally organized when Mr. Claggett was elected to it. That the election was the result of manipulation, and thrown before minor court appointments had been completed, thus rendering it unconstitutional. Whole days have been spent by the Senate discussing the question pro and con. The ECONOMIST, and the mass of the people, we believe, would welcome any change which would take these wearisome and costly elections to a tribunal of law.

After an executive session, the Senate at 4 o'clock and 15 minutes adjourned until Monday, February 29, 1892.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, February 26, 1892.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker.

The journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

This was pension day.

Mr. Glancey, N. Y., received unanimous consent to the passage of a private pension bill.

Mr. O'Ferrall, Va., from the committee on the library, reported, after the erection of monu-

ments to Generals Daniel McCall, J. Winchester, Va., and Nathaniel Green, Jr., Philadel-

phia, N. C., Committee on the public lands,

and the Senate, made an effort to get con-

sideration for private claims, but the House pre-

ferred the Craig-Stewart contested election case,

and was addressed by C. W. Stone in support of

the claims of the sitting member. After speeches

by Mr. Moore, Tex., and O'Ferrall, Va., in favor

of the contestee, Mr. O'Ferrall demanded the pre-

vious question, which was then the main

topic of the debate. The motion was carried.

The majority report, seating Craig, was adopted without division, and Mr. Craig appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

Mr. Sayers, Tex., submitted the conference re-

port of the urgent deficiency bill, and it was agreed

to it. As agreed to, the bill was \$1,000,000 less than it originally passed the House, and \$39,333 less than it carried when it passed the Senate. The \$50,000 asked to continue the census work on bonds, farms and mortgages has been allowed.

Unfinished business on a private bill for relief

of A. Jones, postmaster of Indianapolis, Ind., amounting to \$5,000 suffered by him through job-

bing, was passed.

The rest of the afternoon was spent in motions

and counter motions to adjourn or take a recess

until the night session. When the House re-

assembled at 8 p. m. no quorum was present, and

after a speech by Mr. Kilpatrick, the

fifteenth and fifty-first Congress, the House ad-

joined at 8 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.

Did you ever see a sickly

baby with dimples? or a heal-

thy one without them?

A thin baby is always deli-

cate. Nobody worries about

a plump one.

If you can get your baby

plump, he is almost sure to

be well. If you can get him

well, he is almost sure to be

plump.

The way to do both—there

is but one way—is by CARE-

FUL LIVING. Sometimes this

depends on Scott's Emulsion

of cod-liver oil.

We will send you a book

on it; free.

Scott & Sons, Chemists, 125 South 5th Avenue,

New York.

18

If you feel weak

and all worn out, take

BROWN'S IRON BITTERS

Box 1657, Portland, Maine.

Illustrated and MAPS who he repre-

sentatives of the Coming Great Agricultural, Wool-Growing,

and Iron Producing District of the United States,

will be sent FREE on application to

TRAFFIC DEPT. N. & W. R. R.,

ROANOKE, VA.

But what do you empower these army officers to do? They have made all the recommendations for the appointment of agents to begin with, and the agency agent; there is an issue clerk; there is a superintendent of schools; there is a matron and there are assistant matrons; there are school teachers to be recommended; farmers to be recommended; all the various agents. All the men stand by their friends, and the result will be that you will not only have a military man as an agent, but all the sub-positions will be filled by the sons and daughters of the other officers. I am opposed to the army usurping the civil services. We are entitled to our civil service, and I am opposed to turning over our civil service to army officers.

Mr. Simpson. Will the gentleman now allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. Pickler. Certainly.

Mr. Simpson. Does the gentleman not think it would be just as bad to turn the power over to the politicians, as it would be to let the officers come so that they would mix in party friends from the army, as that civil agents should recommend their friends.

Mr. Pickler. Now, I desire to answer the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Simpson], who talked about the ignorance of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and the British on the subject. The gentleman from Kansas, where he ought to have learned something of this service, and yet he says that the Indian agent runs all over the country electioneering. Mr. Chairman, an Indian agent dare not set his foot off his reservation except by leave from the commissioner at Washington, D. C.

Mr. Pickler. Yes; and your proposition is utterly without foundation and is not a fact.

Mr. Simpson. I want to say that I lived for five years alongside of an Indian reservation, and for two days out of every week during that time, nearly the Indian agent was on the reservation.

Mr. Pickler. Then, the gentleman has seen more than any other man has.

Mr. Simpson. No, he has not, but he has seen more than any other man.

The rest of the day was spent in discussion of the \$100,000 for construction and repair of Indian day schools. Mr. Reed, Mo., moved that the sum be increased to \$150,000 for the education of the red men. There were to-day 30,000 Indian children. The government was rich enough to educate them all. The people of this country must be educated into one race, though composed of many a race, with some idea of civilization and progress. This amendment was then voted on, and finding no objection, the bill the committee rose, and the House at 4 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m. adjourned.

Mr. Simpson, Kan., spoke as follows upon Mr. Pickler's amendment:

Mr. Chairman, I am entirely in favor of the amendment. For the first time in my life I have had a suggestion and excuse for the existence of an army in this country. Here is a proposition, to put them to a useful employment, to put them into an employment for which their education has already fitted them. I have heard from Mr. Brossius [Mr. Brossius] with his knowledge upon all subjects, and particularly upon political affairs, should stand up in this House and say that Indian agents are not politicians. Why, every gentleman who has any relations with or lived near the Indian...

Mr. Brossius. Did not hear the gentleman's last remark.

Mr. Simpson. I said I was surprised that the gentleman should infer or say that Indian agents, either local or general, are not politicians, but that probably comes from the gentleman's location in the East. It is in line with the general ignorance of people who live in the East concerning the Indian. The fact is, that the Indian agent is known to be a politician. The Indian agent is known to be a politician. The party in power appoints politicians for those positions purely to uphold the power of the party; and these men are semi-junketing about to preach politics and to hold the "boys" in line and to work for the party. The fact is, that it is easier to even find a system of the kind as appears to that here to change to strike a blow at their political enemy. Here is a chance to take a lot of political strikers out of office that are using the money of the taxpayers to carry on policies in the interest of a party that to-day only represents two-thirds of the Union by a wide margin.

Mr. Stewart introduced a bill to determine the value of a legal tender dollar. It provides that the value of 25 cents of gold of gold shall be standard, and that all dollars shall be received and paid out in payment of public and private debts, at par, measured by that standard, whether the stamp of the government making the dollar be on gold or silver.

Mr. McMillin, from committee on rules, reported a resolution providing that at 5 o'clock Fridays and Saturdays should be half the time of weekdays.

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but are articles of prime necessity to the less wealthy.

It enters into daily consumption in every family, and has become one of the necessities of life. A removal of this duty would retire from taxation to a certain extent every family and every person in the nation, and prove to all the truth or falsity of the benefits of unrestricted commerce. Raw cotton receives no protection from import duties as does wheat, corn, oats and other breadstuffs. Yet outside of barley there is twice as much value of cotton imported as there is of these bread products. In the face of this a large amount of cotton goods are sent into the markets of other nations and successfully compete with foreign manufacturers. Out of a cotton crop of 8,042,600 bales, the United States consumed 2,712,000, which, according to the best authorities, produced about \$325,000,000 of manufactured goods.

If the customs duties are added to the manufactured article as well as to the imported product, the ad valorem duty of 50 per cent that is now collected brings a manufacturers' tax of \$162,500,000 on the whole people. If the tariff is a tax, it follows that to collect about \$14,000,000 of customs duties on cotton importations the people large are forced to pay a manufacturers' duty of \$162,500,000. There can be nothing more conclusive than this protection, and no act of Congress would demonstrate the practicability of free importations with less risk of damage to home industries than the passage of this bill.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The preamble and platform published in another column is the result of the conference of the various organizations of producers which assembled in St. Louis on the 22d ult. There has been some confusion on account of different forms in which this platform has been published. This is the correct wording—is all of it. The division into three planks has been done since the adjournment of the convention. The platform as reported to the convention by the committee upon platform had no numbers in it, and the reporters for the daily press numbered the paragraphs as planks and published twelve planks. That was wrong, and they had no right to do it. There is no sense in such division. The facts are, that the committee on platform had four subcommittees, finance, land, transportation, and miscellaneous, and that the report of the three first of these was embodied into the platform as made, and the report of the miscellaneous committee was finally rejected as a part of the platform. The plan of dividing the platform into three planks was suggested to THE ECONOMIST by Marion Butler, president North Carolina State Alliance, and as is so eminently correct, that plan

of division in preference to the one adopted by the daily press reported, was adopted.

Many papers published the resolutions as a part of the platform. This has led to some confusion. The resolutions were adopted by the convention as a matter showing the sentiment of that body, and not as a part of the platform. There were three resolutions adopted as follows:

Resolved. That the question of female suffrage be referred to the legislatures of the different States for favorable consideration.

Resolved. That the government should issue legal tender notes and pay the Union soldier the difference between the price of the depreciated money in which he was paid and gold.

Resolved. That we hail this conference as the consummation of a perfect union of hearts and hands of all sections of our common country. The men who wore the gray and the men who wore the blue meet here to extinguish the last smouldering embers of civil war in the tears of joy of a united and happy people, and we agree to carry the stars and stripes forward forever to the highest point of national greatness.

The sub-treasury plan, after all the unkind treatment it has received at the hands of those who were filled with some other scheme, assumed its proper place in the St. Louis demands just as naturally as water seeks a level, and why should any one wonder at it? This plan has been the bulwark and educator of this, the greatest reform movement of modern times. It has been read and discussed by more people than any other economic question of the present century. While the tariff has been discussed at a much greater length, the few have done the talking and writing while the many have blindly followed. Not so with the sub-treasury. It is the many who have read, debated and analyzed, while the few looked on in wonder and alarm. Because of this the people demanded it in their platform where all good, true, reformers are expected to defend and declare it.

**THAT \$100,000,000 GOLD RESERVE.**

Congressman Dockery has asked the judiciary committee of the House to inquire as to the right of the Secretary of the Treasury to hold \$100,000,000 in gold as a reserve for the redemption of United States notes (greenbacks). In regard to the resolution, Mr. Dockery said:

I asked the House to adopt the resolution for the reason that there seems to be some doubt upon this question, especially emphasized by an interview of the Secretary himself, published in this city, in which he is quoted as saying: "As to the \$100,000,000 of gold reserve, it is held against the \$350,000,000 greenbacks to make the credit of the government impregnable, for no one would be able to get together enough greenbacks to take all the gold out of the treasury, and, therefore, they do not take any. But these notes outstanding are legal tender, and the government can and would use this gold reserve if it needed to a pinch." It should, therefore, appear in the debt statement as available cash."

While the above may represent the opinions of the present Secretary of the Treasury, it certainly does not agree with those expressed by his predecessors.

Senator Sherman said during a speech in May, 1890, "that the Secretary of the Treasury who should reduce the gold balance for the re-

demption of United States notes below \$100,000,000 would be impeachable for high crimes and misdemeanors." The apparent difference between these two officials is very great, but the real difference is that Senator Sherman's statement was made when there was a surplus in the treasury, while Secretary Foster was facing a yawning deficit.

Resolved. That the question of female suffrage be referred to the legislatures of the different States for favorable consideration.

Resolved. That the government should issue legal tender notes and pay the Union soldier the difference between the price of the depreciated money in which he was paid and gold.

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**THAT \$100,000,000 GOLD RESERVE.**

And whenever, and so often, as circulating notes shall be issued to any such banking association, so increasing its capital or circulating notes, or so newly organized as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the legal tender United States notes in excess only of \$300,000,000, to the amount of 50 per cent of the sum of national bank notes so issued to any such banking association as aforesaid, and to continue such redemption as such circulating notes are issued until there shall be outstanding the sum of \$300,000,000 of such legal tender United States notes, and no more. And on and after the first day of January, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem, in coin, the United States legal tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation for redemption at the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States in the city of New York, in sums of not less than \$50. And to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and provide for the redemption in this act authorized or required, he is authorized to use any surplus revenues, from time to time, in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to issue, sell and dispose of, at not less than par, in coin, either of the descriptions of bonds of the United States described in the act of Congress approved July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy.

At this time there were \$375,771,580 legal tenders outstanding. This act of Congress decreed that this amount should be reduced to \$300,000,000. The act of May 31, 1878, repealed this and forbade the further destruction of these legal tenders, leaving \$346,681,016, at which amount it now stands.

Not a single line in the above section gives authority for this reserve, and Senators Cockrell, Ingalls, Beck and many others confirm this statement. The second section, which is claimed to grant this authority, is found in the act of July 12, 1882, entitled "An act to enable national banking associations to extend their corporate existence, and for other purposes:"

Sec. 12. That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized, and directed to receive deposits of gold coin with the treasurer or assistant treasurer of the United States, in sums not less than \$20, and to issue certificates therefor in denominations of not less than \$20 each, corresponding with the denominations of United States notes. The coin deposited for or representing the certificates of deposit shall be retained in the treasury for the payment of the same on demand. Said certificates shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received may be reissued; and such certificates, as also silver certificates, when held by any national banking association, shall be counted as part of its lawful reserve; and no national banking association shall be a member of any clearing-house in which such certificates shall not be receivable in the settlement of clearing-house balances:

Provided. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall suspend the issue of such gold certificates.

That the Secretary of the Treasury shall suspend the issue of such gold certificates whenever the amount of gold coin and gold bullion in the treasury reserved for the redemption of United States notes falls below \$100,000,000; and the provisions of section 5207 of the Revised Statutes shall be applicable to the certificates herein authorized and directed to be issued.

In referring to this reserve, the treasury reports always cite the acts of January 14, 1875, and July 12, 1882. It is necessary, therefore, in order to understand the matter, to analyze these two acts so far as they are presumed to touch this question. In the act to provide for the redemption of specie payments, approved January 14, 1875, section 3, among other things, provides:

**THAT \$100,000,000 GOLD RESERVE.**

Mr. Ingalls. Very true. Therefore the whole matter rested in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury to provide such fund as in his judgment would be sufficient to maintain specie resumption, and it was in accordance with that that the sum of \$95,500,000 in fours and four-and-a-halfs was sold.

Mr. Plumb. In four-and-a-halfs.

Mr. Ingalls. In four-and-a-halfs, says my colleague.

Mr. Sherman. Some of each.

Mr. Ingalls. The Senator from Ohio says some fours and some four-and-a-halfs.

Mr. Cockrell. Yes, bonds of both kinds.

Mr. Ingalls. In either event we will assume a sufficient number of fours and four-and-a-halfs to make the average 4 per cent on \$100,000,000, we will call it in round numbers, so that at that time there were sold bonds enough on which the annual interest would be \$4,000,000, and we have been paying for the last eleven years the equivalent of that, amounting to date, perhaps, to from forty to forty-five million dollars.

Does anybody suppose if those bonds had been issued and put in the treasury and filed there and maintained specifically as a fund for the redemption of those notes, with the coupons cut off every half year as they matured, there would have been any difference in the market value of the United States notes?

Does anybody suppose they would have fluctuated? Does anybody suppose they would have been reduced in market value anywhere on the face of this earth? No, sir. Those bonds might just as well have been left in the treasury of the United States from that day to this, instead of that great volume of idle and menacing gold, and the coupons cut off

quarterly or semi-annually and burned and calcined to ashes, and the credit of the nation would have been exactly as good. The value of the United States notes would have been exactly as high. We should have saved from \$40,000,000 to \$45,000,000 that have been paid out in interest for the purpose of allowing that idle and enormous amount of gold to remain in the treasury.

I heard my colleague or some other Senator state the entire amount of indebtedness (greenbacks) that had been presented for redemption during the eleven years. It was somewhere about \$28,000,000, or \$12,000,000, at least, less in amount than the interest we have paid upon the bonds that were issued for the purpose of providing this fund. That may be supplemented by another equally interesting fact, that during that period of time, the eleven years, there has been presented at the treasury in gold for exchange into greenbacks more than twice the amount that has been presented in greenbacks for redemption in gold.

Therefore, Mr. President, the claim that this \$100,000,000 in the treasury is necessary to maintain the credit of this nation, that it ever was pledged to be deposited there as a matter of faith or of public honor, is a fiction. It is a dream. It is a barren ideality, as has been said about another transaction. There is no foundation for it, and there is no man in his senses, who is not afflicted with the mania for gold, who does not know that if that were unlocked and released to-day and set to work, as all money in the country ought to be set to work, the value of our United States notes would not fluctuate the minute t's subdivision of a hair in the markets of the world. There is no weight of the apothecary's scale that would turn upon a knife edge which would measure the value of the depreciation that would occur to the notes of the United States if that \$100,000,000 of gold were to be unlocked and turned loose and set to work, as it ought to be, in the financial affairs of this country.

My position, whether at home in Indiana or here, has never been a moment in doubt. I have not obtruded the issue upon the public mind needlessly, nor, I trust, in an unbecoming manner, but neither have I relegated it to the rear or flinched from its support to accommodate the interests or the aspirations of those who are opposed to it. Sir, I make this brief personal reference and the election of others, I have advocated the free coining of silver, and have always been known as its open supporter.

Mr. President, it seems evident to me that we are conducting this debate upon an entirely wrong basis and assumption. I suppose it is not necessary for me to affirm that the credit of this nation is as dear to me as to anybody; that I would in no sense whatever impair it; that I would in no minutest manner in any way whatever impair a national obligation. But the claim here that when the Secretary of the Treasury has the right to sell a thousand million dollars of the bonds of the United States, when by the terms of the act itself requiring the resumption of specie payments he has a right to use all the balances in the treasury and supplement any deficit that may occur by the sale of bonds, that the presence of that paltry \$100,000,000 in the treasury is the basis of national security and honor, and indeed, no one citizen of Indiana has ever heretofore placed a petition hostile to silver money in my hands or manifested with me in regard to my own position on that subject. Indiana is very full and populous State. There are two millions and a quarter of inhabitants within her borders. She will cast next fall, at the Presidential election, nearly 600,000 votes. Those who live in that State are also a very intelligent people, and especially on political affairs.

For more than the third of a century parties have been very evenly divided in Indiana. Elections have been closely, vigorously and stubbornly contested. Able and careful discussion has pervaded every neighborhood. Thoroughly trained and highly educated party leaders, such as Thomas A. Hendricks and Joseph E. McDonald on the one side, with Oliver P. Morton and Benjamin Harrison on the other, besides many more that might be named, have left no political issue in obscurity or of doubtful meaning in this great State to which they belonged.

Silver money is this day so sound and acceptable amongst us and passes so smoothly and easily at par with gold that it is in constant use even by its enemies without a knowledge or suspicion on their part that it is in their hands. There is hardly a Senator on this floor at this moment who has not in his possession and who is not in the daily habit of carrying silver money, in the form of silver certificates, with which he can, and sometimes does, buy gold at even rates across the counter of the banks, and with which he pays his board or his rent if he is poor, or the expenses of his palatial residence and splendid entertainments if he is rich.

Enough has been given to show that this reserve is a fraud that has cost the taxpayers upwards of \$50,000,000 in interest, and the fraud is acknowledged when the pinch of a deficit comes up.

**SENATOR VOORHEES' SILVER SPEECH.**

Senator D. W. Voorhees delivered the following telling speech in the Senate recently, which will be read with interest by all lovers of fair play and honorable methods:

Mr. Voorhees. I send to the desk a petition.

The chief clerk. A petition of 27 members of Stillwell Post, No. 375, Grand Army of the Republic, of Colfax, Ind., praying for the defeat of the free coining of silver.

Mr. Voorhees. Mr. President, in presenting this petition I desire to say that it is the first communication of the kind ever received by me from citizens of Indiana. My respect for those who send it induces me to submit by way of reply and explanation some observations of my own, and of a somewhat personal character to myself.

It is now nearly fifteen years since I became a member of this body. At the very beginning of my service I was assigned to a position on the committee on finance, which position I have ever since been allowed

or can ever by the remotest possibility become a law, by which they will be paid their pensions, now or hereafter, in money less valuable, dollar for dollar, than the very best money, whatever that may be, in circulation anywhere in the world. It is well worthy the soldiers' attention that the silver dollar of the fathers, of 412½ grains, was devised by Thomas Jefferson, sanctioned by Washington, authorized by the Constitution, and put into circulation by Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury.

The most prominent issue by far at that time before the people of Indiana was the restoration of silver money to the lawful condition in which it had stood from the foundation of the government to the year 1873. A popular majority of more than 30,000 votes was cast at that election for the members of the legislature who honored me with their support, Gen. Benjamin Harrison being at the time it was secretly stabbed nigh unto death in 1873 was 3 per cent higher than that of gold. And even now,

it leaves the false prophets, the loud-mouthed enemies of silver, without a rag to cover their nakedness and their shame.

Sir, not only gold and silver money in this country are on terms of absolute equality, but the same is true of all other branches of our currency. The greenback and the bank note have exactly the same purchasing and practical legal tender power as gold and silver. There is no unevenness anywhere, and it is the same thing now to the government whether it pays its debts in one kind or another of our diversified currency. So far as value is concerned the government can pay in gold just as well as in any other kind of money.

The gold dollar is worth no more than the dollar of silver, or the greenback, or the bank note dollar, and will purchase

no more of the necessities of life and is far less convenient for use. The bondholder who staid at home and speculated during the war received gold when the soldier was compelled to receive depreciated paper.

No one need be misled on this point.

There are at this time more than four hundred millions of silver money in daily and hourly circulation in this country.

The coined currency itself, and the silver certificates based on silver coin held in the treasury, are to be found doing a large and honorable business in every neighborhood beneath the flag.

By the legislation of 1878, supplemented by subsequent enactments, silver money has been restored to its legal tender powers and to its full dignity and honor, with the single exception of the restriction on the mints as to the amount of its coinage.

Not a dollar of it can now be found, from the north end of Maine to the south end of Texas, in a depreciated condition, passing at a discount, or holding its head in any market, whether of produce or of money, lower by the breadth of a hair than the proudest gold ever gambled for in the dens of Wall street.

Silver money is this day so sound and acceptable amongst us and passes so smoothly and easily at par with gold that it is in constant use even by its enemies without a knowledge or suspicion on their part that it is in their hands. There is hardly a Senator on this floor at this moment who has not in his possession and who is not in the daily habit of carrying silver money, in the form of silver certificates, with which he can, and sometimes does, buy gold at even rates across the counter of the banks, and with which he pays his board or his rent if he is poor, or the expenses of his palatial residence and splendid entertainments if he is rich.

We seek simply to restore the silver dollar as it existed when the soldiers of the Revolution received their pensions, and when the veterans of the war of 1812 were placed upon the pension rolls. No complaint was made then. Silver money then proved itself, as it has ever since, as good as the best. The government commits a great wrong in paying those who offer their lives in its behalf in depreciated currency, whether in payment of their wages in the field, their bounties, or their pensions. I held during the war for the Union that the contract for their wages ought to be kept good with the soldiers in the field, and that the difference between the greenback and gold at that time ought to be made up to them by the payment of a gold equivalent in greenbacks. Nor would I now for any consideration known to the human mind aid in depriving the soldier of a single farthing due to him from his govern-

ment.

At the same time, I am not willing to stand idly and silently by and allow him to be imposed upon by those who are seeking their own interests and ulterior designs through his sensitive fears of personal loss. The movement of the money power to dwarf and contract the circulation of the world more than one-half by destroying silver currency, thus promoting the aristocracy of wealth and a government of the plutocracy, shall not muster into its service the soldiers of Indiana, if I can help it. The soldier lives not for himself alone, but likewise for his wife and children, and when he is gone, and his children become a part of the great laboring, moving, struggling mass of the community, he desires that there shall be enough money in circulation when silver is restored to coinage in 1878, and the raven croak of coming disaster is taken up all over the land by the agents of the money power, the monied interests, the plutocracy.

The soldiers of Indiana know whether I have been faithful to their wants and interests, and they will believe me when I assure them that this circular is not true, that no measure is contemplated,

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cates, with only here and there a meager amount for the laboring people.

But great stress is laid by the enemies of silver on the fact that when bullion is taken to the mint and coined the coin as money is worth more than the bullion. This is equally true as to gold and silver both, and if it should stop the coining of one metal it should also stop the coining of the other. But inasmuch as the great body of the people—farmers, mechanics, wage-workers, pensioners, and other worthy classes—have to do only with the money itself, with the dollars after they are coined, with the currency after it has received the authority of the government, I do not see how they can suffer any loss, certainly no more in silver than in gold at the mints. If the act of coining puts silver at par with gold, it goes with that value into the hands of the people. The question for the people is honest, lawful money, and every dollar which has the authority of the government upon it is honest and is lawful.

Sir, I speak not for others upon this question; I speak for myself, and recognize the responsibility I owe alone to those who have sent me here. It is said there is trouble in the silver question at this time. It is said it is dividing and distracting political parties, that there are divisions in both parties in regard to the proper course to pursue. This all may be true, but the friends of silver have not made the trouble. Gladly would we have seen the silver dollar let alone in its sphere of usefulness and honor. Deeply do we regret the continued and venomous assault upon it. We are simply defending one of the institutions of the founders of the government from the greed and avarice of the great money changers of the world.

We look back in history and find ourselves in company with Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, John Marshall, Monroe, Jackson, Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Van Buren, Silas Wright, Marcy, Seymour, Benton, Cass, Douglass, Hendricks, Morton, Allen G. Thurman, Salmon P. Chase, and Abraham Lincoln. No fault was ever found in silver by these illustrious men, nor danger feared by them on account of its existence and use as money. The statement that the silver dollar ever cheated or defrauded any human being out of his just dues or the reward of his labor is shown to be false on every page of American history. For nearly twenty years past we have listened to dismal prophecies as to the injurious effects of silver currency. No one of them has been found to have been true at any time in the annals of the republic.

I seek to proscribe no man on this question. I do not present it as a party test, nor shall I submit to having it so presented to me. I shall pursue my self the line of duty which lays so plainly before me, and I shall do so without let or hindrance from any source. I shall vote my own convictions and answer to my constituents for my action. Nor will the silver issue ever obstruct my vision nor my course as to other and perhaps greater issues. It is in full harmony with the overpowering and masterful issue of tariff reform, and it has proved itself a powerful help and handmaiden to free government in the defeat of the bill intended for the forcible subversion of free elections throughout the United States.

It is lately claimed, however, as a last resort by our enemies, that nothing should be attempted at this time on the subject of silver because nothing can be accomplished; that, owing to the fact that the two Houses of Congress and the executive department of the government are not in agreement, no measure on the subject can become a law. If this is a reason for nonaction on the subject of silver, it is a still more powerful reason, and pleads with still higher force against any action on the still greater subject of tariff reform. The free coining of silver can pass both branches of Congress, but will, doubtless, be vetoed by the President; while any measure of tariff reform, free wool, or anything else, can pass only one House, with the absolute certainty of being vetoed if by any possibility it should pass both. Such a reason for nonaction on any subject is worthless and untenable. Let us, therefore, do our duty as each one sees it for himself.

But let there be action—bold, constant and aggressive action—against every evil in sight, leaving the consequences to that high Providence which rules in the coun-

tries, as well as in the affairs of men. The spirit of the people at this time expects no one to shrink back from the conflict at any point in the line of battle simply because he is not assured of immediate success. The Bruce of Scotland was taught the ultimate point of courage, duty and endurance by the climbing spider's repeated failures, but the constant action and final success. The ends in view by the laboring people of the United States in the present crisis of their affairs are few and simple, but as far-reaching and as powerful as the mighty principles which uphold life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They may be stated in brief space, as follows:

First. Absolute equality in the burdens and blessings of government founded on a tariff reform which will place, as nearly as possible, all the necessities of life on the free list, causing wealth, and the graduated incomes of wealth, rather than the wants and necessities of working people, to pay taxes and furnish government revenue.

Second. A full and sufficient volume of money in circulation, consisting of gold, silver and legal tender paper currency, at par with each other and incontrovertible.

Third. Free elections in all the States, untrammeled by "force bills," or any other Federal machinery implying a want of faith in the intelligence, the honor, or the patriotism of any portion of the American people.

Fourth. Rigid economy in public expenditures so that no more billion dollar Congresses may come to curse the country.

## HARTER CIRCULAR ANSWERED.

The following letter in response to circular sent to the G. A. R. Posts by Mr. Harter is from James M. Taylor, Adjutant U. S. Grant Post No. 34, department of Arkansas:

SPRINGDALE, ARK., February 20, 1892.

Hon. Michael D. Harter, M. C. for Fifteenth Ohio district, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir: Your circular of February 15, 1892, duly received and contents duly noted, and read in presence of the members of U. S. Grant Post, No. 34, department of Arkansas, G. A. R. The commander refers the matter—to me—to answer. First, then, I will say, the subject matter being strictly political, no G. A. R. Post has any right to act in the matter. This post is composed of a membership who are very familiar with the laws, rules and regulations governing the G. A. R., as well as the objects for which our noble order was founded. Also, that nothing of a political character can be discussed or recognized within its doors. Knowing all this, and that this knowledge is also universal, we feel that any such attempts to introduce political measures into G. A. R. Posts is unworthy the dignity of gentlemen, and should receive the severest condemnation at the hands of every G. A. R. Post throughout the United States. This, sir, is not the first attempt of designing politicians to pervert the G. A. R., and subvert it from its legitimate course, and for one occupying so high and honorable a position as that of a Congressman to attempt such an act, makes the offense the greater and merits the greater condemnation.

And since you have manifested the impudence to presume upon our ignorance, or fidelity to the principles of our noble order, that through our selfishness we might be induced to debase ourselves and so debauch our noble order. As to turning it into a political machine to aid and abet your nefarious schemes in the interest of the moneyed monopolists of England and Wall street shysters, and against the interests of our great common brotherhood, the toiling masses of America, I will endeavor, hastily, to answer your communication from my own standpoint, as I view matters. First, then, let me direct your attention to the act of April 2, 1792; there you will find that the actual quantity of silver in the dollar was 371 $\frac{1}{4}$  grains; from that date when silver was also made the unit of values down to the present date, you will find no change in the quantity of silver in the standard dollar. But frequent changes in all others, not excepting the gold dollar, silver being the unit alone until 1848 or 1849, when gold was added, giving us two metals instead of silver alone. The relations continued perfectly harmonious, save as other metals were

changed by law to conform to the silver standard, giving full and complete satisfaction to all our people so far as silver was concerned, until a venal and corrupt Congress passed the act demonetizing it. And now, sir, who were the beneficiaries of this most corrupt and damning act, an act that, according to John J. Ingalls, required the hypnotizing of Congress in order to accomplish it? Silver, sir, was demonetized solely in the interest of English and American bondholding capitalists and against the interest of all our producing and laboring classes; it was a part of the foul conspiracy against the wealth producers of this country to enrich the bondholding, banking, and moneyed class. This whole bond and banking business is but a scheme of English financiers to recover from American wealth producers what she could not obtain by the bayonet, viz., to regain control of American industries and lands. How well she has succeeded is plain to be seen. Look at the industries owned and controlled by her to day in this so-called land of free America. See the wonderful investments being made almost every day by foreign capitalists. I believe Mr. Blaine once said, "America for Americans," but what a farce to-day. Rapidly and surely the republic is crumbling away, all through the corrupt and venal financial legislation of the past twenty-seven years, and here I will refer you to the declaration of John Lubbock, England's celebrated financier. Eleven years before our war he said, "capital is about to organize, and when organized labor will become more degraded and more dependent than ever before in the history of the world." Come down to our war, and here I direct you to another English financier's utterance, the Hazzard circular. Said Mr. Hazzard, "slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power and chattel slavery destroyed." This, and my European friends are in favor of, for slavery is but the owning of labor, and carries with it the care of the laborer. While the European plan, as led on by England, is capital control of labor by controlling wages. This can be done by controlling the money, the great debt that (capitalists will see to it) is made out of the war, must be used as a measure to control the volume of money; to accomplish this, the bonds must be used as a banking basis. We are now waiting to get the Secretary of the Treasury to make his recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the greenback, as it is called, to circulate as money for any length of time, for we can not control them. These must be converted into bonds, and these used as a basis for banking, for these we can control. So much to show how English financiers were interesting themselves in American finances. Now, note what followed. The war is on; money must be had; appeal is made to the people for money. The poor, true patriots respond promptly with their small sums, and offer them at low rates of interest. But the rich, moneyed class, reluctantly come forward, and then demand ruinous rates of interest, even as high as 38 per cent. Shylock got his pound of flesh and so I might go on almost ad infinitum relating the black and damning legislation in the interest of the capitalist classes, both English and American thieves, regardless of the consequences upon the toiling masses. Here let me cite you to that memorable prophecy of our lamented, martyred President, Abraham Lincoln, murdered, as I verily believe, at the instigation of these English and Wall street capitalist thieves, at a time when their dark and damning deed could be well-covered by saddling it off upon a dying confederacy. The same I believe to be true of James A. Garfield. Mr. Lincoln said: Yes, we may all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is nearing a close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. The best blood of the flower of American youth has been offered freely upon our country's altar that the nation might live. It has been, indeed, a very trying hour for the republic. But I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the future safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption will follow in high places. The money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until the wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before.

even in the midst of the war. God grant that my suspicion may prove groundless. It was also Mr. Lincoln who said capital was arraying itself against labor. Labor is prior to capital, and is deserving of much the greater consideration. These declarations showed Mr. Lincoln's future contemplation policy, and no doubt, in my opinion, were the prime cause of his removal out of the way of avaricious, greedy capital, James A. Garfield, another lamented martyred president, referring to these same soulless corporations, said: "These must be controlled by wise and wholesome laws, or they would control the people," thus proving himself to be upon the side of the people, and he, too, must share the same fate as his immortal predecessor. But how literally true are these predictions coming to pass! No prophecy was ever more literally fulfilled than these. The war closed with two millionaires in America—John Jacob Astor and Stephen Jerard—and behold, like Jonah's gourd in seemingly a night—twenty-seven years—and we have over thirty-one thousand millionaires, with three-fifths of the nation's wealth transferred from the wealth producers to less than 5 per cent of cut-throat, swindling speculators, with nine millions of mortgaged homes, plastered with five billions dollars of mortgaged debts, notwithstanding the most bountiful crops this old sin-cursed earth could produce, without a single season but that the God of Heaven has given us a good surplus, and yet the toiling masses, growing harder up continually, scarcely able to-day to make ends meet, and with accursed old England absorbing many of our most valuable industries, and actually introducing her infamous land eviction laws here in our once free America, so that thousands are to-day being evicted from homes they have hewn out with their own hands. No wonder there is such discontent abroad in the land. I want to say to you, sir, our people have been praying and pleading for relief for long years, but have invariably been given a stone in reply to their righteous demands. Your politicians, as John J. Ingalls says, were hypnotized, as his excuse for your infamous class legislation, and methinks you have been trying ever since to hypnotize the people, first with your tariff bugaboo, just to keep them from investigating real issues that really affects their interests, while your masters went on with their skinning process, then the old bloody shirt was used to keep up sectional prejudices, just as Lincoln said, until the old shirt became worn so threadbare that it would no longer hold water, or cover up the trickery of Shylock and his perfidious tools; and now we are met with wonderful fraud and robbery of the old soldiers by the full restoration of silver to its old-time, honored place in the monetary system of our country; 371 $\frac{1}{4}$  grains of silver worth only 70 cents to be made into dollar, you say, would debase us old veterans more than all other influences that could be marshalled against us, or, in other words, the free coinage of silver would rob us out of more than all other influences combined. My judgment is that this is another subterfuge to frighten timid ignoramus back into the old party ranks, while you continue to fleece the people as usual, because I am positive that if you will give free unlimited coinage to silver, Nay, more, if you will just coin three or four billions of dollars out of good greenback paper, and make each dollar a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, any one of them will pay just as much debt as any gold dollar ever coined, just the same as did the first sixty millions without any exception clause on them; and should you decide to do this, and provide some way of putting them into circulation as cheaply as the national banks have been favored by the government the last quarter of a century, without the intervention of banks or any other corporate control, you would do the wisest act of your life, and our latent and lagging industries would spring into new life as if by magic. Tramps would cease to roam the streets; prosperity would again gladden the hearts of the husbandmen; millionaires would cease to spring into existence like mushrooms over the wrecked fortunes wrung from the toiling masses by the present robber systems; mortgage foreclosures would be numbered among the past; liberty would take on a new breathing spell, and reassess and restore itself from the foul grasp of the traitorous hands of the foul wretches who have so nearly choked the life out of

it: the money monopoly's power would be broken, and no McCulloch would dare

again to say he would give a million dollars to see Grant or any other man back in the white house as a military dictator,

No. 2.

BY N. A. DUNNING.

About this time, when it became apparent that a large territorial acquisition would be made by the states, as the result of the Mexican war, Great Britain seized the port of San Juan del Norte, which they afterward named Grey-Town, the only possible eastern terminus of the canal, on the pretext of protection to their ally, the king of the Mosquitos, a savage ruler of a coast tribe. The government of Nicaragua earnestly and repeatedly solicited the United States to interfere.

In one of his letters, the supreme director of the state of Nicaragua says:

"The obvious design of Great Britain in seizing upon the port of San Juan, and setting up pretensions to sovereignty, in behalf of savage tribes within the territories of Nicaragua, is to found colonies, and to make herself master of the prospective interoceanic canal."

In September, 1849, Mr. Squier, acting for and on behalf of Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White, and their associates, obtained a concession for an inter-oceanic canal. The work was conducted by this bureau of the navy department under the personal supervision of Admiral Ammen.

Of the numerous projects for interoceanic communication by canal, many were soon seen to be impracticable. Only eight routes were deemed worthy of particular investigation; the length of each route and the altitude of the "divides" traversed were

Length. Miles. Feet.  
Tehuantepec ..... 150 755  
Nicaragua ..... 169 153  
Panama ..... 41 295  
San Blas ..... 30 1145  
Caledonia-Tuyra ..... 87 1008  
Atatra-Tuyra ..... 115 800  
Atatra-Truando ..... 125 950  
Atatra-Napipi ..... 180 778

A provisional inter-oceanic Canal society, consisting of Capt. S. L. Phelps, Gen. U. S. Grant, Admiral Daniel Ammen, Gen. Geo. B. McClellan, Gen. Edward F. Beale, Hon. Levi P. Morton, Messrs. Geo. W. Riggs, Howard Potter, Hugh J. Jewett and others, obtained from the republic of Nicaragua, in May, 1880,

In 1858 the contract with the Transit company, as well as that for the canal, work on which was never commenced, having been declared forfeited by the Nicaraguan government because of non-compliance by the grantees with its conditions, Nicaragua and Costa Rica jointly conferred upon Felix Belly, of Paris, and a company to be organized by him a concession for the construction of a canal by the route proposed by Childs. Before M. Belly succeeded in obtaining the necessary funds, notwithstanding the favorable disposition of the Nicaraguan government, his concession lapsed.

In 1852 there was commenced a

series of explorations covering the whole of the American isthmus. Some

were undertaken by individual enterprise directed to particular routes, but the more important were under the control and direction of the United States government, the object being to secure a systematic examination of any and all the routes which presented any possibilities of a practicable solution of the problem. These explorations were carried on with more or less continuity until 1880; every locality possessing any claims for consideration was carefully examined, and data were accumulated for a competent and impartial comparison. The route through Nicaragua was explored in 1872-1873.

In 1872, President Grant appointed a commission consisting of Gen. A. A. Humphreys, chief of engineers, United States Army, Capt. C. C. Patterson, superintendent of the Coast Survey, and Admiral Daniel Ammen, United States Navy, chief of the bureau of navigation; "to examine into, make suggestions and report upon the subject of interoceanic ship canal communication."

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through the society's representative, a concession for the construction of a canal. In December, 1881, a bill was introduced in the Senate of the United States by Senator Miller of California, with the object of granting the aid of the United States to the construction of the canal, but it was hindered in its progress by opposing interests until the time allowed by the concession for the commencement of work lapsed. But before this occurred, Capt. Phelps, with the aid of Captain Lull, an officer of the navy, had obtained from Nicaragua an extension of time until September 30, 1884. The bill, which the com-

munity on "resign affairs" had

ported to the Forty-seventh Congress, was not acted upon, and a similar bill was brought before the following Congress by Mr. Rosecrans, of California, and referred to the House Committee on foreign affairs, December 10, 1883. Neither of these bills were considered by Congress.

The provisional society was merged into a corporation known as the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua, and negotiations for capital were carried on outside of the attempt to secure aid from Congress.

The limit of time granted the Maritime Canal Company in which to commence work expired September 30, 1884.

Another organization was formed December 3, 1886, by the adoption of articles of agreement and by the election as its first officers, of Mr. Francis A. Stout, president, Mr. J. W. Miller, secretary, and Mr. Horace L. Hotchkiss, treasurer, and another concession was granted which was ratified by the Nicaraguan government April 24, 1887.

A bill was approved February 7, 1889, incorporating the "Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua." Previous to this and out of its members this company had caused to be incorporated in one of the States, another organization known as the

"Nicaragua Canal Construction Company." This last company has taken the contract of building the canal from the first company, Hon. Warner Miller being its president. On January 10, 1891, Senator Sherman introduced a bill authorizing the United States to guarantee the principal and interest on \$100,000,000 4 per cent bonds issued to this company to aid in the construction of this canal. It is at this point that the history of the canal ends and the effort to plunder the people begins.

#### Give us a reason.

BY I. N. HOUSTON, WEST VIRGINIA.

I read a few days ago an article headed free silver, a talk between Hons. Carlisle and Springer, and I think men of such note should give us such reason for not having free coinage that we could see at once why we should not have it, but the assertion given will not suffice; we want reason. They say it will flood the country with silver, and it would ruin the country, and we would loose the New England States in the next campaign for the Democrats. Now, gentlemen, give us an explanation why or how this will ruin us. All the assertions you have made are hypothetical. Now you want to still mystify the matter more to the people by leaving it to an international congress. So would we want to leave it in just such hands, if we were advocating the grounds you are occupying. It has now caused the common people too much bloodshed already, to prevent us living in a monarchical government. We had enough of international interference in the shape of Ernest Syde, when the exceptional use was put on the greenbacks,

England, for instance, would try for terms that would still contract our currency, so she could get hold of some more of our industries, and then will be needed land for our American settlers. Now, gentlemen, give us some reason why we should not have free silver. Don't say it will ruin the country, or it will flood the country with silver (and make the people too rich), and then not prove it. With the same reason we might say it would not do these things and have the same right to believe them; we know if we had free silver it would not contract the currency so as to give a few people the chance to grind down our people who have contracted debts when money was plenty and could be made easy enough to pay their contracts, but now you want to make them pay these same debts with money one-half harder to get, and takes one-half more labor to get it and one-half more farm produce to bring the same amount of money. It was the increase by 20 per cent of all salaries connected with this institution since 1853. So gradually had this been done, with such apt argument and partisan favoritism, its ultimate aggregate had remained unappreciated. Now, I am not making specific charges against one or the other political parties. It is the system which has grown up, the principle involved which needs a check. I hope to thus get the idea into circulation, that while it is true that the country is constantly growing in power and scope, it need not necessarily follow that bit by bit a stupendous wage service need be fostered and built up."

"Your bill, of course, included Congressional remuneration?" "It does. There is no reason on earth I should receive \$5,000 a year for the same services my predecessors gladly furnished for \$2,500. People cry out, 'Oh, but you can't live in Washington in a manner befitting your position for less. It is an extravagant and expensive city. Fancy prices prevail.' So? Well, who made it a costly business to reside in the Capital, and fostered the extravagance they advance as a counterpoise to economy? I reply, the government officials and legislators, by their legislative acts and lavish expenditures of public funds."

"You wish to put the President's salary at its original figure?" "Yes. The same our chief magistrates down to Grant received. Men who bore the brunt of heavier cares and wider executive duties than latter-day successors. At one jump Congress voted an increase of \$25,000. Now it is widely understood, that candidates seeking elevation to the White House give small thought to the Presidential emolument. They are with rare exceptions financially affluent. It is the honor they aspire to."

"This measure would not effect any present incumbent?" "Certainly not. It would take effect in the President's case in 1893, and it would be applicable only to the judges of the Supreme Court upon the death of one, and life appointment of another. The Constitution so applies to them, that this is the only way they could be brought under its provisions."

"Do you think, Mr. Grady, that this measure has any present shadow of chance?" "I do not so flatter myself. It would turn loose floods of eloquence and bombast in the House and Senate, if it got even passing consideration. They would arise as one man to vindicate themselves." But back of our brief authority stand the people. And they are weary of being mocked. They do not care for relative terms. They would just as quick have the President called czar, emperor, or king, if the results are synonymous. We need to get back to Jeffersonian simplicity if we want to save the republic. When the masses get to

#### INTERVIEWS.

HON. B. F. GRADY, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

There is always "the inner reason," Mr. Grady, of the Alliance, and North Carolina, thus explains his introduction of a bill in Congress to reduce the salaries of all government officials and employees, rated over and above the receipt of \$100 per month.

HON. T. E. WATSON, OF GEORGIA.

In the brilliant congressional career just opening before Mr. Watson, of Georgia, no legislative act has met with wider approbation than his resolution calling for an investigation of the Pinkerton detective service of the United States. In reply to an ECONOMIST reporter he said that "it was being carefully considered in committee, and that he had hopes of a strong report. Even should it be adversely reported to the House by the committee majority, a minority would support him, and the attention of the whole country would be secured by the ventilation of the matter."

"The evil aimed at," he continued, "is the employment by corporations of police and militia forces to do their fighting. No system could be more dangerous or wrought with more sinister threat to the laboring classes. If the lawful authorities can not maintain peace it is time we knew it, and enact a law permitting the disputants to arm themselves and fight their differences to a finish."

"The coal and iron police and Pinkerton detective agency of Pennsylvania are but samples of what corporations are doing. This private militia hired by a corporation, serving under the orders of a corporation, and responsible only to the corporation, have committed acts of outrage which no federal State, town, or city officials would dare to imitate. They arrest without warrant; they torture men in sweat-boxes to extort testimony; they shoot into crowds which refuse to disperse at their command, and kill men, women, and children ruthlessly. They establish martial law over wide districts of territory, and even peaceful citizens and strangers uncommitted with the striking laborers or their troubles, are forced at the Winchester's mouth to apply for permits to pass in and out of the lines. Their crimes which cry to heaven for vengeance, go unpunished nine times out of ten, because the perpetrator is protected, hurried out of the way, and never identified, captured, or convicted."

"I believe in law and order, and my aim is simply to make it impossible for corporations to maintain a standing army to overawe and subject laborers and terrorize communities. The practice now in vogue by them in some parts of this country are worse and less justifiable than the old feudal system, where the nobles of the old world maintained armed bands of retainers and ruffians to pillage the simple country folks, and raid through rival provinces in the interest of their lords."

HON. M. D. COFFEEN, OF ILLINOIS, President of the National Association of Business Agents, Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, and a member of the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, passed through Washington on a flying trip, and in the course of a general conversation expressed himself as well pleased with the increasing disposition shown by agriculturists to rally to the support of co-operative methods in protection of common commercial interests.

He finds the farmers everywhere realize, that in order to fight fire with fire, and meet the combinations,

wearing thinking caps, they puzzle out many things. I hope they will put them on in this particular line before the next Presidential election."

HON. J. G. OTIS, OF KANSAS.

trusts, and other monopolies, they must combine elements recognized as essential at the present day to success in any great business undertaking. They have learned the lesson, taught them so often at their expense, of the centralized power which follows the aggregation of those having the same aims or purposes of intention.

"You know, Mr. Bland," said THE ECONOMIST reporter, "that our Order almost to a man stands behind you in this fight. You are speaking to friends." "I am glad," replied the Missouri Congressman, "to hear that. I shall answer your questions with pleasure."

"The first is, how long will the House filibuster and see-saw before your bill comes up?" "Just as long as it can. Just as long as Mr. Catchings, of the committee on rules, is absent, and no specific day is set."

"Will tariff measures get before Congress first?" "Possibly. The anti's will exhaust every possible expedient to postpone action."

"But you think there is no doubt of the final triumph of the bill in Congress this session?" "None. It will pass the House. Democrats and Republicans will be arrayed on both sides. It is one of those measures a man acts up to his personal convictions upon—or his party lash."

"How does the Speaker stand?" "He is with us."

"Will the bill get through the American House of Lords?" "That is an open question. I have made no poll of the Senate, but trust to win there, too."

"You believe you can?" "Yes."

"And President Harrison—what of his veto power?" "I have never spoken to the President in the matter. If he voted (as the newspapers assert he would), well and good. We will have fought the battle, and made it a leading issue in the campaign of '92. We can go to the people upon it without fear of the result."

HON. R. P. BLAND, OF MISSOURI.

THE ECONOMIST considers it pertinent, in the great silver question now agitating Congress and the country, to present its readers with the personal expressions of the recognized champions of free silver coinage. Mr. Bland, of Missouri, leads in this fight. He was seen at the capitol, fresh from one of the spiciest tilts of the session thus far on the floor of the House, with Mr. Harter, of Ohio. It occurred during consideration of the Indian appropriation bill. Mr. Bland rose and sent to the clerk's desk a circular which was read. He charged that it had been sent out by Mr. Harter to the G. A. R. Posts, to be remailed to members of Congress, protesting against the coinage of silver upon the ground that pensions would then be paid 70 cents on the dollar. It was to intimidate and bulldoze Congressmen. He charged Mr. Harter with trickery, with being a gold-bug, a millionaire, a manufacturer, and a banker. This Mr. Harter denied, with qualifications, protesting that he only wished to awaken public notice and warn the country of danger. He was a free trader, and a Democrat, and he did not intend to vote a silver monopoly to owners or miners of mines. He admitted writing the circular. It must be admitted that he made a spirited defense, but the unmasking of the authorship of the circular, and the reading of his biography which Mr. Bland sent up to the clerk's desk (which stated his occupation to be that of banker and manufacturer), created a most unfavorable impression

and destroyed in advance the effect his generalship might, uncovered, have affected.

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"And President Harrison—what of his veto power?" "I have never spoken to the President in the matter. If he voted (as the newspapers assert he would), well and good. We will have fought the battle, and made it a leading issue in the campaign of '92. We can go to the people upon it without fear of the result."

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when questioned about two recent resolutions introduced by him in the House, said: "Well, I regard the one dealing with the eleventh census as necessarily the more important. It calls for more complete information upon the status of the farm mortgage question. It is not an intimation of dissatisfaction with what has been done by the census in this respect, but is intended to provide for still greater research and information in the several States of the Union, with the simple motive of accumulating valuable statistical data. Possessed of the diagnosis, we can apply the cure. The House referred the resolution to the committee on rules.

The other resolution, demanding that one day in seven be set aside for rest of employees engaged by Columbian Exposition of 1893, does not particularly specify that day to be Sunday. But one day out of seven human body and blood requires relaxation from mental strain or physical exertion, and we are not quarreling with the recognized name given it.

It also requires that no intoxicating liquors be sold upon any part of the exhibition grounds. This voices the sentiments of my Kansas constituency, and I would misrepresent them in Congress if I did not conform to their own principles. It has gone to the Columbian Exposition committee."

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## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST  
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE  
NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND  
INDUSTRIAL UNION.  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C.  
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The following is the resolution unanimously adopted at the annual meeting in St. Louis:

Resolved, That 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 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 reinforce THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST in the action of Brother C. W. Morgan, and his associates in said paper, and will do all in its power to urge them onward in the good work of education.

Address all remittances or communications to

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## N. R. P. A.

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## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To all persons interested in the growth of the cause of right and justice:

BEN TERRELL and John B. Allen came near being seriously hurt by a runaway team at Clarksville, Tenn., recently. The Clarksville papers describe the accident as follows. The Tobacco Leaf says:

A team of big, strong mules belonging to Sam Hunter, left standing this morning in front of George Crouch's produce house on Third street, took fright and dashed off at full speed, and just at the junction of Third and Franklin streets they overtook a buggy occupied by John B. Allen and Col. Ben Terrell, going in the same direction. The tongue of the wagon shot under the buggy, whirling it over in a second, and turning it bottom side up with occupants underneath. One of the mules fell sprawling on the buggy and mashed it to pieces. Persons witnessing the accident thought the men were killed, but in a minute Mr. Allen crawled out and pulled Mr. Terrell from under the wreck. Luckily Mr. Terrell came off with nothing worse than an ugly cut under his right eye and his new suit and pretty hat badly crumpled and muddy. John Allen received a cut on the right side of the head and one on his leg, and was the worst hurt of the two. Fortunately neither was seriously hurt, and after this was discovered the boys commenced poking fun at the orators, inquiring if that was the way the farmers were sitting down on the third party. They took it all good humoredly because

they don't believe that anything can flatten a third party man. We hope the gentlemen will soon recover from their mishaps.

The Progressive Democrat says:

Mr. Terrell seemed to be only slightly bruised, and a few strips of sticking plaster and he was as jovial as ever, ready to defend his positions. Ben Terrell is no ordinary man. He has a deep undercurrent of thought, and with it, he is enthused by a consciousness that he is right. John B. (one) Allen was more seriously hurt, and we fear his knee may give him trouble. The Progressive Democrat congratulates both gentlemen on their slight injury in so dangerous an accident.

SUBSCRIPTION blanks, return envelopes and sample copies for distribution will be sent on application. Drop us a card.

It ought to be, and doubtless is, very gratifying to the constituents of Senator Kyle, and to the taxpayers of the country, to note the stand taken by him in a recent discussion on the bill before Congress to extend the streets and roadways of the District of Columbia. The papers all over

the country contain glowing advertisements of the suburban property on the outskirts of this city. In every direction, on every street and road leading out of the city, great quantities of land is being subdivided into building lots and largely advertised by the corporations and land sharks whose sole aim and object is to derive immense profits therefrom. The advertisers assure the public that a bill to extend the streets that will run directly through this or that property is now before Congress. But Senator Kyle is also before Congress and the taxpayers. As an honest man, he feels it his duty to call the attention of the people to this matter and to enter his protest against it. The bill may become a law, but the Senator will have done his duty.

IN NO WAY can you accomplish more for the cause of reform than to induce some neighbor to take THE ECONOMIST. He will soon become an active worker in the good cause.

SUPPOSE the old soldiers should attempt to dictate the kind of money in which their pensions are paid, would it tend to make the people more generous? Is it not best to let well enough alone?

Under any form of popular government, where the "will of the people is the law of the land," numbers must be more potent than wealth. The political party that chooses the side of the people is sure to achieve a permanent success, and the one that champions the cause of the plutocrats is sure to be defeated in the end.

The coal combination is a conspiracy of capital against industry, of wealth against poverty, of greed against need.

It is meant to make every poor man use less coal, and pay more for it. It is meant to levy a tax upon every industry that uses coal, and the tax will be taken in the end out of the earnings of the men employed. The people need more and cheaper coal. This conspiracy is intended to give them less and dearer coal. Production has already been curtailed in order that the price may be maintained.

The price will inevitably be advanced in order that the conspirators may the more rapidly absorb to themselves the earnings of other men.

Under conditions of healthy competition surplus production would be reduced, not by stopping the work and wages of miners, but by a reduction in price sufficient to induce the people to use more coal.

The conspiracy is intended to destroy healthy conditions, exclude competition and decrease production, while increasing the profits of the monopoly in control. It is a conspiracy against good morals and against the public welfare. It violates the spirit of the law. It sets at naught every principle of equity. It threatens the people in their homes and in their workshops.

It is unjust, iniquitous and very cruel. It must be broken up if their be law enough in this free land to protect a free people.

THE "Economist Educational Exercises" are having a wonderful good effect upon the subordinate Alliances wherever they are used. Such Alliances will grow in spite of politics this year.

EACH subscriber will receive this week folded in this paper a subscription blank containing ten blank lines. This is intended as a polite request and gentle reminder that the management of THE ECONOMIST desires you, in the interest of true reform and in behalf of the Alliance demands, to send in a club of subscribers. In order to assist you in doing so, clubs of ten or more will

be received under the campaign offer at 50 cents each for eight months' subscription. That is to say, all clubs of ten or more at 50 cents each received during the months of March or April will receive the paper for eight months from the date the money is received.

## FREE COINAGE.

The silver question promises to be settled for the present by the Fifty-second Congress on the 24th instant.

It has made a great stir in political circles. While the Democrats are divided and fighting bitterly over the question, the Republican party presents an almost solid front against free coinage, and has, no doubt, sent Mr. Foster abroad to secure foreign aid to a Republican anti-silver campaign.

The people have nothing to lose in this fight; the plutocrats may lose much. The Republican party is sure to lose more in the West by its position than the Democratic party will in the East. There is not much to be gained by the people from free coinage as an economic measure, and there is not much to be lost by the plutocrats from free coinage as an economic measure, but as a political issue there is everything to be gained or lost. The great masses of the common people are with one accord in favor of free coinage of silver, because it is right, and the plutocrats are opposed to it because they desire to perpetuate conditions which facilitate the concentration and power of wealth.

The political party that chooses the side of the people is sure to achieve a permanent success, and the one that champions the cause of the plutocrats is sure to be defeated in the end.

Under any form of popular government, where the "will of the people is the law of the land," numbers must be more potent than wealth.

The latter may at times seem to be the more potent on account of a debauched condition of public morals, exclude competition and decrease production, while increasing the profits of the monopoly in control. It is a conspiracy against good morals and against the public welfare. It violates the spirit of the law. It sets at naught every principle of equity. It threatens the people in their homes and in their workshops.

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to his two eldest sons, and \$10,000,000 each to eight other children. This money was largely in railway properties, and it has been held practically intact by the family, and the income, which may be estimated at from \$60,000,000 to \$80,000,000, has been invested by the Vanderbilts in railroad ventures during the last six years of depression. The investments have been careful and judicious, and the properties are now beginning to show this. It is probable that in many of these purchases Mr. Pierpont Morgan, who bought 350,000 shares of New York Central from Mr. Vanderbilt at 120 in 1879, has been consulted, and it is also probable that he and his associates have some interest in the investments. Mr. Morgan is a very wealthy gentleman, and during the period named he has inherited one of the most princely fortunes of modern times from his father. He has the reputation of being a very astute businessman, and if he really did counsel the young Vanderbilts to place their money in cheap railroad property he certainly gave them good advice, for there was as much money to be made in buying and building railroads in 1885 as there was in the days of either the Commodore or William H. Vanderbilt. The scheme to increase the holdings of railroad property was a colossal one in conception, and it promises to prove quite as remunerative as anybody could have foreseen. When W. H. Vanderbilt died, the family and Mr. Morgan and his London friends controlled the following railroads among others:

Mile. Stock and Net age, bonded debt, earnings.  
N. Y. Central..... 2,095 \$155,111,633 \$12,629,602  
Nickel Plate..... 513 24,681,000 1,141,000  
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford..... 508 25,375,000 3,615,257  
Lake Shore..... 1,445 104,159,000 7,144,037  
Chicago & North-western..... 7,100 146,290,820 9,502,668  
M. C. & Can. Southern..... 1,609 41,015,404 3,758,937  
Beech Creek..... 131 30,000 349,249  
Totals..... 13,423 \$356,649,577 \$28,032,172

According to these figures the Vanderbilt estate controlled at the time of Mr. Vanderbilt's death more than 13,000 miles of railway, with stock and bonded debt of nearly \$700,000,000, and with an annual earning capital of more than \$38,000,000. The Vanderbilts and their friends absolutely owned the controlling interest in these properties, and they had no partners. The following shows the acquisitions during the past six years of this wealthy family and syndicate which has lately been called in New York the Vanderbilt-Morgan party. Since the death of Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt the family and their financial allies have acquired possession of the following lines:

Mile. Stock and Net age, bonded debt, earnings.  
Big Four..... 2,314 \$85,586,582 \$4,030,166  
Chesapeake & Ohio..... 1,160 93,369,394 2,266,693  
Reading..... 1,106 207,300,263 10,417,145  
Lehigh Valley..... 856 105,405,314 5,834,351  
Central R. of New Jersey..... 681 72,433,000 7,310,000  
Rome, Waterbury & Ogdensburg..... 613 26,839,000 1,696,028  
Erie..... 1,059 176,444,935 7,259,697  
Ontario & Western..... 477 67,719,932 654,333  
Totals..... 9,179 \$341,668,514 \$39,685,410

If these figures are correct, the Vanderbilts and their friends have obtained control since W. H. Vanderbilt's death (without including Lackawanna and a number of minor lines) by lease and purchase of more than 9,000 miles of road with \$800,000,000 capital and debt, and with a net earning capacity of \$39,000,000. The interest of the family and their friends in railroads in this country and Canada would seem to be as follows:

Mile. Stock and Net age, bonds, earnings.  
At W. H. V.'s death..... 13,423 \$65,689,889 \$28,032,172  
Acquisitions..... 9,179 841,668,514 39,408,410  
Total..... 22,602 \$1,477,753,373 \$67,440,582

These figures are startlingly large. That there should be in the hands of a few persons \$1,500,000,000 capital in railroads is a revelation even in these days of big schemes and transactions. The Vanderbilt-Morgan party and their London and Philadelphia friends are undoubtedly in control of this unparalleled estate, and more, if the odds and ends were counted in. Of course these capitalists did not conceive and execute this mammoth scheme of railroad acquisition without an object. They control no less than five lines to Chicago, the West Shore & Nickel Plate, the Rome, Watertown & Ogdensburg, and the Canadian Pacific; the New York Central, and Michigan Central; and Canada Southern; the Erie, and the Chesapeake & Ohio.

The strength of the People's party in Georgia, Chairman Atkinson, of the State Democratic executive committee, says: "The movement combines the greenback element, which is very much stronger than many suspect; the independent element is also potential, and those who are naturally with it as the result of recent agitation. These forces will give the People's party a strong following in isolated localities."

The graded income tax sentiment is growing palpably stronger. If it can be crystallized so as to be brought to direct pressure upon the present Congress they may grant it recognition. Its shadow is cast upon the dial plate of time.

The committee on foreign relations are gravely considering the offering of advice to the czar upon the Hebrew question of Russia. In view of recent congressional action with

regard to Russian relief, this appears superfluous and ill-timed.

Mr. Dungan, of Ohio, a Democrat, begins to think this Congress will do nothing. "I am becoming convinced," said he recently, "that this is a cowardly Congress. It ought to get up and do what the people expect it to do, and not be afraid of its own shadow."

The expense account of the Chicago excursion of legislators foots up in the neighborhood of \$40,000. \$25,000 had been raised for it. And Chicago modestly asks of Congress in return for her hospitality a mere bagatelle of eight, or five millions for the exposition.

Congress grew uproariously merry when Mr. Harter, of Ohio, touching a ring, and drawing forth a gold timpiece, exclaimed: "These are all the gold I own." Instantly Mr. Bland held up his watch—a plated silver one, retaliating, "This is as good time as yours."

In justice to Colonel Livingston, of Georgia, we desire to correct a technical error appearing in his published interview of last issue. He should be credited with saying, "Divide the country into four quarters, and one-fourth East controls, runs, and owns the other three."

The House judiciary committee reports favorably a bill to prevent desecration of the United States flag. It provides for punishment of persons printing, painting, or affixing said flag for public display or private gain of not more than \$50, nor less than thirty days imprisonment.

A Republican member of the Senate states that the agricultural report advocated by Senator Coke in amendment providing for a large issue costs 50 cents to publish, but can be purchased by the thousands at old book stores in Washington at 5 and 10 cents each. A pertinent inquiry might be sprung here. Who put them on sale?

The House judiciary committee reports favorably Chairman Culberson's bill making it unlawful for the officers or directors of any corporation organized under the laws of the United States or its Territories to make disposition of corporation property, whereby creditors may obtain a legal advantage over less fortunate creditors.

Ingersoll says of Harrison: "He has had pretty fair luck for a man of his size. There is nothing to be said against him, but four years is enough. I believe in a change, a rotation in a new deal—and a new dealer." What of Hill, of New York? "You will have to ask him. He is the only man who really knows him."

Senator Peffer's eulogy of the late Senator Plumb, on the 17th instant, awakened the admiration of his confreres. It created a wonderful impression, and was referred to later by Senator Hale as "one of the most beautiful tributes he had ever heard offered in the chamber." The Kansas Senator's laurels grow fast and thick.

The committee of agriculture have ceased hearings upon the option and future bill, and will shortly report it to Congress. It is admitted that the opposition have won concessions, but the selling of futures will be stopped, and no sales for future delivery will

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

be permitted, unless the article is in hand or parties to such agreement are in a position to carry it out.

The House committee on rules have decided to report a resolution for the investigation of the pension office. Chairman Wheeler says of the resolutions of Congressmen Cooper and Enloe, "We are going to investigate thoroughly every specification made in the resolutions, and when we take hold of a witness he will be thoroughly examined."

Is Major A. H. Drewery a Farmer?

BY M. G. ELLZEY.

The February issue of the Southern Planter republished the correspondence between Major Drewery and myself as it appeared in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, including the communication of Major Drewery to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST from which I gave all that I thought the public would have any interest in. I am entirely satisfied with my side of the case, except as to the fact that Major Drewery is not a member of the firm of Drewery & Co., as I supposed him to be; the Drewery of that firm being his brother. In this matter I was misled. As to all that I have said I believe it to be true. The Southern Planter has also an editorial in which it criticises the journalistic course of THE ECONOMIST. I am entirely responsible for the fact that Major Drewery's article was not published entire. It contained matters in which I did not think the public would be interested concerning Major Drewery's pecuniary affairs. These I took the liberty of leaving out. I take it, when THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST requires a lesson in correct journalism it will know where to apply for it. But I have a crow to pick on that matter with my friend, the editor of the Planter, and I intend putting him in a hole he will be some time getting out of. Brother, there was in thine own eye an unregarded beam when you began the task of getting the mole out of thy brother's eye. On page 91, February issue, of the Planter my brother writes: "We regret to see Dr. Ellzey should have reiterated his charge against Major Drewery of denouncing the leaders of the Alliance as 'political hacks.' Major Drewery nowhere uses such language. Major Drewery has too much self-respect to 'call names.'"

Perhaps, indeed, the November issue of my brother's paper, the Southern Planter, on page 624 thereof, may be justly regarded as "nowhere." My brother knows whether that be so. On the said 624th page of that issue is printed this language of Major Drewery, word for word, as follows, viz.: "You belong to the Farmers Alliance of course?" Major Drewery. "No, sir! I do not need to belong to any such Alliance. It can do me no good. I need no office: I have no ax to grind. I am getting to be an old man and I have seen things like this come up many a time, and I have seen them run by men who had nothing in common with a sure-enough farmer. I believe in farmers combining, but I do not believe in being run by a miserable set of old hacks, who will necece the farmers just as the carpet-baggers did the negroes at the close of the war. They are doing it now, and their zeal for the poor farmer is a hollow pretense. Those who choose to be run by such fellows may follow them, but I would despise myself to do so." Now, brother, Major Drewery does use the

Secretary Rusk, in response to Senate resolution calling for results in the production of rain, sends report of General Dyrenforth, in charge of late expedition in the South and West. It is vague in tone, but to the effect that experiments made neither condemn nor uphold artificial production of rain. The expense was \$17,000. Of this the government contributed \$9,000, and private subscription the balance.

A notable incident of the Bland-Harter discussion was that, at the close of his impromptu defense, Mr. Harter good-naturedly seized Mr. Bland by the shoulder and shook him, and Mr. Springer, chairman of the committee of ways and means, hastened forward and seized the unoccupied hands of the fraternizing gentlemen. The trio formed a queer combination, taking into consideration the widely different platforms they typify.

The judiciary committee have submitted with favorable report a bill providing that no justice, judge, or commissioner of any court shall sit in any cause or proceeding in which he is interested or related to either party within the fourth degree of consanguinity, or in which he has been counsel, or in which is called in question the validity or construction of any instrument or paper prepared or signed by him as counsel or attorney, without the consent of parties in interest.

Senator Galligher, of New Hampshire, has introduced a bill in the Senate to protest

language you say in February he never used, if you tell the truth in November. Moreover, he does "call names" which you say his self-respect forbids. Do you begin to perceive that while attempting to correct me you confound yourself and crucify Major Drewery? O that mine enemy would write a book, but deliver me from the writing of my friend. It was, brother, to this harsh and unfounded criticism of an Order to which I and my most loved and trusted friends belong, by Major Drewery, that I made a kind and temperate rejoinder, which you call an attack on Major Drewery, for which I ought to apologize. It is simply absurd. Cast out the beam, brother, and when your glittering editorial age is clear, try again, hoping that you may succeed better next time. If somebody else had contradicted what you say in November as flatly as you contradict yourself in February, you would have had a good case of bad editorial manners.

The People and the Government.

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

We hear many questioning "What can the government do for the people?" And we also often hear it stated that the government should do nothing for the people which the people can do for themselves. First. What is the government, and what relation does it bear to the people? One might answer that the government consists of the two houses of Congress, the President, and the cabinet, and it one were critically inclined, he might state that of late the government had been the Secretary of Treasury. One might say that the government was or might be at one time Republicans and at another time Democrats, and in a sense all might be right. But in a republic rightly administered the government should be nothing more or less than the people collectively acting under a constitution adopted for their better guidance and aid in administering justice to all. A constitution, which, as experience is acquired and as changed circumstances make it necessary, may be altered and improved as may be best for the community at large. Now, then, to determine what the government can do for the people, we must first find out what it is needful that should be done for them, and then whether or not the people collectively may not do it better for themselves than they can individually. If it shall be determined that they can, then it should be done by the people collectively, or in other words, by the government. It has long been decided that the people should be protected from murderers and robbers, of a certain sort, and that collectively they could best afford themselves that protection. It has long been decided that for the convenience of business, people should have money, and that that money should be provided for them, or at least regulated for them, by the government or by themselves collectively. \* \* \* The condition of the people to-day shows that something is wrong, and that it is something which individually they do not seem to be able to correct, or, which amounts to the same thing, they are not correcting. Nine-tenths of the people are the sufferers, and if the approaching ruin is not averted, the people may follow them, but I would despise myself to do so." Now, brother, Major Drewery does use the

language you say in February he never used, if you tell the truth in November. Moreover, he does "call names" which you say his self-respect forbids. Do you begin to perceive that while attempting to correct me you confound yourself and crucify Major Drewery? O that mine enemy would write a book, but deliver me from the writing of my friend. It was, brother, to this harsh and unfounded criticism of an Order to which I and my most loved and trusted friends belong, by Major Drewery, that I made a kind and temperate rejoinder, which you call an attack on Major Drewery, for which I ought to apologize. It is simply absurd. Cast out the beam, brother, and when your glittering editorial age is clear, try again, hoping that you may succeed better next time. If somebody else had contradicted what you say in November as flatly as you contradict yourself in February, you would have had a good case of bad editorial manners.

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people who are producers, acting in an individual capacity, remedy it at all? The Constitution made it incumbent on Congress to regulate the money supply for the people, and it did not limit it in its powers to do so; but Congress has subtlety that part of its duties to corporations who, under, or we might say over, the Secretary of the Treasury, are running it for their individual advantages and not for the advantage of the people at large, and are making it the sort of robbery from which the people collectively are not protecting themselves; and from which individually they can not protect themselves. What, then, is to be done? Shall we use our combined power as a people collectively; restore the government to ourselves; where it should be; make it reassuring; the duties it has let out to others, and rid ourselves of the parasites which are drowning us? Or shall we listen to that class of politicians who tell us the government can do nothing, resign our right to control it, and become slaves of those who have conspired with our servants, and bind us only because we do not resist?

A Letter.

BY J. M. UPTON.

Assuming that the basis of wealth is \$1 for ten hours of labor, and allowing 300 working days to the year, to accumulate \$1,000,000 would require 3,333  $\frac{1}{3}$  years. But to accumulate the \$1,000,000 in 40 years would require an income of \$25,000 per year, \$83.33  $\frac{1}{3}$  per day, \$8.33  $\frac{1}{3}$  per hour, \$1.33 per minute, which makes each minute's income of the one-million millionaire exceed the ten hours' sweat of brow of the average toiler. To accumulate \$100,000,000 in 30 years, as Jay Gould has done, would require a yearly income of \$3,333.33  $\frac{1}{3}$ , a daily income—300 days to the year—of \$1,111, an hourly income—10 hours to the day—of \$1,111, an income per minute for the same time of \$18.50, thus making a single minute of the sweat of Gould's brow equal the honest toil of 18  $\frac{1}{2}$  days, leaving out of the account the cost of living the 18  $\frac{1}{2}$  days as compared with the expense of living a single minute.

Now, my dear friends, this bit of history is a pretty fair illustration of the business methods of to-day, but instead of sea pirates we have land pirates who, by combinations and legislation which they control, force the profits of productive industry into their own coffers through channels as impossible of escape as was the governmental piracy in the straits of Gibraltar in olden times, when merchants formed leagues to resist the piracy, even as the toilers of to-day form granges and Alliances and various unions to mitigate or arrest the venal, wicked, cruel, unchristian and demoralizing systematic robberies of to-day. Shall we be so blind and unthinking as not to realize that all these various co-operative organizations, including the temperance societies, make one common cause of complaint, to wit, an unjust distribution of the fruits of industry? Shall we deny the fatherhood of God or the teachings of the Savior by practically denying the brotherhood of man? "The voice of thy brother's blood cries to me from the ground." Shall we make answer? "Am I my brother's keeper?" The laborer is still worthy of his hire, and it is a cruel injustice that over twelve millions of our people should be obliged to work for less than 50 cents per day in order that a few accused pirates may receive out of their rightful earnings over \$20 per minute. This unholy distribution

fathers the longer we take it the more we appreciate it, and the more deeply and favorably we are impressed of its great importance and utility. But as already stated, it must not simply be read, but carefully studied in order to master and comprehend the abstruse and economic questions upon which it dwells with such clearness, force, and logic. We are the recipients of fifteen different papers weekly, but none is as welcome as THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. We deem it no exaggeration to say that were a copy in the possession of each member of our grand and noble Order, and he diligently read and study it, this grand organization would be entirely secure from final dissolution and disruption; and we heartily desire that this noble and important work be vigorously prosecuted until such be fully consummated. When we notice the onslaughts, vicious thrusts, vile calumny, and contumely foisted upon THE ECONOMIST by the subsidized partisan press, and paraded before the world, we marvel, and ponder how it can possibly endure and survive all this without almost a murmur. Why its undaunted courage does not fail, and its stout heart not sink to its very knees! But be it said to its great credit and untiring assiduity, in the worthy cause engaged, we find it emerge in the foremost and uppermost dog in every hotly contested scarred battle, with its forces still well marshaled, impregnable and ready for the fray. With renewed and doubled energy it still presses onward and forward! looking neither to the right nor to the left. The herculean task is before it in the mitigation, amelioration and education of the wealth producers and wage-earners, the toiling millions of this fair land, from a yoke of plutocratic aristocracy, profligacy and, vicious and unjust class legislation. But all pathways of just and much-needed reform, in the past have been beset with thorns and thistles, and the greater and more gigantic the reform, the more sombre and thorny the path. Yes! The world is full of the tragedies of antagonisms. Socrates taught the Athenians (who believed in polytheism) the simple "idea" of a Supreme Being; they put him to death. Jesus taught the Jews (great believers in Moses and the Prophets) the "idea" of higher revelations from God; they put him to death. The people of Ethiopia cut St. Mathew into pieces with a sword, because he advocated the doctrine of the Nazarene. St. Mark was dragged through the streets of Alexandria in Egypt, and subsequently died in great agony. St. Luke, because he would teach the doctrine of Jesus, was hanged on an olive tree in Greece. The beloved John, for his so-called religious heresy by the Jews, died at Ephesus, only after he had escaped a chaford of boiling oil. James the Great was beheaded at Jerusalem, while the lesser James was pitched headlong from a pinnacle of the Temple. Philip was hanged by the neck against a pillar in the streets of Hieropolis. Bartholomew was slain alive. Andrew was bound to a cross for his so-called heresy, and thus addressed his persecutors until he expired. A sharp spear was run through the body of St. Thomas. Simon was crucified, as was the Nazarene before him; and Mathias was first stoned

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

and then beheaded. Galileo, a disciple of Copernicus, came near losing his life for teaching the revolution of the planets. Descartes taught "innate ideas;" for this the University of Paris denounced him as an atheist, and ordered that all his books should be burned. Dr. Harvey was treated with scorn, deprived of his practice, and driven into exile because he discovered and taught the circulation of the blood. Dr. Jenner was violently denounced and threatened with disgrace because he advocated vaccination as a means of mitigating the violence of small-pox. Columbus, Fulton, Fitch, all suffered by persistent opposition to their several discoveries and reforms; and the ungrateful Frenchmen let Fourier die in indigence. We need not multiply examples, but it will suffice to asperse that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST and the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, with the heaven inspired measures of reform which they espouse, and the noble, never-dying motto of "equal rights for all and special favors to none" ever before them, are persistently and dogmatically confronted by the plutocracy and the money power to oppress. All the stratagem, chicanery, and political intrigue that the two old parties can muster will be called into action, and will require the utmost persistency and Herculean efforts, of the Alliance, to dislodge them from their strongholds and well fortified and apparent impregnable citadels. But let us imitate the bravery of Miltiades and his undaunted soldiers on the plain of Marathon. The unswerving courage of Leonidas and his brave Spartan band at the pass of Thermopylae. Emulate the spirit and patriotism of a William Tell who shot the tyrannical Nester dead and fled to the Alps, and with uplifted hands declaimed: "Ye crags and peaks I am with you once again; I hold to you the hands you first beheld to show they still are free!" Our national officers, of this grand and humane organization, have builded, the past year, far more wisely than they knew; and have enthused and inspired the members with new life and vigor, and in whom, both rank and file, repose the utmost confidence; and well mote it be. Let us remember the dying words of that noble hero, Marco Bozzaris, as he fell on the field of battle bleeding at every vein: "To die for liberty is a pleasure, not a pain." Let us not be oblivious to the liberty-loving spirit of our patriotic sires; that heaven-inspired instrument, the Declaration of Independence, written by that good and great statesman, Thomas Jefferson, seems as though every word was written with a pen of diamond, dipped into the very precious blood of our ancestors, and blazoned in bold and glowing letters upon adamant rock. Can the human mind conceive of a grander truth than this self-same language: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

On a fashionable night at the theatre in New York, from \$75,000 to \$100,000,000 gleam from the boxes of the Astors and Vanderbilts in the form of glittering jewels. Old Mrs. Astor, the leader of the ultra fashions, is described by the New York World as covering her neck and shoulders with diamonds estimated at \$2,000,000, and sitting smiling like a bride in the gaslight. Mr. Otis, Kan., made the following remarks:

"sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I will give my hand and my heart to this vote." Let us not be unmindful of the truthful and unfaltering language of a Patrick Henry. "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience." "I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past." "Trust it not, sir, it will prove a snare to your feet; suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss." But a fortnight ago we heard drop from the lips of one in a group of assembled politicians and plutocrats the following: "That hamby-pamby organization, called the Farmers Alliance, is no more nor less than a semi-petticoat institution, half man and the other part woman, and ere long will have the babies in it." Beware! Beware, you scoffers! If the worse comes to the worst our women will stand by us, even as the women of Saragossa stood by their champions, and as thousands and tens of thousands in the old Hebrew commonwealth, in Greece and Rome, in the British Isles, in Poland and Switzerland; to say nothing of the ladies who became so formidable and ungovernable at the court of Dahomy, and their shields and bucklers, and glittering spears and yataghans, depend upon, our cry will be heard and answered, and women will be found like the Polish mothers, lifting their children into the saddle and charging them upon the black hussars of the adversary. Never was there, perhaps, a time of greater and more absolute necessity for men and women of thought and action upon economic questions and political reform than to-day. Unlike Bartoldi's Goddess of Liberty standing on Staten Island lighting up the adjacent heavens and the sea for the sea-faring mariner, THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST enlightens the toiling masses upon every hill top; and in every valley; on the broad, undulating prairies, and on every mountain side of this broad land! Yes! It would wreath the face of every honest toiler with the smile that comes of content and thirst, instead of leaving it wet and laved with tears. It would have him know that he is free, wearing no shackles, standing erect, receiving protection from rendering loyal homage to his country upon exact equality with all. It would have each citizen of ours love his country, not as a mere sentiment, but because of its just and equal laws. It would have him know that he is resting secure, in his every right, beneath the broad protectingegis of a great, a just, a free, a powerful republic. It would write that republic's motto, and blazon it upon her shield and give it to the world. It would make it so broad and catholic that parties should not divide upon it, and no man gainsay. It would make it read: Protection for each American citizen abroad; exact justice and equality for each citizen at home.

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## CONGRESS.

## SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, March 2, 1892.

Prayer by the chaplain, Rev. J. G. Butler, D. D. The journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

Mr. Dolph, in presenting petitions from his State favoring the government of North Carolina, said he was greatly desirous of such legislation. He regarded it as the most important question within the quarter of a century before the public and Congress. He was not sanguine as to the canal company securing construction and completion of the work, and he hoped to see the canal completed, and the project finished.

Mr. Dickey, Mo. Before the gentleman proceeds, I wish to reserve the point of order against the amendment, that it changes existing laws.

Mr. Ows. I understand that. But I want to say right here that I can not understand why we are called upon to pay one-half of the taxes of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Cogswell, Mass. On account of government property here.

Mr. Ows. I understand that we have property in the District of Columbia; but I do not understand that because we own property in this District that therefore we should pay the taxes. It is my understanding that the property is held as a city capital, or board of county commissioners, and to act in that capacity involves an expense which is unavoidable, but very small in comparison to this. It does seem to me that it is wholly indefensible that we should pay one-half of the taxes of this District.

Mr. Allison, from appropriation committee, reported a bill appropriating \$1,000 for the expense of the typhus and immigration investigation.

Mr. Morgan introduced a bill for the appointment of consuls to the Congo free state. Referred.

The Idaho election case was resumed and argued up to hour of adjournment—5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

## WEDNESDAY, March 2, 1892.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the chaplain, Rev. W. H. Milburn, D. D.

The journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Ure, Ind., a resolution was adopted calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for information as to the quantity of land disposed of by the government.

Mr. Taylor, I. reported from the judiciary committee a bill defining the crime of murder in the first and second degrees. Calendar.

I wish to say right here that if this capital were located in any Western town—if you would transfer the capital of the country to any point within 100 miles of the mouth of the Missouri river, we will guarantee that any State in which it might be located would donate to the government 600 acres of land with water and railroads, and the government from ever paying \$1 of taxation in connection with that property or any use to which it might be devoted.

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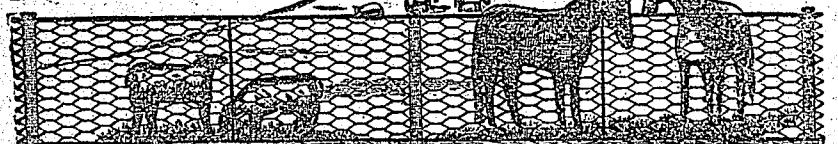
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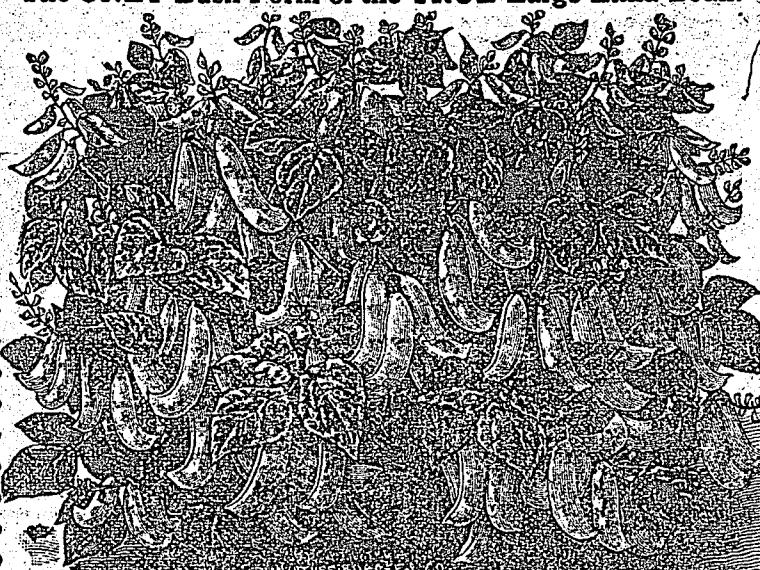
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March 19 -  
Sept 10, 1892



# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

VOL. 7.

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No. I.

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## IMPORTANT NOTICE

To all persons interested in the growth of the cause of right and justice.

THE ECONOMIST was started as a special champion of this cause and not as a money-making enterprise. It has up to date been put out to the people at cost, and will continue that policy. As a proof of which, note the following extraordinary offer:

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From February 15 to March 31 all 50 cent subscribers received will get the paper till November 1, provided as many as ten are in one club.

Secretaries are requested to bring this notice before the Alliance and make a special plea for as much as one club in each body. All friends are requested to get up a club.

Now is the time to renew. Now is the time to subscribe.

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TEXAS has a new candidate for governor—George Clark, of Waco. He seems to have a good supply of boomers booming his boom, but there are two little clouds on the horizon at present no bigger than a man's hand. One is that the new candidate waves all national issues aside in a ten word paragraph, and the other is that everybody says that he and Mills "are as thick as thieves," and some believe that the Clark boom is the only hope of Mr. Mills. If Mr. Clark thinks he can choke Mills and Cleveland, anti-silver and money contraction down the throats of the farmers of Texas, he will see the little clouds become cyclones in November.

## DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY.

As the distribution of money throughout the country is quite likely to be discussed in the present Congress, it may prove profitable at this time to examine the question at some length. Until such careful examination is made the real situation in all its unfairness will not be disclosed. Those who rely on the debates of Congress for their information regarding economic conditions are, as a rule, both disappointed and mislead. Since Congressmen have their time so fully occupied with a canvass for re-election, the labors of seed distribution and a vast amount of research and inquiry from their constituents, it becomes necessary for those who seek the truth to make use of all other channels of information in order to refute or correct the misinformation that emanate from that body. The distribution of money or rather the location of the loanable funds in the nation, is a matter of prime importance in a discussion of the difficulties which surround production at the present time. An analysis of this matter will explain fully why New England and the East desire less money, and the South and West are demanding more. In fact, such an investigation proves conclusively the absolute need of the sub-treasury plan or something similar, in order to establish or maintain anything like equal advantages among the people in the great struggle of life. A glance at the tables submitted below will show that the Eastern States are enjoying the benefits of a per capita of loanable funds ranging from \$80.70 in New Jersey to \$361.72 in Rhode Island, while the Southern States have only \$6.56 in Arkansas to \$35.90 in Louisiana. This inequality becomes more marked as the statistics of loans and currency are considered, which will be brought out further on. To such an extent has this inequitable condition of congestion in the East and depletion in the South and West obtained as to attract the attention of many who have heretofore doubted its existence, and may lead to a thorough awakening of public interest in the matter. The report of the comptroller of currency for 1891, page 234, gives the following table, which should be carefully examined:

Table showing, by States and Territories, the population, each on June 1, 1891, and the aggregate capital surplus, undivided profits and individual deposits of national and State banks, loan and trust companies, and savings and private banks, in the United States on June 30, 1891; the average of these per capita of population, and the per capita averages of such resources in each class of States, and in all.

States and Territories.	Population, June 1, 1891.	Capital, etc. per capita.	Average per capita.
Maine . . . . .	661,000	\$81,253,068	\$122.55
New Hampshire . . . . .	379,000	96,225,832	253.89
Vermont . . . . .	333,000	40,981,914	123.07
Massachusetts . . . . .	2,299,000	742,051,224	323.02
Rhode Island . . . . .	352,000	127,126,389	361.72
Connecticut . . . . .	764,000	199,953,331	261.72
New York . . . . .	6,110,000	1,663,604,173	272.77
New Jersey . . . . .	1,484,000	119,266,779	80.70
Pennsylvania . . . . .	5,382,000	540,262,953	101.90
Delaware . . . . .	170,000	14,886,050	87.56
Maryland . . . . .	1,048,000	101,096,200	96.46
Dist. of Columbia . . . . .	236,000	20,140,177	85.37
Virginia . . . . .	1,670,000	42,131,055	25.23
West Virginia . . . . .	773,000	14,115,894	18.20
North Carolina . . . . .	1,638,000	10,602,746	6.47
South Carolina . . . . .	1,165,000	14,556,233	12.49
Georgia . . . . .	1,867,000	22,682,049	12.14
Florida . . . . .	405,000	8,485,795	20.05
Alabama . . . . .	1,538,000	14,920,558	9.69
Mississippi . . . . .	1,309,000	11,754,338	8.93
Louisiana . . . . .	1,37,000	35,38,019	35.90
Texas . . . . .	2,304,000	65,070,737	28.14
Arkansas . . . . .	1,161,000	7,607,971	6.55
Kentucky . . . . .	1,870,000	86,078,682	47.00
Tennessee . . . . .	1,777,000	42,003,217	24.03
Ohio . . . . .	3,720,000	220,297,911	59.22
Indiana . . . . .	2,213,000	71,753,895	37.42
Illinois . . . . .	3,899,000	271,513,188	69.61
Michigan . . . . .	2,139,000	124,332,290	58.12
Wisconsin . . . . .	1,728,000	91,828,490	51.14
Iowa . . . . .	1,935,000	111,051,211	57.87
Minnesota . . . . .	1,309,000	102,482,170	75.35
Missouri . . . . .	2,734,000	164,047,645	60.00
Kansas . . . . .	1,448,000	53,896,588	37.22
Nebraska . . . . .	1,148,000	69,333,620	60.39
Colorado . . . . .	440,000	49,480,478	92.00
Nevada . . . . .	44,000	1,126,791	26.75
California . . . . .	1,244,000	271,189,235	218.00
Oregon . . . . .	333,000	17,878,204	53.63
Arizona . . . . .	61,000	1,272,356	20.86
North Dakota . . . . .	193,000	8,995,308	46.50
South Dakota . . . . .	341,000	11,669,101	34.22
Idaho . . . . .	93,000	2,588,758	27.83
Montana . . . . .	145,000	20,277,490	139.85
New Mexico . . . . .	157,000	4,415,961	28.12
Indian Territory . . . . .	181,300	282,954	1.56
Oklahoma . . . . .	115,000	480,347	4.18
Utah . . . . .	214,000	15,358,062	71.77
Washington . . . . .	375,000	27,859,317	74.29
Wyoming . . . . .	166,000	5,373,759	81.42
Total . . . . .	64,156,300	5,840,438,191	91.03

The caption to this table declares it to contain all the loanable funds of nearly all the money loaning institutions of the country, which, of itself, is sufficient proof of the conflict that has and is going on between the Eastern States and the balance of the nation. It discloses the reason why that section is bending every energy to continue a small volume of money, and thereby prolong the reign of the dear dollar and cheaper day's work. It proves conclusively that it is New England greed and not the welfare of the nation that prompts their action in this matter. In this article the eleven Eastern States will include Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. The eleven Southern States, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas.

It will be noticed that out of the gross amount of loanable funds aggregating \$5,840,438,191, the eleven

Eastern States control \$3,737,812,-013, or nearly 64 per cent, while the eleven Southern States have only \$197,041,996, or a little over 3 per cent, and the remaining twenty-seven States and Territories have \$1,905,584,182, or about 33 percent.

The eleven Eastern States, with an area of 117,062,640 acres of land, hold \$3,737,812,191 in loanable funds, while the eleven Southern States, with 479,995,758 acres, has but \$197,041,996. Reduced to an average gives the eleven Eastern States \$37.93 and the eleven Southern States less than 4 cents per acre. These figures will be met with the statement that the South needs more money than the North, under present conditions, is no doubt true, and because it is, furnishes one of the best reasons for a change.

That the financial system as it is practiced tends to intensify this situation to the detriment of other sections is apparent to all who will give it even a partial examination. To eliminate the necessity for the West and South going to the East for money to carry on or encourage production, is one of the greatest questions before the American people.

Attention is called to the following table which will corroborate this statement.

The population of the eleven Eastern States is 18,984,000, who control \$3,757,812,191 of loanable funds, which gives a per capita of \$196.88. The eleven Southern States have a population of 14,967,000, and have only \$197,041,996 in loanable funds, or \$13.16 per capita. The twenty-seven other States and Territories have 30,205,000 people, with \$1,905,584,182 of such funds, which gives a per capita of \$63.08. The average family of five persons in the East enjoys nearly \$1,000 of this kind of funds, while a similar family in the South must be content with \$65.80. There seems to be an unequalled distribution in this case that calls loudly for readjustment.

There is another view of the matter which is obtained through the examinations and comparisons of the volume of loans and discounts. The following table will no doubt be read with interest by all who are seeking the truth. It will show the true condition of the money loaning interest in this country.

Loans and Discounts of National, State, and Private Banks, also Loan and Trust Companies in the United States.	
Maine.....	\$38,239,122
New Hampshire.....	63,989,978
Vermont.....	39,097,656
Massachusetts.....	556,561,482
Rhode Island.....	85,306,065
Connecticut.....	114,566,773
New York.....	1,044,556,743
New Jersey.....	76,038,208
Pennsylvania.....	344,641,504
Delaware.....	11,425,534
Maryland.....	44,509,421
Virginia.....	\$2,410,432,191
West Virginia.....	32,412,455
North Carolina.....	10,111,041
South Carolina.....	12,050,662
Georgia.....	11,648,203
Florida.....	10,216,261
Alabama.....	5,071,668
Mississippi.....	10,163,009
Louisiana.....	10,325,559
Texas.....	10,516,925
Arkansas.....	46,195,360
	5,756,724
	8173,497,897

The remaining twenty-seven States and Territories have \$768,723,077. Of the entire amount, \$3,352,653,165, the eleven Eastern States own over 75 per cent, the eleven Southern States less than 6 per cent, and the remaining twenty-seven States and Territories less than 20 per cent.

By reducing these figures to per capita amounts, the eleven Eastern States have \$126.95, the eleven Southern States \$11.59, and the balance of the country, ~~one-half~~, while the average family of five in the East can loan \$635 without trenching on some ~~one~~, a like family in the South ~~but~~ put up with about \$58.

These figures are taken from the official reports of the comptroller of currency, and almost speak for themselves. They must convey to every candid mind the secret of the financial depression that now hangs like a pall over every producing section of the country. The following extract taken from Bradstreet's discloses the monetary condition in New York:

On last Saturday the statement of averages presented by the New York Clearing House Association for the week ending that day showed aggregate deposits of the unprecedented amount of nearly \$500,000,000. Exceeding as it does all previous records, this fact is strongly indicative of the present plethoric condition of the money market, of which, however, exceedingly easy rates and liberal offerings by lenders of every class, are an equally convincing proof. It is, indeed, significant that at the present moment lenders in the New York market seem to fairly outnumber borrowers.

Such statements are used by the hard money advocates to prove that there is an abundance. Of what use is this vast pile of money in New York to the cotton farmer of Arkansas or Mississippi? None whatever under the present system. In order to obtain the use of a portion he must pay the price demanded by the owner, give the kind of security asked, and make payment at such times and in such products as the lender may see fit to require. Every mile the borrower goes from home to get this money brings additional tribute and trouble. Every hand through which it passes receives a fee and when at last it is obtained it is loaded down with usury and

various conditions which enslaves the loaner and robs him of his manhood. When the average farmer in the South has borrowed \$58 of his own people, he must go to the East for the balance of his wants, or take from his neighbor. If some plan like the sub-treasury, that would enable each producer to give his farm or his products to the government as security for the needed funds at a small per cent, prosperity would soon come and the present distress would be eliminated.

#### ABUSE OF THE VETO.

One of the crude relics of the barbarism of our ancestors which has come down to our time is the veto power in the hands of executives. By this strange device the fathers apparently hoped to protect the people from themselves. England, a far truer democracy than this country, long ago outgrew this folly. There a hostile vote of the commons puts a ministry out of office, and even the Lords dare not throw out a measure upon which the immediate representatives of the people, the commons, insist. With us the veto power is most absurdly lodged, not only with the President, but even with the governors of states and mayors of towns and petty corporations. Instead of these executives having, according to the theory of supporters of the veto power, prevented hasty, passionate, and unwise legislation, they have originated and instigated more than ten times as much legislative mischief of that sort as they have prevented. It was never designed that when a measure of importance has been well and dispassionately considered the executive should set up his individual judgment to be superior to that of the majority of the people's representatives. Even if a very wise and pure man, it would be presumption in him to do so habitually, as was the case with Mr. Cleveland both as governor of the State of New York and President of the United States. But if the executive should be a crank, a demagogue and a trickster, or merely a very good and a very ordinary person, and unhappily very wise in his own conceit, in either case the veto is sure to be seriously abused to the detriment of the public welfare. The outrageous height to which this abuse has grown demands serious attention on the part of the people if the people really mean to govern themselves. The practice has now become common on the part of the executives to try to carry legislation which they favor by causing it to be understood that they will veto any competing measure that may be passed. Such a threat of a veto is an indecent outrage in every point of view, and ought to subject an executive to impeachment for misbehavior in office. It was one of the most telling counts in Mr. Jefferson's indict-

ment of the British tyrant that he had vetoed habitually most wise, wholesome and necessary legislation. Like every other such power, it is certain this veto power has grown to proportions never for one moment contemplated by the founders of the government. It has grown to proportions dangerous to the liberties of the people as evidenced by the tamelessness with which American legislative bodies put up with its gross and not unfrequently insolent and offensive abuse. The usual course of the majority is merely to submit the question whether the measure shall pass, the veto notwithstanding; often some of the majority even stultifying themselves by voting to sustain a veto clearly inspired by malignant partisanship, or foolish wrong-headedness, or even corrupt personal interest. It would be much wiser to require the constitutional vote, two-thirds majority, to pass certain classes of laws and to take this undemocratic and unrepresentative power out of the hands of executives. When an executive gives out notice of an intention to veto proposed legislation if passed, it is neither less nor more than an indecent attempt to coerce the judgment of a majority of the legislature. The business of the executive is to execute the law, not to procure legislation in accordance with his particular notions, and any attempt in that direction should be met with stern rebuke. The veto was proposed as a check upon the legislature in extreme emergencies and times of great excitement or public danger, and was never designed to constitute a menace and an obstruction to legislation, or in any case to be applied in matters of ordinary business. We have become familiarized with its use in furtherance of personal motives and partisan ends, and it is high time to be meeting such an abuse with indignant and hostile criticism instead of tamely submitting to it as inevitable.

The following is an example of the way in which the veto has been abused. The executive recommends the passage of a particular measure, which adds important appointments to the executive patronage. A majority of the legislature believe the desired point may be more effectively and more economically covered by an act which takes from the executive patronage important appointments. The executive causes it to be known that unless his bill passes he will veto any other. Comment is unnecessary. Again, a particular interest of great wealth and influence may demand, in consideration of payments made and services rendered in elective campaigns, the interposition of executive veto in behalf of the private advantage of that interest, or may stipulate as a condition precedent to payments to be made for campaign expenses, a pledge of a veto in their

service if occasion arises. The people ought to take away a power liable to such flagrant abuse or to put safe restraints upon it.

Aggrandizement of the power and influence of the executive office, and of that branch of Congress which is less numerous and less directly amenable to the people, is a curious feature of the practical working of our republican government. Precisely the opposite results have developed in the practical working of the British monarchy. The election of Senators by the people instead of State legislatures is a change of the near future now assured. One term of six years for the President will follow in due course. Then will the voter of our House of Representatives come to be, in the language of Lord Macaulay, "the express image of the opinions of the great middle classes," which constitute an immense majority of the popular vote. Even the veto power will be much less dangerous in the hands of a one term President. The States will assimilate their constitutions to these changes in the federal constitution.

#### IN CASE THE ELECTION GOES TO THE HOUSE.

BY HARRY HINTON.

Beyond peradventure the People's party will nominate a national ticket and make a Presidential canvass in 1892. That they will carry some States is certain; how many will depend on the platforms and nominees of the old parties. If Cleveland is nominated on an anti silver platform, we believe it to be entirely certain that the People's party will carry some of the Democratic States of the South as well as some of the Republican States of the Northwest. In that case the election would go the House. There the Democrats, if they can be united for their candidate, have a majority of 8 votes. There are delegations in this Congress from 44 States. The majority of each delegation casts one vote for each State. The Democrats have majorities—some of them small—of the delegations from 31 States; 23 votes are necessary to a choice. This gives the Democrats 8 majority. It is nearly certain that an election by the House will result in the choice of the Democratic candidate. On the other hand, it is entirely certain the Senate would elect a Republican Vice-President. This would be a most undesirable situation. In the next House it is nearly certain the People's party will be a balance of power, and no legislation can be had without their advice and consent, so to speak. A Democratic President beginning an administration in the face of a hostile Senate, with a Republican Vice-President, and lacking a safe and united administration majority in the House, would face an outlook sufficiently threatening. If either of the old parties make such a nomination on

such a platform as to convince the people that some real attempt would be made to relieve the prevailing distress among the people, that party may be able to carry the election before the people. The contest for supremacy in this country under the present government is between the people and the money power, and not merely, as it is often stated to be, between labor and capital. The conflict is irrepressible, and parties must choose whom they will serve; both they can not serve. The people know that whosoever is not for them is against them, and they intend to have a square deal. On the part of the people, let them gird up their loins to the battle. They have got both the Wall street harlot and the old bag of threadneedle, both New York and London, and all their dependencies to fight. It is going to be no holiday affair. Since thousands of years before the son of God overthrew the tables of the money changers in the temple, this conflict has been waged in every age and country. The forces on both sides seem to be preparing for the final struggle. If it is true that neither political party can put itself against the money power and carry the country against the other party allied with the money power—then what is the solution? Within the ranks of both parties the people are stronger than the money power, but when the two parties are arrayed against each other, the money power easily turns the scale for or against either. The people must get together. If either of the old parties would break completely with Wall street and throw itself into the arms of the people without reserve, the people would gather to its standard. And by whatsoever name it may be called, it will be the People's party, and as such will be invincible.

#### ADVANCES IN ELECTRIC ENGINEERING.

Constant advances in electrical science are taking place, but they succeed each other so rapidly as scarcely to attract notice. Announcement is now made that ploughing is to be undertaken on a Spanish estate by electrical power, the current brought from a dynamo run by a turbine water-wheel on a stream three miles distant. It is also announced—whether prematurely or not we can not tell—that common carriages on common roads propelled fifteen miles per hour by storage batteries are about perfected. That the web of legal entanglement in which the storage battery, as an invention, had been held was recently untangled, or cut through by the courts, is matter for congratulation. It is through the cheapening and simplification of this method of rendering electric motor power portable, manageable and safe that we look for a vast multiplication

and extension of the conveniences of modern life, and, as we have so often contended, it is only when these conveniences of life are brought to the country home that country life will regain that prestige it has always enjoyed. These conveniences are intimately associated with the hygiene of the country home. If hygiene be the art of preserving health and prolonging life, the conveniences which lighten household burdens and remove household anxieties, and lessen the exposures incident to country life, are the chosen instrumentalities of hygiene, for they prevent sickness and banish care, the nursing mother of disease, and prolong life by stopping the leaks and drains which sap it away. Nothing in the history of the world can compare with the dazzling achievements of this the latest boon of wonder-working sciences. Fast falls the evening tide of the nineteenth century; how radiant with splendor and rich with promise! How every prospect pleases! and how sad to think; the only vile thing in sight is man!

David B. Hill's Platform.

BY HARRY HINTON.

Senator Hill's Elmira speech and the New York platform favor so much in peculiarity of diction that one may well put it down as the work of the same mind. On this piece of discordant and misty English we purpose to comment step by step.

The Democratic party of the State renews its pledge of fidelity to the great cause of tariff reform.

What pledge? To whom did you make that pledge? Ah! we have it. To the great cause? To no one in particular. Only to the great cause of tariff reform. Well, how do you propose to reform the tariff? Ah! most any way so as to make a change. We will make a horizontal reduction of 5 per cent for revenue only.

\* \* Declares gold and silver the only legal tender; no currency convertible with coin.

No partial legislation.

That is to say we will treat all our friends with equal exactness. We are not thinking about the common herd now.

No partial taxation.

That is to say, we will tax the poor man, as near as can be, as much as the proudest millionaire of the land. We shall show no partiality, for they both shall pay the same.

\* \* Economy in public expense that labor may be lightly burdened.

For we verily believe after the money dealers and the capitalists get through with them, paying every poor man as much taxes for government support as the rich, he will not be able to support much more expense.

\* \* We are against the coining of any silver dollar. \*

If you will add 25 cents more silver to the silver dollar, perhaps, peradventure, maybe we would allow it by our mighty graces to be coined. We will tear up the nation by the roots before we will take the present silver dollar in payment of our bonds. It is nothing but poor folks' money, anyway. It is unconstitutional, beneath a mighty Lord's notice. Let

Steady steps toward specie payments: no step backwards.

Who has been stepping backwards? Who has denied specie payments? What do you mean, unless it is a repetition of the other sentiment that you want the law fixed on a gold basis so as you can discount and make all other money pay toll.

The honest payment of the public debt in coin.

Why did you not say gold and silver coin? No, sir. You mean by coin, gold—by specie payments, gold payments. All other money is to be discounted and cheap. A gold dollar is the only honest dollar, because it belongs to you and your friends, and you are all honest men, you know.

\* \* \* We therefore unite with the friends of honest money everywhere. \* \* \*

All through Europe we unite with the friends of the honest gold dollar. The silver dollar is not honest, the greenback is not honest, but we reckon it is honest enough for the common herd; but we must have our own money and share their base silver and rag money. Thus by a cunning device this ignorant bubble will be paying us a per cent whenever they use to any of the rich man's money. The McKinley—worse than war trifl, Blain's reciprocity humbug, etc. All are justly condemned by the people.

Yes, and if the people have sufficient manhood and sense there will not be a greasy spot left of any of you. You are nothing more nor less than two oligarchies of hypocrites and plunderers.

\* \* \* Tilden likewise with a statesman's energy and foresight assailed the shameless degradation of our greenback currency.

Look here, Cousin Davie, what do you mean by this? Have you not been a statesman? Are you going back on Tilden, by degrading the greenback and make it so it will not pay debts. If you do not call this degradation I would like to know what you mean by elevation. There is one thing certain, Cousin Davie, there is somebody a mighty big fool, or I am one myself.

\* \* \* And led the Democratic party in pushing on Republican advance to current coin redemption.

Ah! indeed! Pushed the Republican party! That was a nice business. It was advancing in the right direction but was not moving swift enough. So Uncle Sam in the lead of the Democracy kept pushing it. I don't like the scene, one big party behind the other pushing. It is all you are doing anyway, both of you—pushing. However, the last movement you made, to take the party coat and walk away, beats pushing.

\* \* \* Refer with great pride.

What kind of pride is that? I hope it has nothing to do with degrading the greenbacks, pushing the Republican party, adding 25 cents to the silver dollar or wearing the Republican coat.

\* \* \* To the inflexible sound finance of Governor Hill.

Here we have it; a depreciated paper money, outlawed for the money-dealer's interest; a depreciated silver money, outlawed for the same purpose or increased in size before it can be paid in debts. Gold for the rich and depreciated money for the poor. This is inflexibility! This is soundness! All hell is paved with that stuff.

\* \* \* To rescue this prevented government from the clutch of autocrats and plutocrats.

Here we wish Cousin Davie had been more explicit. We have been a long time wishing to know who the pinches were. A little correct in-

formation on this point would have saved us much sleep. Though I'm inclined to believe he referred to the negroes down South; but perhaps he referred to the common people up North. He can not possibly refer to his friends whose pile he is trying to double by his inflexible finance—his moneyed friends. Oh, now I have it; it is those McKinleyites, those manufacturers who won't pay him any campaign boddle.

Warren Papers—No. 14.  
BY CHAS. BOONE.

We were comparing political experiences the other day, John Warren and I. We have been acquainted all our adult lives. John was remarking that in thirty years he had not been out of public office thirty days. He had found the business profitable, pecuniary and otherwise. Then he twitted me, if this be the word, with being one of a class who never get and; for "getting office," you un-

der, is, with the like of John Warren, the highest glory, honor and happiness to be found in this mundane life. Said he, "it is for want of business sagacity. You do not wait for a political reform to become popular by its own momentum. You rush in to force its growth whilst it is still without influential friends. You coddle it and godfather it, and make yourselves ridiculous. Thus you waste time and money you can not well afford, and earn the everlasting ill-will of those whose alleged privileges your alleged reforms are to abolish. Men are quick to see your reforms must injure them, and long before the eyes of the stupid people for whom you immolate yourselves are open the reputation of "cranks" is fastened upon you, those whom you would benefit being among the first to scoff. Meanwhile, you are all growing old and more likely to get into your graves than into office. It is a path full of thorns, and only fools travel therein. In short, it don't pay."

All the same, the "crank class" to which I belong who deal in politics that don't pay, are bound to proceed with our work precisely as though success and reward are to arrive tomorrow morning. Indeed they do arrive each day, and never a bit of true effort for reform is lost or unrewarded. Until I despaired of the task, I undertook to make my friend perceive this, but he would shrug his shoulders to signify it was all fol de rol. John Warren has indulged in the equivalent of the foregoing remarks, with myself the patient listener, hundreds of times. It is a sort of "preaching" with him. He endeavors in this way to discharge his own half of the duty implied in mutual friendship and counsel, and I thank him. I could wish his sermonizing were a little less material and selfish, but it is more faulty in this respect than the average we hear elsewhere.

In our argumentative "bouts," as THE ECONOMIST reader might suspect, I get my conservative city friend into some awfully tight places, but he knows how to escape. He comes at me with his confidential, coaxing and remonstrative sermon as outlined above. It is plausible and has a priming of truth. Service under the corporations carries with it the promise of honor, power and "an appropriation"—office, in fact. It is a tempting bait, for if there be ability,

it may lead to social position and business success, if not to a proportionate share of actual monopoly plunder. Whereas service along the thorny paths of reform pillories one between the devil and the deep sea, a territory not pleasant to live in before one gets use to it. When one finally does become accustomed to it, and can accept the scorn on the one side and the indifference upon the other, with the contempt and pity they deserve, it is already so late in our lives that John Warren says there is no time left for reward or enjoyment. Perhaps, in my emotion, I reply "that there is a whole eternity left for reward and enjoyment," but John says that it is all fol de rol. But his sermonizing strategy gets him out of the tight corner wherein I had pinned him with argument.

It happens that the community and region in which John Warren and myself live are overwhelmingly addicted to the one old party politics instead of the other, the minority scarcely casting a shadow in social, religious or public affairs. As to why the many belong to the big persuasion and the few to the other, perhaps most could honestly answer, "I suspect I grew so." If John Warren has not thus "grown," then he had the instinct and worldly wisdom to take position at the start right in the center of the biggest crowd where, with little trouble, he has kept himself in a state of popular balance, you may say. My friend, therefore, judged by the established standards, is eminently respectable, sound, solid, exemplary, and successful in all the departments of social, business and political life. He assures me this is, as a whole, a desirable aggregate. And it is so much easier, John says, to be thus than to be a "crank-anarchist" about "land" being a free gift from God, all men are alike entitled to its use; or about "money being a free gift from government, all men are alike entitled to its benefit." It is so very much easier, you see, to be exemplary and sound and solid on these questions that my friend declares no apology is needed for calling me a fool for not coming in out of the rain.

John Warren complains that I am always liable to lapse into crankism when anything of that character comes along. First it was into agrarianism, then into greenbackism, and now into Alliancism. It is simply with me as with an increasing number of others—we want to change the social situation from what it is to more like what it ought to be, ourselves and not John Warren being the judge. Of course, as we make an advance we invite additional epithet and stigma, but the reproach of one period becomes an honor at a later one. Witness the respect we pay our older brethren who bore the standard and took the anathema of former days—always excepting old land-bill Allen, who, in his 80th year, we ignorantly allowed to meet death in the county almshouse. The anathema is now occurring as to land loans, sub-treasury and pensions for aged persons. The atmosphere is thick with epithet, but reform folks scare quite slowly these days.

Almost every reader can recall the floodtime of stigma in his own experience. Mine occurred at Decatur, here in Illinois, in State convention in 1873, when I offered resolutions and remarks in advocacy of "government loans at low interest upon real

estate security," precisely the system advocated some years later by Wendell Phillips, Gen. Ben. Butler and Peter Cooper, and afterwards adopted in the greenback platform, and which is now a corner-stone in Alliance politics.

Five hundred fathers and godfathers of reform were present, for there and then the greenback party was born. Yet, not a solitary public endorsement of this proposition could be got from one man of them. Instead, there came from everywhere within the range of acquaintance a storm of anathema bitter as gall when aimed by those whose usury stealage the system assailed. In the estimation of friends I was suddenly transformed into a "lunatic," whilst I could not have been much different from a burglar, perhaps, in the judgment of others. To be charged as either would ordinarily be unpleasant enough, but I will remark, as a strictly personal item, that I can not remember my appetite weakening under the weight of it once these twenty years when came the regular meal time.

O, says the prosperous non-producer who knows how as yet to avoid the results of hard times, "that is all fancy; the government is not down on the laboring man, neither is anybody else, but for our farmers we would all starve and the government become bankrupt!" But the same man had said that gold was the only true basis for money, and admits the government would become bankrupt but for the products of the farms. How can a government become bankrupt when it has plenty of the best basis in the world for money? But the farmers produce no gold, and yet, without the products of the farms the government would speedily become bankrupt. Suppose that all our farmers were out of debt and should adopt absolutely the live-at-home policy—selling nothing, buying nothing. It would carry civilization backward, but they could do it. But what would become of the large cities? Aye, even the towns and villages, the railroads, ships and steamboats? Would they not all soon decay and those who operate them become bankrupt? And what would become of the government? With its customs duties and its revenues obliterated, to whom would it go pleading? To the bankers with their gold basis, or to the farmers with barns filled by their honest labor with true wealth—the necessities of life. Could the government then form a conspiracy with the hoarders of gold to rob and oppress the farmers by their gold basis scheme? They did so once by artful delusions, but the farmers have seen how it works. A burnt child will not soon forget the danger of fire.

Gold is an idol which, having survived the iconoclasts of all ages, has been enthroned by the government in free America; unto which by an edict all laboring people are required to bring tythes and offerings, having a priesthood appointed by the government with authority to regulate all values, the incomes, and hours of labor of all working people, the opportunities of education, modes of life, the morals of the people; largely the virtue of the women, and to exact the lives of thousands of children and many men and women each year.

What Producers Need.

BY THOS. J. MORRIS, COLUMBUS, TEX.

What producers need! Why, fair play. They need just treatment at the hands of the government. In individual competition they can take care of themselves, at least as well as others, but the hand of the government is too strong for them. When the government levies tribute upon the product of the laboring man for the benefit of the rich, the laboring man must pay it, though, by so doing, his wife and children are deprived of the necessities of life. He may feel the injustice, but the strong hand of the government is upon him; he must yield, though degradation follow.

The farmers of this country produce more than enough to supply their own families, and in addition, more than enough to support the families of those who live in towns and cities and are not engaged in productive labor. They are doing all this, and yet there is a surplus, for every year large amounts of material for food and clothing are sent abroad to supply

the people of other countries. And yet the farmers are deprived of the comforts and many of the necessities of life.

Think of this, all you who call yourselves men. Think of it, all ye Christian philanthropists who have not yet touched with the little finger to relieve the heavy burdens you have helped to bind, not only upon the shoulders of the laboring men, but upon women, and children of tender

age. Well, it would take a large committee of the most inhuman of the race a thousand years to devise a scheme as evil in all its phases as the present one, and any conclusion, therefore, reached in a shorter time than that would undeniably be an improvement.

The present financial system of this country is the best the world ever saw for the plutocrat, provided there is no God, who shall sometime require an account of all his oppressions and of the life-blood of all those whom he has ground in the mills of his avarice.

Well, are the farmers opposed to cities, railroads and all other facilities to commerce? By no means. Understand. It is the farmers who fight against being driven into a hole and drawing the hole in after them. In other words, the farmers insist upon conditions of progress, while the plutocrats insist upon conditions which history demonstrates must result in anarchy and ruin.

The people lodged the power to make and control money with the government, but the government betrayed the people by handing over this power to a corporation, and by enacting laws for its protection and to enforce its arbitrary and insatiable demands.

About Parties.

The Toller, Nashville, Tenn.

A political party is an organization of citizens for the promotion of a cause which effects the policy of a government. The organization is effected because only through organization can a question of public policy be successfully advanced.

There are two views prevalent concerning parties. One is that it is organized to formulate an idea, while another is that it is an organization to present an idea already formulated. The latter is the correct view. Citizens are expected to think for themselves and to ally themselves with a party which promulgates their ideas. Many circumstances have arisen lately which go to prove that party collars are worn very loosely these days. The very atmosphere is pregnant with the odors of independence. The common masses are bold to say to parties, you must do this; we demand this of you. The parties seem to be hesitating. The leaders are estimating on the effect of the compliance; many of them speak as though they had decided to ignore the people's demands. They evidently do this anticipating the power of the party lash. Again, we wish to admonish these bosses that the people will never again be driven.

They can be tolled by throwing to them the bait of their choosing, which is principles. Political parties are a matter of growth, and new parties are the result of dissatisfaction existing among the members of old parties. Never, perhaps, in the history of the country was there as much evident dissatisfaction as at the present time; the people are in advance of the so-called leaders, and the party bosses seem to have no disposition to learn. Can it be that history is to repeat itself? The fight which put the Republican party in power began in 1860 in a way similar to the present condition. The people were determined; the bosses also chose the same "rule or ruin" policy that is being pursued to-day, and after everything had been done to disrupt the dominant party it went into convention and the bosses who

were unable to control bolted, but the split really occurred on the election of the Speaker the fall before. No sooner had the Democratic party split than the Whig party, which had only been held together by its opposition to Democracy, the same as the Republican party is now held together, it, too, went to pieces, and the third or minority party came into power. The so-called Democratic press of the South to-day is doing more to insure the division of and the subsequent defeat of the party than all other forces combined, and that, too, when a third party of no mean proportions threaten to become an active factor in the next campaign.

People learn much more rapidly to-day than they did thirty years ago, and radical political changes have occurred in the parties of this country every thirty years. The Federal party passed away to give place to the Whig; the Whig party passed away to give place to the Republican party; the old Republican party passed away to give place to the present Democratic party. Party names have changed, but there has never been but two dominant principles represented; one was the old Hamiltonian idea, "that the rich and the well-born should control the destiny of the country," and the other idea was that one advanced by Jefferson, "that this should be a government of the people and by the people." In other words, it was the aristocracy against the people, and whenever the Democratic party becomes impregnated with aristocratic bosses, as it is at present, it must reform itself to submit to defeat. It was the fault of Tom Benton that there was not room in the Democratic party for an aristocrat. This was probably true at that time, but since the Whig party went to pieces, and a large element of it went to the Democratic party, we find that its bosses are almost exclusively aristocrats; hence we find that Bayard, the old aristocratic Whig leader of Delaware, was Secretary of State in the late Democratic administration, while its distinguished Executive was a descendant of the Old Tory element, and probably never knew anything about Democratic principle or the tariff until he met Carlisle. The present course of the Democratic press is not calculated to build or strengthen the party, but is almost sure to add to the opposition. Had Speaker Crisp been anything but a Democrat, nothing worse could have been said of him, and the papers which are now condemning Hill, of New York, can not support him (should he be the nominee of the party) without eating more crow than is good for them.

WHY?

[BY DR. A. S. HOUGHTON.]  
Why sit ye here in idleness and waste the precious day,  
While scheming scoundrels plot and plan  
to steal your rights away;  
For know ye men that they who would  
our country's freedom save,  
Must show eternal vigilance, be fearless,  
true and brave.  
No cushioned chair of idle ease for free-  
men is prepared;  
They who would rest must first deserve  
though dangers nobly shared.  
The right and power to own and hold  
the boon of liberty,  
And watchful be of all their rights until  
eternity.

(Respectfully submitted to the Old Guard who, in 1876, '78, '84 and '88, were preparing for the 4th day of July, 1880.)

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

### ECONOMIST EDUCATIONAL EXERCISES.

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A series of instructive lessons for use in Alliances, debating societies, lyceums, and to disseminate a correct understanding of the economic questions of the day.

The series will consist of forty exercises, and will be published in *THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST* during the year 1892, ten lessons each quarter.

Lodges or societies which meet only once or twice a month should at once open a voluntary class that will agree to have weekly meetings for the purpose of conducting this educational work.

The exercises will be published about two weeks ahead of the date on which they are intended to be used, in order that all may have time to get them and study them well.

**LESSON No. 8.—To be used during fourth week in March.**

#### SCOTLAND—ITS GREAT ESTATES.

"O Caledonian stern and wild,  
Meet nurse for a poetic child!  
Land of brown heath and shaggy wood;  
Land of the mountains and the flood;  
Land of my sires, what mortal hand  
Can e'er unite the filial band  
That knits me to thy rugged strand!"—Scott.

#### GEOGRAPHY.

Scotland comprises the northern part of the island of Great Britain. Length, about 280 miles; breadth, about 170 miles.

Area, 30,685 square miles. It is about the size of South Carolina.

Population, 1,891,4,033,000.

"The Friths of Forth and Clyde reduce the width of the country to such a narrow neck as to make the northern part of Scotland almost a separate island. The northern peninsula thus formed is divided by a range of mountains into highlands and lowlands, the western part being almost entirely highland, and the eastern lowland. The country south of the Friths of Forth and Clyde is lowland. The lowlands are fertile and well watered, but the highlands are made up of lakes, moors and barren hills, and constitute a sterile and difficult region, in whom agriculture is almost impossible, and which open at scanty pasture. The western coast is cut up into a multitude of small islands, and the coast line is constantly broken by steep, jagged promontories jutting out seaward, or cut by long lochs, up which the sea runs far into the land between hills arising almost as bare and straight as walls on either side. These differences between the eastern and western parts of the country exercised a marked influence upon the inhabitants. The people of the lowlands were always peaceable and industrious, readily engaged in trade, and at an early day founded thriving towns. The highlanders, on the contrary, having no inducement to engage in industrial pursuits, were a fierce, hardy people, and lived mainly by pilaging the lands of the more thrifty lowlanders."

#### HISTORICAL EVENTS.

"The country was known to the Romans, who called it *Caledonia*."

"The Picts and Scots were an exceedingly brave and hardy race. Their arms were short spears, daggers and shields; their habitations were wretched huts, and they disdained the use of clothes."

"The Romans, after endeavoring, in vain, to really conquer them, built a wall to keep them out."

The history of Scotland is full of romance and of poetry, of heroic deeds and deeds of blood and fearful vengeance. The Scots were a brave and warlike people, and have done their full share toward furnishing heroes for the world's admiration. What more beautiful or unfortunate queen than Mary of Scotland? What nobler heroes than Wallace and Bruce?

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, 1603, James VI, of Scotland, was declared her successor.

"The union of the two crowns brought peace to the border, which had for centuries been torn by the most savage warfare. The border laws on each side were repealed, and it was agreed that all subjects of either country born after the union should be citizens of the other as well, and have the right to inherit and hold property in either. A lord high commissioner was made the king's representative in Scotland. In all things else the two countries were independent of each other, and each had its own parliament." This was the end of the long and bloody wars between Scotland and England.

However, religious persecutions and troubles in regard to the succession were still of frequent occurrence. "It was plain that the only way to remedy these evils was to bring the two kingdoms under one government." Commissioners were appointed by both countries, and a treaty of union was concluded. The independence of the national church of Scotland was assured. "The Scottish parliament was abolished, and Scotland was to be represented in the English Parliament by sixteen representative peers chosen from the whole body of peers, and forty-five representatives of the commons. The united parliament was to be henceforth called the Parliament of Great Britain. Free trade was established between the two countries, and the same privileges of trade, the right to hold property, and the same political rights and

inhabitants were guaranteed to the citizens of both countries. The same coins, weights and measures were to be used throughout the island. These measures being arranged, the first Parliament of Great Britain met on the 23d of October, 1707."

#### BLACKBOARD EXERCISE.

Two thirds of Scotland belongs to 330 persons; one-third is left for 4,032,000.
Queen's estate of Balmoral . . . . . 25,000 acres.
Duke of Argyll . . . . . 168,000 acres.
Duke of Hamilton . . . . . 102,000 acres.
Duke of Richmond . . . . . 45,000 acres.
Duke of Buccleugh . . . . . 99,000 acres.
Earl of Breadalbane . . . . . 155,000 acres.
Earl of Seafield . . . . . 193,000 acres.
Earl of Fife . . . . . 179,000 acres.
Earl of Sutherland . . . . . 140,000 acres.
Duke of Sutherland . . . . . 104,000 acres.
Duchess of Sutherland . . . . . 253,000 acres.
Duke of Buccleugh . . . . . 149,000 acres.
Duke of Sutherland . . . . . 176,343 acres.

"In Invernesshire twenty men own 2,000,000 acres among them, and in Aberdeenshire twenty-three 'lords and gentlemen' own more than half the country, though the population is 244,000. The greater part of all this territory is devoted to the sports of the aristocracy, for whom Scotland is only one great play-ground."

#### DEER FORESTS.

"The extent of land under deer in the highlands can not fall much short of 2,500,000 acres, which is almost one-fifth of the whole extent, the figures for fourteen counties being 13,318,738 acres."

200,000 acres yield 450 stags annually.

1,000,000 acres yield 1,600 stags annually.

650,000 acres yield 1,150 stags annually.

150,000 acres yield 300 stags annually.

70,000 acres yield 200 stags annually.

"The largest landed proprietor of the highlands is the Duke of Sutherland, who owns, including the duchess' property, 1,326,453 acres, yielding a revenue of about 65,000 pounds, or about 1 shilling per acre over all. The largest sporting tenant is William L. Winans, Esq., whose huge forest comprises about 200,000 acres, the rental being close upon 18,000 pounds per annum."

"For the most part the country is of a wild and extremely mountainous character, and vastly better adapted for sporting purposes than for those of husbandry. It may be remarked here that land which has been cleared of sheep usually can be let to sportsmen at something like 1 shilling per acre over all, quite equal to the ordinary grazing rental, in addition to the ordinary sporting or 'grouse' rental; and this being the case, coupled with the fact of highland proprietors having such hard times, owing to their sheep farmers having had to contend with so many adverse circumstances of late years, it will probably come to pass that at some date, not very far distant, this part of the British Isles, or at least the greater portion of it, will become exclusively the 'happy hunting grounds' of the rich."—*Robert Hall*.

#### PROBLEMS.

1. The county of Sutherland contains 1,299,253 acres of land. Taking out the Duke of Sutherland's

estate, how many acres are left for the other inhabitants of the county?

2. Six other potentates hold over 100,000 acres. Taking out their estates, what is left?

3. The population of the county is not far from 25,000. How many acres is left for each ordinary inhabitant?

4. If 200,000 acres yield 450 stags annually, how many acres does it take to furnish one stag ready to be killed?

5. If 1,000,000 acres produce 1,600 stags annually, how many acres does it take to produce one stag?

6. Add the whole number of acres given, and the number of stags produced, and find the average number of acres it requires to produce one stag ready to be shot.

#### GAME LAWS.

During the past twenty or thirty years both public opinion and the game laws have changed to some extent. But "vested rights" are hard things to deal with, and English justice is often of a very curious kind. A study of the game laws, as they were before the people were allowed the right to express their views by ballot, shows the tendency of legislation, when laws are made by the few, and the many are powerless. The welfare of the peasant, while he was without a vote, was hardly a thing worth the consideration of the landowner. He was less protected than the game on his master's estate. Mr. Kay tells us:

"The peasants, who have no amusements, no gardens, no farms, and no chance of getting any, are irresistibly tempted to begin poaching. They can not learn to regard a hare, a pheasant, or a partridge, as the particular property of any particular person. They know that the property in them is subject to perpetual change at the will of the creature itself. One day it is the property of Squire Walters and the next day of Squire Windham. Where it will be the following day no one knows. The sport of snaring them is a much greater pleasure and temptation to the poor than the sport of shooting them is to the rich."

If the starving peasant killed a rabbit or a partridge, he became a criminal of the deepest dye, according to the law.

"No jury is allowed him. He is tried, judged, condemned and sentenced by the landlords themselves, and is by them sent off to the county goal; there to spend one, two, or six months, and often a whole year, in company with felons and criminals of the worst possible character."

"During the time of his incarceration, his poor wife and family are driven to the workhouse in order to escape starvation. Their household goods are all sold up; their independence of character is ruined, and the happiness of a whole family is often destroyed forever."

It would seem as if no landlord would ever have been heartless enough to destroy a family for the sake of saving a few birds, that he or his friends might go out and shoot at them. But Mr. Kay says:

"This is no fanciful picture. It is an occurrence of every day in the rural districts. About 5,000 such committals take place every year in England and Wales." \* \* \* "An old baronet, himself a landed proprietor, and one of the greatest sportsmen of Norfolk, once said to me: 'If nothing else is done, I am convinced that the jurisdiction in cases of offenses against the game laws ought to be taken out of the hands of the landlords. It is very wrong that those who are so strongly interested in punishing should be allowed to be judges in cases of this description. I have constantly seen the most shameful injustice and cruelty practiced by the magistrates in cases of this nature.'"

Persons taking the eggs of game might be fined \$1.25 per egg, and in default imprisoned two or three months."

There were, and are, many more provisions of the game laws which seem quite as unreasonable as these to the American mind, which is in the habit of regarding a man's liberty as of some slight value.

#### QUESTIONS.

1. What is the size of Scotland? Its population?

2. Describe the highlands.

3. Describe the lowlands.

4. How did the highlanders differ in character from the people of the lowlands?

5. Did the Romans ever really conquer them?

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

6. Name some Scottish heroes.

7. Tell what you can about the union of Scotland and England in 1603.

8. Describe the more complete union which occurred a hundred years later.

9. Describe the game laws.

10. What do you think of them?

11. Which is the greater crime, to kill a bird (which somebody else wants the privilege of killing) or to send the head of a family to prison, on a trivial charge, when wife and children will be left with no other refuge from starvation than the workhouse?

12. Which act do you think should receive the greater punishment?

13. Do you think it is right to remove families from their homes in order that the land may be used for deer forests?

stock the farms for the tenantry, solely because of the entail. Thousands of landlords would be enriched to-day if their estates could be broken up and sold."—*Badeau*.

#### THE ARISTOCRAT.

When the conditions of society are such that one man holds in his hands the power to control the fortunes of a hundred or a thousand other men and their families, the one man is apt to become a capricious tyrant, while the hundred or the thousand others naturally fall into the position of humble and dependent slaves. Power begets tyranny. As the strong grow stronger, the weak grow weaker. As they grow weak they grow contemptible in the eyes of the strong.

The aristocrat forgets that the flesh and blood which clothes the bones of the weak is of the same kind as that he wears on his skeleton. Blessed with better educational opportunities, inheriting all the advantages which culture gives the race, he grows to think himself of finer clay than other human beings, and therefore entitled to vast privileges. He begins to think that his interests are the interests of the nation, and that in working for his own especial benefit he is serving his country.

As his power increases this feeling of superiority increases, and he becomes more and more dangerous to the people, as he has less and less sympathy with them.

The possession of great power is nearly always demoralizing to the character. History proves this. A study of the manners and morals of any aristocracy will prove it. The aristocrat is, in most cases, intensely selfish, selfish personally, selfish for his family, selfish for his caste, insisting upon the retention of their privileges, although it costs the poverty and distress of a nation.

Naturally there are exceptions to this general rule. There are men and women of the highest rank who devote their lives to the bettering of the condition of their weaker brethren and sisters, but they are few. As a rule, the aristocrat is out of sympathy with the poor, considering them a lower, inferior race of beings, to be "kept in the dust where they belong," to be ruled and managed for the benefit of the "governing classes" as men manage cattle.

Is it for the greatest good of the greatest number that there should be aristocrats in America?

#### ENGLISH MANNERS.

The following is an extract from Mr. Badeau's account of a presentation at court, and speaks for itself:

"At both levee and drawing room the visitors must pass through different apartments, to which they are admitted in sections; ropes are drawn across these rooms to prevent the aristocrats behind from pushing forward too eagerly, and the enclosures thus formed are properly enough called 'pens.' This device, however, does not prevent great crowding and sometimes flagrant ill-breeding in the 'highest society of Europe.' The daughter of an earl told me she had often known ladies to stick pins into the bare arms of those in front to make them move out of the way; and in the rush after the ropes are withdrawn I have twice had my epaulettes torn from my shoulders. If this should occur to an Englishman at the White House, what lectures we should receive on the manners of a democracy!"

#### RECENT AND CONTEMPLATED LEGISLATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

"The land of England does not belong to the landlords. An enormous proportion of it is entailed, and the so-called proprietors are in reality only tenants for life, without the power of selling, or of determining who their successors or heirs shall be. Many estates are also burdened with settlements, jointures to widows, or sometimes provisions for younger children; or mortgaged for the debts of long deceased owners."

"The entail and the settlements reduce the nominal income of a tenant for life, sometimes by half. They effect not only his power of disposing of the property, but his ability to improve it; for this tying up of land often prevents the so-called owner from raising money to drain, or plant, or build. There are proprietors who can not cut down a tree without the consent of the heir. Many are entirely unable to develop the resources of their land, to improve the cottages of their peasants, to

holdings act, cattle plague act, factory act, factory and work-shops act, artisans dwelling act, public health act; more recently the allotment act, which, however, is not satisfactory, as delegates to the rural conference December, 1891, declared that the laborer was often charged at the rate of \$25 per acre for land which was rented to the farmer for about \$5. On allotments the landlord pays all rates and tithes, but "still the difference is altogether unjustifiable."

The farmers are demanding a more effectual tenant right act which will insure them pay for the improvements they make upon the land they rent.

In regard to future legislation, Mr. H. H. Champion thus outlines the measures which will probably soon come up for consideration:

1. The eight-hour day.
2. The land for the people.
3. The abolition of the workhouse.
4. Taxation of large incomes and inheritances.
5. Protective labor legislation.

These being interpreted means—

1. An eight-hour day in government workshops and factories; in special hazardous and unhealthy occupations; in those in which overwork is dangerous to the public; and in enterprises which enjoy a monopoly granted by the legislature.

2. The compulsory purchase of land, which would allow co-operative cultivation on a large scale.

3. Old age pensions to be levied on the well-to-do.

4. Exemption from income tax of incomes under 300 pounds; increase of tax on incomes over 10,000 pounds; heavier death duties.

5. Employer's liability bill; more inspection and a public prosecution to watch every inquest on workmen killed at business.

Sir George Trevelyan has recently expounded what is called the "London programme." This puts home rule for Ireland first and municipal reforms in the metropolis second. The Londoners want to get control over their police, to supply their own gas and water, and above all to make the rents of the great owners of land in London pay something toward the cost of education, street improvements and the like, which by the existing iniquitous system are defrayed entirely by the tenants."

**EXTRACTS FROM THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.**

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE  
NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND  
INDUSTRIAL UNION.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C.  
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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 ad desired and required.

The publishers of this paper have given a bond in the sum of \$100,000 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 by the National Farmers Alliance at St. Louis:

Whereas, The National Economist, our adopted official 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 the work it has done in behalf of our cause, and subscribe and send 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 reinforce The NATIONAL ECONOMIST and the action of the National Farmers Alliance, its associates and friends, 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.

Publication office, 239 North Capitol street.

ENTERED AT THE POST-OFFICE AT WASHINGTON,  
D. C., AS SECOND CLASS MAIL MATTER.

## N. R. P. A.

SOME earnest advocates of free coinage are becoming considerably angered at the conduct of Mr. M. D. Harter. This is all wrong. Mr. Harter is doing better service for the success of the Bland bill than any five men who are advocating its passage. His opposition is so venomous and his methods so unfair as to rouse a spirit of distrust of his motives.

SENATOR DOLPH, of Oregon, went out of his way in a recent debate to attack the land loan and sub-treasury plan. In so doing, he displayed to some extent the vast fund of ignorance for which he is noted. He said:

That of all the schemes which had been advocated for the relief of the farmers, the scheme known as the sub-treasury bill, a scheme for the issue of an indefinite amount of government notes to be loaned by the government upon real estate security at a low rate of interest, was the most visionary and the most impracticable. He could conceive of nothing more certain to destroy the credit of the government, to depreciate its notes and its obligations and bring financial ruin upon this country than that scheme. If the sub-treasury should be adopted, and the government notes should depreciate to 25 cents on the dollar in gold, a bushel of wheat might be worth \$3 in the depreciated currency when it would bring only 75 cents in gold. If a depreciated currency became a measure of value in this country, gold and silver (the value of which are fixed by the world's demand, and the movement of which could not be controlled by legislation) would seek investment elsewhere, and the business of this country would be conducted on the basis of a cheap money furnished by the government.

In these statements is found a want of knowledge concerning the subjects under discussion that is certainly criminal in a man who pretends to represent in part the interests of a great State. It will be seen at a glance that he knows nothing of the sub-treasury plan, and has doubt-

less never read the bill. There is hardly a member of the Order that could not show up the absurdity of this statement. In regard to real estate loans, the Senator exhibits a peculiar want of information regarding even his own State that is distressing. He failed to say that in his own State the school fund amounting to nearly \$3,000,000 is loaned out on land security, and has proven very satisfactory. He failed to mention that this method of loaning the State funds had been established after careful consideration by the very people whom he represents, and the results have been such as to encourage other States to do the same. The Senator should post up upon this matter.

SEND your name and address on a postal card to Brent Good Co., 57 Murray street, New York, and they will return you by mail free 4 beautiful cards for the children and a 32-page illustrated pamphlet.

PEOPLE'S PARTY CLUBS.

The Chicago Daily News' Almanac and Political Register has just been received. It is a valuable compilation in every respect. It contains four hundred pages of closely printed matter, neatly prepared, and sells for 25 cents.

## NOTES BY REFORMER.

You see and hear it said, iterated and reiterated, day after day, that the Bland bill proposes to compel the government to convert 70 cents worth of silver bullion into a coined dollar. Now that is the worst species of lie, because it bears the semblance of truth, and every one who repeats it is either very ignorant, or maliciously intends to deceive. The only reason that can be given for the depreciation of silver is, that in 1873 the coinage right and privilege was taken from it. At that time silver was at a premium of 3 per cent over gold. Now, if you add to the commodity value of silver that which you took from it in 1873, namely, the coinage right, does any one doubt that it will soon regain its lost value as compared with gold? So much for the Bland bill. In almost every such meeting, of course, you would find a number of men hired by plutocrats and the national banking system to speak against the principles contained in the "demands." These meetings, if properly held and controlled, would present fine opportunities for educational work among those who are not in connection with any of the reform organizations. Moreover, where it is possible to obtain thoroughly competent speakers, a free discussion should not be avoided, but rather invited. In almost every such meeting, of course, you would find a number of men hired by plutocrats and the national banking system to speak against the principles contained in the "demands." These meetings, if properly held and controlled, would present fine opportunities for educational work among those who are not in connection with any of the reform organizations. Moreover, where it is possible to obtain thoroughly competent speakers, a free discussion should not be avoided, but rather invited. In almost every such meeting, of course, you would find a number of men hired by plutocrats and the national banking system to speak against the principles contained in the "demands."

THE MASS MEETING AT ST. LOUIS.

Some people, whose head pieces do not work very well, their "think works," as Bill Nye would say, being out of order, imagine that the mass meeting held at St. Louis was a mistake. They say, you went to St. Louis to formulate and adopt a platform, and having done it you went on and committed us all to a support of the People's party. They did not do any such thing. They only loaded your cannon, and styled them on the works of the enemy. The People's party is the cannon of the industrialists, and your representatives did nothing but load them. By such a course, they said, we have not only adopted a plat-

form to be submitted to the old parties, but we are also going to stand by it and fight for it. So the industrial army was placed in a menacing position, ready to strike if their just "demands" are disregarded. Nothing less than this could possibly have been done by wise men. Suppose the representatives had come home after adopting a platform, and then waited until the 27th of June, at which time the last political convention for nominating Presidential candidates will be held. The industrial forces would not have been at active work before the 1st of September, and at that time would have found a majority of voters in Republican leagues and Democratic clubs. My countrymen, you have got to fight if you do not propose to remain slaves! Already you can hear chains clanking in the plutocratic shops of New England, being forged for you of the South and West, heavier chains than you are now wearing. The man who at this awful crisis does not tear the party collar from his neck, and determine to vote as a free American citizen, is a traitor to his altar and his hearthstone.

## PEOPLES PARTY CLUBS.

The question is now being asked, shall we proceed at once to the organization of People's party clubs? No one can doubt but that the most formidable and thorough preparation should be made by the enrollment of voters, who are determined to stand by the industrial platform; but in a good many sections of the country education has not sufficiently progressed to make such a course at this time advisable. However, it would seem that in every county where it is at all practicable meetings should be held by citizens in their individual capacity, without respect to present ties, to indorse and ratify the platform adopted at St. Louis. At the same time capable speakers should be present to explain and enforce the principles contained in the "demands."

Heavy snow storms prevailed in Great Britain and France last week. Railroad and other traffic was impeded, and several vessels were wrecked off the coast of Ireland.

The winter season of pork packing closed in the West on March 1. Seven million seven hundred and fifty thousand hogs were packed during four months, a decrease of 420,000 hogs against the number packed last year.

Great destitution prevails this winter among the laboring classes of Vienna, which, it is claimed, is due to the operation of the new American tariff. Total number of unemployed persons in the city is estimated at seventy thousand.

The French ministry suffered defeat in the Chamber of Deputies on Thursday of last week, and resigned, the cause being the action of the chamber in connection with the bill dealing with religious associations.

M. de Cassagnac described the bill as an iniquitous measure. Premier de Freycinet denied that the measure was intended as an act of persecution of the church, or that it need be regarded as a precursor of the separation of church and state. The vote of the chamber being taken, in accordance with the premier's demand, that the government be requested to continue its republican policy, but it was rejected by 304 to 202. The ministers left the house in a body. M. Ribot, French minister of foreign affairs, has undertaken to form a cabinet.

There is also a cabinet crisis in Greece. The king dismissed the Greek cabinet, of which M. Delianis was the prime minister. It is claimed that the king's motive in dismissing the ministry was his fear of an aggravation of the financial crisis, and another motive which impelled the king to this step may have been the recent destruction of the British Protestant Church at the Piraeus. The king wants to keep in peace with all the powers, and, perhaps, has accused the premier of incapacity in protecting the rights of foreigners in Greece. As yet the cabinet refuses to be dismissed. Their last hope, and a forlorn one.

Vigorous protests are being made all over Prussia against the sectarian education bill.

Exports of cotton from this country are the largest of any staple. Cotton leads with \$276,658,029, against

\$231,429,890 for all breadstuffs, and \$160,000,000 for all animal products.

New Jersey has increased its appropriation to the World's Fair from \$20,000 to \$70,000.

The price of coal has advanced in England on account of the miners' strike.

The birthday of the postage stamp occurs on the 6th of May. They were invented by a Scotchman, and were used first in 1840 in England.

A French officer has submitted to the war ministry a rifle that will project a stream of vitriol for a distance of seventy meters.

The total amount reported appropriated by foreign nations and colonies, for their representation at the World's Fair, is \$3,951,953.

The mineral output of Colorado for 1891 was \$33,548,934. The average price of silver for 1890 was \$1.04 1/2, while for 1891 it was 98.55 cents.

Queen Marguerite, of Italy, has promised to lend her historical and unequalled collection of laces for exhibition in the women's building at the World's Fair.

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# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

10

living in this country, save for lack of food. No danger of robbery need be apprehended. Among the people who dwell in these frozen regions a cache is sacred."

A ladies semi-literary, semi-political, semi-ethical club was organized by Mrs. A. L. Diggs on the 15th inst., at the home of Mrs. J. G. Otis, 223 A street N. E., Washington, D. C. Its members propose taking up THE ECONOMIST lessons in detail and conducting a series of mutual improvement debates upon scientific or public problems. The officers elected were as follows: Mrs. A. L. Diggs, of the District of Columbia, president; Mrs. E. R. Davidson, of Georgia, vice-president; Mrs. J. G. Otis, of Kansas, treasurer; Miss Bessie A. Dwyer, of Texas, secretary. The wives of the People's party Congressmen have joined the club, and many others are expected to do so at the next meeting. Ladies desirous of forming auxiliary clubs can communicate with the secretary.

Dr. Edward Pace, a student of hypnotism, delivered recently in Washington a most interesting lecture upon its advance as a science. Hypnotism, he claimed, has a most remarkable therapeutic value as an aesthetic in certain surgical operations where the life of a patient would be endangered by use of drugs. But aside from its moral use, it opens up many avenues of danger to morals and law. An operator can hypnotize a patient and direct him in a certain day, in a certain year, and at a certain place to commit a crime and forget the instigator and the fact of ever having been under influence, and as is willed, will be accomplished. Another phenomena is seeing at a distance. One hypnotized at the command of the operator can see what is transpiring in another part of the world.

**The Cities and Their Cry.**  
By M. G. ELLZEY.

Harper's Weekly states that recently land was sold in New York for twenty thousand dollars a frontage foot; a lot 20x100 feet sold for four hundred thousand dollars. The writer continues: "We have all but reached the condition when only two classes can exist in New York—the extremely rich and the very poor." "A pressing problem of urban life is how to help that large element who are eager but powerless to help themselves out of the slough of destitution, and whom society ought for its own sake to emancipate before they become hopelessly infected with the virus of their surroundings. The problem is that of every great municipality as well as our own." The Southern Churchman blithely rejoins, "Large cities are blemishes on the body politic, and not adornments. In the cities where men with wives and children are living in a condition in which not even a horse is housed, after awhile they will stand it no longer, and then comes revolution. Let those who are making a support in the country stay there."

We have often called attention to this evil of over-crowded cities where the two extremes of life meet. A few enormously rich living apart, but surrounded by vast multitudes desperately and savagely poor; and matters going from bad to worse. During the last decade the State of Maryland gained in population 107,447, of which the city of Baltimore

gained 102,126. In Delaware the city of Wilmington took the entire gain, lacking 2,000. In New Jersey the case was so bad that the governor suppressed the report of the commissioner of labor and statistics concerning abandoned farms. The statistics of New England show appalling lists of abandoned farms and rural homes. In Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey, analysis of the statistics shows that a very large part of the gain of the cities is at the expense of the surrounding country. In ten years the counties of Maryland have lost about 25,000 population, or more than an average of 1,000 per county, one county actually losing above 3,000 people. Seventeen counties lose nearly ten thousand negro population; whereas Baltimore gains above 13,000. The hegira of population from the county to town all over the United States has assumed deplorable and alarming proportions. Landed proprietors and agricultural laborers are alike making resort to the towns in multitudes. It is not from remotely located places that this drain is going on, but from the regions round about Boston, and New York, and Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and Washington, representing the very heart of the region of "diversified agriculture" and immense "home markets." A region in the midst of the hives of "protected industry." It is the region of trucking and dairying, and fruit growing, and stock breeding and feeding, which is thus withering under an unseen blight and curse. When such great agricultural counties as Cecil, and Queen Anne's, and Kent, right at the very door of the great markets of the continent, with rail and water transportation almost at the door of every farm, have lost within ten years 2,187 population, while their chieftowns gained 932, showing a net loss of country population of 3,139. And when such a great agricultural county as old Frederick, equal to the best part of the blue grass region in far-famed Kentucky, equidistant by rail from Baltimore to Washington, has lost in ten years 970 of its population. Old Frederick, where forty years ago lands commanded \$150 per acre, and outsiders could hardly secure them at that price; when such counties, so situated, are losing population at such a rate, we can't shut our eyes to the fact that there is something alarming the matter with American agriculture. How long can these helpless multitudes who are thus desperately abandoning their farms and homes and plunging themselves into the sloughs of despair in the great cities, escape contamination with the virus of their surroundings?" "The virus of their surroundings!" Think what that implies, fellow men: "Living with wives and children in a condition in which not even a horse is housed;" and some of them "young and so fair," and, merciful God, how frail! It is indeed a terrible problem for the great cities: "How shall we help them before they are hopelessly contaminated with the virus of their surroundings?" He who runs may read the portentous signs of the times which foreshadows a catastrophe. It is evident to the feeblest understanding that the destinies of this people are driving them pell-mell somewherer; but whether the wisest dread to think. What then is that flight and curse under the unseen influence of which

American agriculture is thus withering? It is "the subtle alchemy of larcenous law" which causes the wages of labor to disappear from the honest palm of hard-handed toil, to reappear in the bank accounts and gambling stakes of the millionaire. Larcenous law which, by a denial of coinage to silver the dollar of the people, has added a fifth quarter to gold, the dollar of the banker, and broker, and stock gambler, and usurer, of whom are the millionaires. Larcenous law which seeks by means of false assessments and statutory exemptions, and who takes from industry without an equivalent is a robber. Holding, in substance, that these truths are self-evident and of divine command that all men should labor and that they should be protected by the government in the honest fruits of their labor. This new declaration of independence forced into existence and wrought out under the same conditions of distress that impelled the one promulgated in 1776, is met by the capitalistic press with ridicule and derision. At the dictation of the money power, the musty records of antiquity are searched by learned editors, by whose acumen the ancient usages and customs of feudal barbarity are brought forth and painted in fantastic colors to convince the people of the divine right of kings, nobles and classes to live upon the sweat of other men's brows, while they bring forth the threadbare adages of "the poor ye always have with you," to try and convince the round-shouldered yeomanry of America that they should be proud and content to have the privilege of filling the coffers of Carnegies, Goulds and Vanderbilts. What is the duty of the hour? This new declaration echoes the central idea of the one of 1776, so beautifully expressed by the immortal Lincoln: "A government of, by and for the people." And yet, in all the years of this nation, how little influence have the common people had in making, adjudicating or executing the laws? The farmer has guided his plow and the mechanic has stood by his forge, while the politician, railroad attorney, millionaire and monopolist have sat in the halls of Congress, in the White House, and worn the ermine of the judiciary. Is it any wonder, with the classes at the helm, that the masses should, at least, be neglected? say nothing about being totally wrecked on the reefs of selfish greed and avarice. Is it any wonder that 31,000 men own three-fifths of the nation's wealth, while prisons, poor-houses and asylums are overflowing and the land filled with the strikes and lock-outs of pauperized labor? Verily, we walk on the crust of a smouldering volcano.

I have never endorsed breaches of the law in any shape, but I must say there are cases in which the law-makers are more responsible than the law-breakers.—Gladstone on Ireland.

In spite of the combined influence of a capitalistic press in this country, unequalled in ability, in numbers, in cunning and in persistency to mislead, with any known in the history of nations, the people have gradually come up out of the superstition of political prejudice and enforced ignorance of the causes of their condition, and by the aid of organization and agitation have become educated in economic science until we are enabled to witness a gathering of people

universally admitted to be larger in numbers, in enthusiasm, in unyielding determination, and in the wisdom of their manifesto than any yet held within the borders of this nation. This great labor conference, conceived, matured and brought together because of the long continued and desperate efforts of aggregated capital to prevent an equitable distribution of the profits of labor, has put forth a new declaration of union and independence, and ordained a new platform of principles for the uplifting of mankind, declaring that "wealth belongs to him who creates it," and who takes from industry without an equivalent is a robber. Holding, in substance, that these truths are self-evident and of divine command that all men should labor and that they should be protected by the government in the honest fruits of their labor. This new declaration of independence forced into existence and wrought out under the same conditions of distress that impelled the one promulgated in 1776, is met by the capitalistic press with ridicule and derision. At the dictation of the money power, the musty records of antiquity are searched by learned editors, by whose acumen the ancient usages and customs of feudal barbarity are brought forth and painted in fantastic colors to convince the people of the divine right of kings, nobles and classes to live upon the sweat of other men's brows, while they bring forth the threadbare adages of "the poor ye always have with you," to try and convince the round-shouldered yeomanry of America that they should be proud and content to have the privilege of filling the coffers of Carnegies, Goulds and Vanderbilts. What is the duty of the hour? This new declaration echoes the central idea of the one of 1776, so beautifully expressed by the immortal Lincoln: "A government of, by and for the people." And yet, in all the years of this nation, how little influence have the common people had in making, adjudicating or executing the laws? The farmer has guided his plow and the mechanic has stood by his forge, while the politician, railroad attorney, millionaire and monopolist have sat in the halls of Congress, in the White House, and worn the ermine of the judiciary. Is it any wonder, with the classes at the helm, that the masses should, at least, be neglected? say nothing about being totally wrecked on the reefs of selfish greed and avarice. Is it any wonder that 31,000 men own three-fifths of the nation's wealth, while prisons, poor-houses and asylums are overflowing and the land filled with the strikes and lock-outs of pauperized labor? Verily, we walk on the crust of a smouldering volcano.

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# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

dent of a subordinate union in Coffey county, Kan.

T. L. KING, Secretary.

### Alliance Resolutions.

The following resolutions were adopted by Sumner County (Tenn.) Farmers and Laborers Union:

Congress, fourth district, to remember his constituency and give our demands unrestrained support and to use his best efforts to cause their enactment into law, which we believe will subserve our constitutional general welfare, affording equal rights to all and special favors to none.

WILLIAM A. LASISTER, President.

J. W. KIRKHAM, Secretary.

Antoine Farmers Alliance No. 508, Pike county, Arkansas, met on the 20th day of February, 1892, and among other business of the lodge passed resolutions adopting the Ocala platform, sub-treasury and all, and has agreed to vote for no man but those men who have stood firm on the same platform, and we ask THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST to copy. J. H. DOWDLE, R. B. JOHNSON, President.

The following resolutions were adopted by the people of Wilkes county, Helena, Centerville and Irwin Court ground.

We, the people of Wilkes county, Helena, Centerville and Irwin Court ground at Irwin Court ground, in a mass meeting, most heartily endorse the course of the Hon. Tom Watkins in the speakership contest, believing that he has followed the only course he could to be true to the principles upon which he was elected, and the people whose votes placed him in office.

Resolved, That we, the Farmers and Laborers Union of the ninth congressional district, do most heartily and emphatically endorse the memorial prepared by the legislative committee of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, together with the demands of the Order known as the Ocala demands attached to said memorial and presented to Congress by the Hon. Rice A. Pierce on January 6, 1892, and printed on page 279 of the Congressional Record.

2. That we would most respectfully request that our representatives, H. G. Harris, W. B. Bate and Rice A. Pierce, use their influence and votes to have these demands enacted into law.

3. That we do most heartily endorse the actions of our representative, Hon. Rice A. Pierce, in Congress.

4. That we do most heartily endorse the administration of Hon. John P. Buchanan as governor of this State.

5. That we do most unqualifiedly denounce the efforts that are being made to secure the selection of candidate for Congress in this congressional district by a convention, and demand that the congressional committee shall declare for a primary election, and that a plurality vote shall select said candidate.

6. That a copy of these resolutions be furnished the Toiler and THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST for publication, and that a copy of Nos. 1 and 2 be furnished Hons. Isham G. Harris, W. B. Bate and Rice A. Pierce, SAM'L YOUNG, Chairman.

E. F. TALBY, Secretary.

J. B. TATUM,

R. R. TUGWELL,

D. KING,

A. W. HUNDLEY,

J. F. GLASGOW,

Committee.

The following is from the committee on resolutions of the Farmers and Laborers Union of the sixth congressional district of Tennessee:

Your committee on resolutions would respectfully report as follows:

That we, the Farmers and Laborers Union of the sixth congressional district of Tennessee, emphatically endorse the memorial and demands presented to Congress by the national legislative committee of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union through the Hon. Rice A. Pierce on January 6, 1892, and printed on page 279 of the Congressional Record.

Resolved further, That we pledge our individual and earnest support of those principles and demands.

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to our representatives in Congress, and Senators William B. Bate and Isham G. Harris and Congressman Joseph E. Washington, with the earnest petition of this body that they labor to have these principles enacted into law.

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be given to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST and Toiler for publication.

J. B. ALLEN,

W. J. CAMPBELL,

E. Z. DOWLEN,

R. E. DOUGLASS,

Committee.

W. H. McCARVER, Secretary.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## CONGRESS.

## SENATE.

TUESDAY, March 8, 1892.

Prayer by the chaplain, Rev. J. G. Butler, D. D. The journal of yesterday's proceedings was read. Senator introduced a bill to fix the duty on opium at \$5 per pound.

The following bills were passed:

To prohibit the sale of firearms and ammunition to Indians residing on reservations.

To pay W. W. Burns \$7,957 for royalty on 3,195

Sierra tents.

To reimburse Major Green Clay Goodloe, paymaster United States marine corps, \$2,000 public money stolen from him by a clerk, who afterwards committed suicide.

To relief Wm. Bond & Co., and many other companies and individuals, allowing compensation on their losses incurred from the burning of their

dwelling, amount of \$27,000.

To pay to estates of John Ericsson \$1,930 balance found due by the Court of Claims for Captain Ericsson's services in planning the Princeton and her machinery.

To establish a military post on the line of rail-

roads between Burlington and Highgate, Vt.

Fixing the salary of enlisted men acting as army

nurses at \$10 per month.

To establish an army post near Little Rock, Ark.

At 1 o'clock the pure food bill was taken up.

Mr. Faulkner moved an amendment to it, provided, as

section, which was agreed to. It provided,

for shipment and delivery for transportation from

any State or Territory to any other State or Terri-

tory, any drug or article of food, and every person,

who exposes for sale or delivers to a purchaser

any drug or article of food, to pay a sum equal to

one tenth of the value of the article.

Mr. McMillin rose to make the opening speech

on the tariff. His speech was a very able exposi-

tion of the Democratic view, and was listened to

with great attention. Mr. Dingley, Mr. Read,

Mr. Teller, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Patterson, Mr. Cullen,

and Mr. Herbert all responded to his speech.

Mr. Teller offered a resolution, which was

agreed to, calling on the Secretary of the Treasury

for information as to the amount of treasury notes

issued under the provisions of the act of July 14,

1890, and the amount of silver bullion coin

and certificates issued under the same.

Mr. Morgan moved an additional amendment

providing for prosecution of any person dis-

couring the United States, and for the seizure and

confiscation of the articles in a process of liber-

or condemnation, the proceeds to be paid into, the

treasury. Agreed to.

The vote was about to be taken on the passage

of the bill when it was suggested that it had been

written in such a way as to violate the first

principle of the Constitution. It declared that violence should be used to impel knowledge and intent on the part of the accused.

The second and other sections were amended so as to restrict

their application to original packages.

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couring the United States, and for the seizure and

confiscation of the articles in a process of liber-

or condemnation, the proceeds to be paid into, the

treasury. Agreed to.

The bill was taken up again and passed.

To amend the act for the relief of certain settlers

on the public lands, and to provide for

the payment of fees and purchase money paid on valid

entries. This was considered so important it was

made the order of a special consideration for Monday.

Mr. McMillin, Tenn., gave notice that he would

to-morrow call up the free-wool bill and open the

tariff debate.

Mr. McCrory, Ky., announced to the House

death of his colleague, Mr. Kendall, of Kentucky,

and as a mark of respect the House immediately

adjourned at 12 o'clock and 13 minutes.

## SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, March 9, 1892.

Prayer by the chaplain, Rev. J. G. Butler, D. D.

The journal of yesterday's proceedings was read

and approved.

Mr. Morgan from committee on appropriations

reported back without amendments the agricul-

tural deficiency bill, and gave notice he would

call it up to-morrow.

Among bills introduced, and referred was one

by Mr. Cullen, (by request) "to test and try the

science of spelling and to provide for establishing

normal schools for that purpose, and to

establish a spelling school in the World's Fair

exposition to be held in Chicago.

Mr. Manderson, from committee on printing,

presented reports. Among these was a recom-

mendation to reduce from 12,500 to 8,000 the num-

ber of copies of eulogies of deceased members.

Agreed to.

Senate bill to pay Dr. John B. Read \$17,000 as

royalty on rifle projectiles with iron sabots,

passed.

The consideration of the pure food bill was re-

sumed. It passed by committee of the whole

and was referred to the Committee on Agriculture for its organization in the department of agri-

culture. The section to be known as the food sec-

tion of the chemical division, whose duty it shall

be to analyze or cause to be analyzed or examined

samples of food or drugs offered for sale in any

State or Territory other than where manufactured,

or in any place where they are sold, or where they are to be sold.

If prohibits the introduction into any State or

Territory from any other State or Territory, or

foreign country, of any article of food or drugs

that is adulterated or misbranded, and makes the

act of finding adulterated or misbranded by a

fine not exceeding \$500 for the first offense,

not exceeding \$1,000 for each subsequent offense,

and by imprisonment for one year. The term "drug" as used in the act, is to include all medi-

cines for internal or external use. The term "food"

is to include all articles used for food or drink by man, wife, child, or animal.

There are to be considered adulterated when they differ

from the standard of strength, quality, or purity

recognized in the United States Pharmacopoeia

or standard works, or when in imitation of and

consists in whole or in part of a diseased, filthy,

decomposed, or putrid animal or vegetable sub-

stance, or any portion of an animal unfit for food.

Articles of food or drugs that do not contain

any poisonous ingredients shall not be deemed to

be adulterated. In case no standard of strength,

quality, or purity is given, the term "standard"

shall mean the average quality, quantity, and

strength of the article.

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extraneous matter in the process of collection or preparation.

Mr. Vest modified his substitute so as to make it apply to post-offices where the aggregate receipts for three years exceed \$5,000, and do not exceed \$20,000. The bill was reported by Mr. Vest, a substitute to secure returns for public libraries in post-office buildings constructed, and to have them supplied with public documents.

Mr. McKinley tariff law, he said, had advanced the prices of agricultural products, decreased the importation into this country of dutiable goods, increased the cost of living, and the movement of new industries, and if given a fair trial would secure the production in this country of annually increasing amounts of articles of human industry consumed here, but which had heretofore been produced abroad, thus giving to American capital and labor employment, and increasing the demand for our products. Mr. Vest spoke for high protective tariff, and did so place before the House Mr. Simpson, Kan., whom he believed took to hold up to ridicule. Mr. Simpson more than held his own. He is becoming somewhat feared for the stinging character of his impromptu replies. No man has yet succeeded in phazing him. Sharp words were exchanged between Mr. Gay, of West Virginia, and Mr. Brooks, of Maryland. Mr. Brooks received the greatest applause. His speech is considered one of the best campaign documents yet manufactured. Mr. Coombs, N. Y., made some remarks upon the free wool bill which were sent to the First Federal Bank, and on May 31, 1892, we will send

the movements of which could not be controlled by any nation, were to be controlled elsewhere, and the business of this country would be conducted on the basis of a cheap money furnished by the government.

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the movements of which could not be controlled by any nation, were to be controlled elsewhere, and the business of this country would be conducted on the basis of a cheap money furnished by the government.

A manufacturer's standpoint is a Democratic. He spoke in favor of the bill. Mr. Montgomery made a strong statistical analysis in favor of the free wool bill as reported by committee. He was followed by Mr. Brookshire, Ind., Mr. Purnell, who spoke the reciprocity policy. Mr. Ray, of N. Y., spoke for high protective tariff, and did so place before the House Mr. Simpson, Kan., whom he believed took to hold up to ridicule. Mr. Simpson more than held his own. He is becoming somewhat feared for the stinging character of his impromptu replies. No man has yet succeeded in phazing him. Sharp words were exchanged between Mr. Gay, of West Virginia, and Mr. Brooks, of Maryland. Mr. Brooks received the greatest applause. His speech is considered one of the best campaign documents yet manufactured. Mr. Coombs, N. Y., made some remarks upon the free wool bill which were sent to the First Federal Bank, and on May 31, 1892, we will send

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, March 9, 1892.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the chaplain, Rev. W. H. Milburn, D. D.

The journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

Mr. Lanham, Tex., reported a bill for the reclamation of arid lands from the committee on irrigation.

On motion of Mr. Culberson, Tex., several bills regulating court sessions and business were passed.

Mr. McMillin rose to make the opening speech

on the tariff. His speech was a very able exposi-

tion of the Democratic view, and was listened to

with great attention. Mr. Dingley, Mr. Read,

Mr. Teller, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Patterson, Mr. Cullen,

and Mr. Herbert all responded to his speech.

Mr. Teller offered a resolution, which was

agreed to, calling on the Secretary of the Treasury

for information as to the amount of treasury notes

issued under the provisions of the act of July 14,

1890, and the amount of silver bullion coin

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## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## SECOND DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Platform adopted by the Confederated Industrial Organizations at St Louis, Mo., February 22-24, 1892:

## PREAMBLE.

This, the first great labor conference of the United States and of the world, representing all divisions of urban and rural organized industry, assembled in national congress, invoking upon its action the blessing and protection of Almighty God, puts forth to and for the producers of the nation this declaration of union and independence. The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation. We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the

ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized. Many of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places in order to prevent universal intimidation at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent be provided; as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or some better system; also, by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

## PLATFORM.

## FINANCE.

First—We demand a national currency safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; and that without the use of banking corporations a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent be provided; as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or some better system; also, by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

a. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver.

b. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

c. We demand a graduated income tax.

d. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand all national and State revenue shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

e. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

## LAND.

Second—The land, including all the natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

## TRANSPORTATION.

Third—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

a. The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

We declare our union and independence. We assert our purpose to support the political organization which represents our principles.

We charge that the controlling influence dominating the old political parties have allowed the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to restrain or prevent them. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcry of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff; so that corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, "watered stock," the demonetization of silver, and the oppression of users, may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes and children upon the altar of mammon; to destroy the hopes of the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the great lords of plunder.

We assert that a political organization, representing the political principles herein stated, is necessary to redress the grievances of which we complain.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birth of the illustrious man who led the first great revolution on this continent against oppression, filled with the sentiments which actuated that grand generation, we seek to restore the government of the republic to the hands of the "plain people," with whom it originated. Our doors are open to all points of the compass. We ask all honest men to join with and help us.

In order to restrain the extortions of aggregate capital, to drive the money-changers out of the temple, to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote general welfare and

Highest of all in Leavening Power.—Latest U. S. Gov't Report.

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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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### TAXATION IN AMERICA.

That public expense and taxation in this country are on a scale of extravagance beyond all other countries does not appear to be doubted by anybody who has given such matter even slight investigation. Our very complex system of government might be expected to prove expensive in the application of it. Nevertheless, it is probable that no accurate information exists as to the actual per capita expense of getting ourselves very ill-governed as we most notoriously are. From an examination of the statistical data of the census, and of separate States, municipalities and countries, it appears certain that the various forms of public expense, national, State, municipal, and local, aggregate a sum total in excess of a thousand million per annum, and apparently very largely in excess of that figure. The per capita cost of the very bad government administered to us lies between \$15 and \$18. This is a rate of taxation not only such as is borne by no other people of modern times, but prodigiously in excess of all possible needs of honest government. As a proof of which, note the following extraordinary offer:

THE ECONOMIST FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1892 FOR FIFTY CENTS.

From February 15 to April 30 all

50 cent subscribers received, will get the paper for eight months, provided as many as ten are in one club.

Secretaries are requested to bring this notice before the Alliance and make a special plea for as much as one club in each body. All friends are requested to get up a club.

Now is the time to renew. Now is the time to subscribe.

Eight months for fifty cents, in clubs of ten or more.

The ECONOMIST has a large supply of back numbers, which are now offered at a little more than the cost of postage. They are scattered throughout the last three years. Specified numbers can not be furnished at this price.

An outrage upon honesty and decency has been committed in Texas by the political bosses, court-house rings and town cliques choking Roger Q. Mills, with his corrupt silver record, down the throats of an honest people, and to the shame and disgrace of Texas he takes his seat in the United States Senate. The people will rise in their might and resent this insult to November.

equitable distribution of the burden of this enormous public expense. He who investigates will discover that the richer a man is the less he contributes to this fund; and the poorer he is the more he is compelled to pay in proportion to his ability. He will further discover that a vast proportion of the most productive form of accumulated wealth, or so-called "capital," is exempted from taxation by law, and their proportion of the tax is distributed to those less able to bear it. He who takes the trouble to inform himself will readily learn that this dishonest and unjust distribution of the tax burden does not stop here. He will readily learn that the law goes to yet greater extremes in discriminating between different forms of property by taxing one at a less rate, which is merely a partial exemption. Neither is this all. He will discover that false assessment is almost universal, and that the property of the rich is assessed far below its actual value, whereas the property of the poor is assessed equally far above its actual value. Neither is this the last and worst of it. Four-fifths of the so-called invisible "capital" eludes assessment by fraud, by lying and by perjury, open, notorious and shameless. "It is only the honest and ignorant who give in such property," says Tax-Commissioner Coleman, of New York; "95 per cent of it escapes altogether." Escapes how? It escapes by fraud, by lying and by perjury, and it neither does nor can otherwise escape. The tax thus dodged is laid mainly upon real estate, and inasmuch as real estate in the hands of the rich evades its just share by false assessment, and, further, inasmuch as real estate in the hands of the poor has its burdens doubled by false assessment, the tax evaded by the rich owners of commercial property by fraud, lying and perjury, as above shown, must be paid by such as live by honest toil. In the face of such a state of things as this, the owners of these so-called invisible properties are not ashamed to advance this plea for their legal exemption from, and to put forward their own infamous dishonesty as a special reason for such exemption.

How much better are such men than those old Jews, those honorable financiers of that day, whose souls, consumed by avarice, hesitated not even in the divine presence of the prince of glory to convert the very house of God into a den of thieves. Such men, the same in every age and country, appear to have been always possessed of the devil and moved by his instigation in all their designs. Here follows a sample argument of these people: "It is not fair to tax a 3 per cent bond at the same rate as a 6 per cent bond. It is bad policy, for it merely drives the bond out of the State to the custody of financial institutions beyond the jurisdiction of the taxing power; moreover, this class securities is often left by will as the sole support of women and children who are widows and orphans, and such a tax takes half their living, reducing them to necessitous circumstances." If this argument were found in the mouth of such as are not known as devourers of widow's houses and the portion of orphans, it might deserve consideration. But what of the farms and homes so often left as the sole support of orphans and widows, and which do not pay 2 per cent on their assessed value? Shall they also be exempt from taxation? Oh, no; that would destroy the pet contention of the greedy plutocrat, that the fairest and the only fair and equal tax is an exclusive tax on real estate; or, as the Georgeites have it, a single tax on land. But a non-taxable 3 per cent bond is a gilt-edged security, and is not to be had for women and children. Such a bond is listed on the stock exchanges and goes at once to a premium, and the whole issue is speedily gobbed by the rich. Such a bond becomes equal to cash, and is often accepted in lieu of cash at its quoted market value; or, it can be cashed as readily as a bank check or draught. It is at once a safer, more productive and more convenient form of hoarded cash than a deposit in bank. It is certain, therefore, to be in great demand by that class of rich men who must keep large deposits, promptly available as cash. It is not that these men care for the poor; no, this contention is the offspring of their own selfishness and greed. But this contention has a force not at all contemplated by those who put it forward. It is really a powerful argument in support of a tax, which is to them of all tax-

most odious and most dreaded, viz., an income tax. If the tax on a bond bearing low interest ought to be only in proportion to its income producing power, why should not the tax on an unfertile farm be in proportion to its income producing power? The truth is the basis of all assessments of property for taxation should be the income producing power of the property, and not its nominal or estimated cash value; and assessments will never approximate uniformity or fairness until this view is adopted. Let the rate be uniform, and the rental or income capitalized at the legal rate of interest be the assessment, and this will bring the 3 per cent bond upon a plan of equality with a 6 per cent bond before the law and keep in there. This would bring all property upon the same plans of equality before the law, and all taxation would be based on income, the only just basis of taxation. By all means let us have a single tax, viz., an income tax, and let that tax be so graduated as to take the heaviest burden off the shoulders of those least able to bear any burden, and put it on accumulated wealth or "capital," setting labor in production in all forms of industry free from the bondage in which it is now held. Whenever this shall be done public extravagance and political corruption will experience a severe and sudden back-set. The machine will be shattered, and the bosses will find their wheel horses thrown upon their haunches by the violence of the sudden check. The graduated income tax among the demands of the Alliance is not a mere meaningless phrase. Let us all unite in behalf of a uniform rate on all forms of property valued for taxation by capitalization of its rental value or income producing power at the legal rate, and a graduated tax on the incomes of accumulated wealth. Abolish alien ownership of land, and authorize unlimited local taxes on the unproductive, wild land speculator.

#### TRUE REFORM.

For twenty-seven years the people of the United States have submitted to a great financial injustice, not without protest, but they have submitted. Every statement of the Secretary of the Treasury lists the indebtedness of the government in two classes, one interest bearing, and the other non-interest bearing. Both are the "promise to pay" of the government. The one bearing no interest is a legal tender, and is of great value to the whole people as a medium of exchange, while the one bearing interest is a mere commodity of speculation, and benefits a few at the expense of the many. The one is a source of revenue, and the other a great expense. No man on earth has ever given or ever can give a valid reason why the whole debt should not be converted into a non-interest bearing

debt by paying the bonds with treasury notes and thereby increasing the medium of exchange to the great convenience and advantage of the whole people.

A bill has recently been introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Johnstone, of South Carolina. It is numbered 7275, and has been referred to the committee on banking and currency, where it will probably die unless resurrected by the people. It is a model bill for the purpose, short and plain, but clear and unequivocal. The following is the full text of the bill:

A bill for the redemption of the bonded debt of the government and for the enlargement of the volume of the currency. Section 1. That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to purchase, from time to time, with such funds as may come into the treasury, the outstanding bonds due by the government at a sum not greater than their market value: Provided, always, That he shall not pay for any bond a sum greater than the principal and interest that would be paid by the government therefor, were said bond allowed to run to the maturity thereof.

Sec. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, at each purchase of bonds made by him, as is hereinbefore directed, replace the amount expended by the treasury in making said purchase, by issuing notes of the government of like denominations, form and appearance as the treasury notes now issued and in circulation.

Sec. 3. That all purchases by the treasury of the bonds of the government other than is directed by this act shall, on and after the passage thereof, cease.

Sec. 4. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause to be coined all gold and silver bullion which now is or shall hereafter come into the possession of the government, which coin shall be held in the office of President of the United States.

dent and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number shall be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest number not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation of each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

#### SWEET POTATO DISEASE IN FLORIDA.

A friend writes from Florida to inquire the cause of sweet potatoes bursting when raised on old ground, and also if any remedy for the trouble is known to us. We can not say what the disease may be, not having seen a diseased potato, and not being familiar with any similar disease occurring in the sweet potato grown elsewhere. It is most likely due to some fungus, which finds in old ground conditions favorable to its multiplication. Lime is a good application for many such troubles, but the application of lime ought not probably to be made to the soil the same season the potatoes are planted. We suggest it to our correspondent to send a diseased potato to the department of agriculture, where it will be referred to Professor Galloway, of the division of vegetable pathology, and whatever is known or can be done about it will be ascertained. This division has done a great deal of admirable scientific work in relation to plant diseases and pests, the great value of which we have repeatedly remarked upon. We are always pleased to answer here whatever questions may be submitted to us relating to scientific or practical agriculture, but we deem it best to make the above suggestion, because the best and most recent knowledge on the subject of plant diseases may always be had authoritatively from that division of the national depart-

ment of agriculture. We further suggest that this department merits and should receive the support of agriculturists, irrespective of party, and should be liberally dealt with by Congress.

President Polk on the Paddock Bill and the Conger Bill.

A representative of the press had a conversation with Colonel Polk, president of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, at his office in Washington, D. C., on the 17th inst. In the course of the interview President Polk was asked if he had examined the various bills now pending before Congress, on the subject of food products. He replied: "I have not, with any degree of care. Indeed, I am not specially interested in any particular bill on this subject, unless it be what is known as Paddock's pure food bill, which, always, that he shall not pay for any bond a sum greater than the principal and interest that would be paid by the government therefor, were said bond allowed to run to the maturity thereof.

"As a principle, I am opposed to so much special and class legislation. It entails heavy expense, and is generally in the interest of syndicates and capitalistic combines. Take for instance, the oleomargarine bill, which costs the country immensely. As soon as that was disposed of, here comes a fight between two great syndicates on the subject of lard—the one endeavoring to prevent the other from utilizing cotton-seed-oil in some of its forms as an article of food. When this shall have been disposed of, then another fight long and expensive on some other branch of food products will be precipitated, and all this expense which is paid by productive labor could be avoided.

This, I say, is special legislation that is needless, demoralizing and vicious in its tendencies and effects. My idea is, that Congress should enact one general law that will embrace and cover the whole subject. It should suppress by stringent and severe penalties interstate commerce in all food products that are deleterious to health, and require all compounders to put on each package the name of the proprietor, date, and all the constituent parts of the package, and secure honest and fair dealings by adequate penalties.

"I have given the Paddock bill only a casual reading, and I think it in fairly good shape as it passed the Senate, but I see the House committee is now considering an amendment which it appears to me confers questionable powers on the Secretary of Agriculture, who is entrusted with its execution. It proposes to invest him with police and legislative powers which, in my judgment, should be clearly defined in the act itself. A general bill, properly guarded, would end all these special acts, and save to the country the immense amounts expended in efforts to adjust contests for personal gain and advantage. What is known as the Conger lard bill is one of the special measures of the above character. It has made its reappearance this year as

to us relating to scientific or practical agriculture, but we deem it best to make the above suggestion, because the best and most recent knowledge on the subject of plant diseases may always be had authoritatively from that division of the national depart-

#### LABOR OMNIA MUNERIT.

BY A. S. HOUGHTON, M.D. (CONN).

I.  
Before an altar rich with gems and cut from marble, are  
White waning censors, to and fro, with perfume  
fill the air;  
A mortal man in spotless white, three crowns upon  
his head,  
Borne by the troupe of stalwart men in purple,  
orange, red;  
Is seen with uplifted hand while from his  
lips there fell  
These words—"Infallible am I, behold! I know it  
all."

"I know it all, I can not err; obey my stern decree,  
Yours is the part of faith, not fact; while know-  
ledge is for me,  
This terrible sanctuary stands the product of your  
toil;  
The Lord gives me dominion, too, o'er all the  
earthly soil;  
Obey your masters is my wish, be prudent, thrifty,  
meek,  
And in a better world than this find justice which  
ye seek!"

II.  
Before a modern burglar-safe with steel and bur-  
mish bars,  
Where lie away countless bonds of fraternal  
wars;  
A portly man in sombre black, with diamonds on  
his hand,  
Is reckoning up the mortgages he holds upon the  
land,  
A self-made man, he claims to be, and with devout  
acclaim  
He worships his Creator and sings his maker's  
name;  
The railway stocks he owns would buy the county  
where he lives,  
The profit from his latest deal to charity he gives,  
The margins he has lately won on 'bait, pork and  
lard;  
Would feed the poor in many a town who 'low the  
times are hard,  
He goes to church on Sunday, too, and with an  
uncertain smile;  
He puts a dollar on the plate, the heathen to be-  
reached;  
And when he gazes at the gang about the City  
Hall,  
He smiles aloud and laughs in glee—"ha! ha! I own  
them all!"

And thus on the pavement hard the hurrying foot,  
The fall;

He scans the weary, footsore crowd, and says: "I  
own them all!"

I own them all, to do my will each working man  
aspires,

I hold a mortgage on their homes, their altars and  
their gods;

They strive in vain to free the necks my shackles  
strongly bind,

But none exceed in strength the chains I've fas-  
tened on their minds;

"I own them all, the land and bonds, by govern-  
ment decree,

The church is mine, the State is mine, no more  
shall men be free;

Who bow to either me or mine, for at my potent  
call,

The church and State will do my wish, because I  
own them all!"

III.  
Before the altar's sacred light, before the banker's  
vault,  
Before the legislative halls, the hosts of labor  
wait;  
Before the tithes and Peter's pence, before the  
landlord's rent,  
Before the tariffs, bonds and stocks, and profit  
barely spent,  
Before these many millions wrung by fraud from  
labor's hand,  
Under whose now industrial bands determined fate their  
stands,  
For thankful men of every craft have burst the  
tyrant thrall,  
And say these goods are rightly ours, because we  
pay them all.

INTERVIEWS.

HON. W. M. STEWART, OF NEVADA,

is recognized in the United States Senate as the leader of the free coinage of silver advocates. THE ECONOMIST, therefore, sought direct from him his views. The Senator, after prefacing his remarks with the genial one "that it was a subject upon which he always had plenty to say," spoke as follows:

"I predict that the people will demand more money; that the gold trust will be dethroned; that it will no longer enjoy the protection of the veto power in its schemes of extortion.

HON. SCOTT WIKE, OF ILLINOIS,

Speaking of what transpired when he appeared before the committee of ways and means, in support of his income tax resolution, said: "Mr. Reed, of Maine, offered objection to the effect that an income tax was not an equal tax. I replied that the large exemption proposed was for the purpose of equalizing the burdens of taxation by making the gigantic fortunes and excessive and unnatural accumulations of trusts and monster corporations bear their fair proportion of the government support. The vague protest feebly made that an income tax is a tax on thrift, a tax on energy and success, is easily refutable. Every tax is a tax on energy, or its result with qualifications. But no reasonable man will be found asserting that the individual labor of one person has erected colossal wealth. While he may claim executive ability or

gold than was used in the coins of the United States, our ratio being 16 to 1, and the European ratio 15½ to 1.

"At the time silver demonetized in 1873, the silver in the silver dollar was worth, for export, 3 cents more than the gold in the gold dollar; but for the purpose of coinage, the value of the bullion in a silver dollar was the same as the value of the gold required to make a gold dollar.

"A desperate effort is being made by the gold ring to place in nomination by both the Republican and Democratic parties a candidate who will obey the dictates of the money powers, and defy the people. They know full well that an executive who will not use the veto power to protect the gold trust is fatal to the monopoly of the money of the commercial world, which that trust has so long enjoyed.

"A President who would heed the voice of the people is what they most dread; and they boast even now that they will control both conventions, and that they will secure a guarantee in the two platforms, and from the nominees of the two conventions, against the express will of the people through their representatives at whatever cost. How long shall the gold trust stifle the will of the people by the use of the veto power?

"Let the masses and producers of this country whose business is prostrate answer. Let the cotton planter answer, why is it that the price of cotton is below the cost of production? Why is it that the price of all farm products have declined 50 per cent since silver was demonetized? Why is it that enterprise is checked, that business is stagnant, if it is not for the want of money? What relief can come for falling prices, stagnation, and hard times, but more money? How can more money be obtained while the money of the commercial world is monopolized by the few, and that few deny to the people the right to have more money created; while that few deny to the people the right

to have silver coined into money equally with gold according to the Constitution, laws, and practice of the government for the first eighty years of its existence? Why should the ill-gotten gains of the gold trust be the only property to be protected and enhanced in value by legislation? Why should there be hard times, stagnation, and poverty in a land of unlimited resources and abundant harvests?

"Since the discovery of this great wrong in 1876 every Congress which has been elected has contained a majority in favor of restoring silver to the place as money which it occupied previous to 1873. This has been the standing demand of the people. Notwithstanding the efforts of every administration and the powerful gold trust of London and New York, the people have continued to send representatives pledged to right this great wrong.

"What is the average Democratic congressional pulse upon it?" "In the main, I think favorable. Should it be pressed by constituents as an economic reform, and governmental revenue demand it, they needs must come to it, and that I trust soon."

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY IN WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD'S FAIR PROPOSITION.

Within a few days the Chicago Exposition will be engaging the attention of Congress. A proposition is pending from the management to donate to the fair, outright somewhere in the neighborhood of \$8,000,000. THE ECONOMIST here presents its readers with the sentiments of the People's party in Washington, beginning with those of Senator W. A. Peffer, of Kansas. The expressions are entirely reliable, furnished by the gentlemen personally, and given THE ECONOMIST for special publication.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

HON. W. F. PEPPER, OF KANSAS.

"The World's Fair programme is now executed far enough to have taken hold of public sympathy, and is generally regarded as of sufficient interest to justify its completion to the end. People who wish to see the world in miniature, believe briefly that it should be carried to a successful completion, but they at the same time understand such things, unless carefully watched and guarded, are used largely to advertise local interests and enrich the already prosperous. It is a mixing of avarice and patriotism. So, in this matter, evidently great sums of money have been applied to the payment of exorbitant salaries. There are numerous persons connected with the Fair management, personally affluent, who could well afford to devote all of the time which might be required, so far as they were concerned, without receipt of one dollar. They are those who have grown wealthy by the labor of others, and by the increase of value in property resulting from surrounding settlement and business enterprise. These people have made fortunes out of circumstances—circumstances which did not cost them one farthing. Yet they impudently expect to be paid from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year to do work that they should be willing for patriotic reasons to perform at bare cost. My impression of the public attitude as a whole upon this question is, that the nation does not desire to be niggardly. They are willing to meet justifiable expense, and to remunerate properly, but they do not feel like feeding the rich with more money.

"Personally, I believe in carrying forward all great educational enterprises, and I take a deep interest in the exposition for this cause. I am willing to loan to the World's Fair as much money as the management requires (economically administered), without interest; but mark you, I am not willing to donate one dollar. Chicago will receive large returns in the way of advertisement, and permanent investments directly traceable to the holding there of the exposition. Now, it is remembered that when fire devastated the same great city, its people borrowed money at a high rate of interest, and erected upon ruins a more striking and ambitious one. Does it not appear to follow that they should be willing to borrow money now without interest to carry on the Fair. And if this fair and just proposition is not acceptable to the management, I would recommend, for my part, the government taking possession of the whole concern and carrying it to a finish, meeting its outlay, paying salaries, and in the end getting the benefit of the proceeds. There are two propositions. Either would suit me."

HON. T. E. WATSON, OF GEORGIA.

"There is only one question pending before Congress. It asks for an appropriation. I am opposed to it."

HON. KITTEL HALVORSON, OF MINNESOTA.

"I could vote for a loan, but not for an outright appropriation. I am not prepared to say yet the rate of interest I should consider right."

HON. T. H. CLOVER, OF KANSAS.

"I am willing to have them deposit their bonds for five millions (or any amount therabouts) in the national treasury, and issue treasury notes, the

basis of which shall be their bond. I would do this for Chicago, but prefer that the same privilege be extended to other cities in line with the bill I had the honor to introduce some time ago, making public improvements upon a like proposition. I think 2 per cent per annum would be a reasonable interest."

HON. J. G. OTIS, OF KANSAS.

"When the committee having the World's Fair investigation (of the management hitherto) reports the result of its deliberations, I shall be better prepared to speak understandingly. There is no doubt that the government has done all it ought to do for the exposition—absolutely. Nothing would justify such an act. It would be arbitrary, create confusion and involve the United States in a big row. The honor of Chicago has been pledged, she has made sacrifices, spent money and built hopes upon this exposition, and if she shows the proper disposition she should be commended, not condemned for her undertaking. The question of Sunday opening is quite important. I have an idea upon it. It is this: let some fifty clergymen of all the different beliefs and religions come to an understanding, and use the day to show the advancement of religious toleration, and Christian endeavor. They could practically demonstrate by illustration their methods of work, and give a grand object lesson to the entire world. Unless the moral element and the clergy do arrive at some such agreement, it would be better to close the Fair for obvious reasons on Sunday. The regular police protection, I believe, will be quite unequal to cope with the crowds, and the conduct of those who would there assemble. Liquor should be positively prohibited. We can not as a nation afford to have any but the best conduct at all times upon the grounds."

HON. O. M. KEM, OF NEBRASKA.

"I can not say, until the pending investigation is reported, what I shall do. As I now understand it, I am not in favor of appropriating a single dollar. I considered that Chicago excursion a bid for votes, and as such declined the invitation. I am opposed to the present Fair management. A reasonable loan amply secured would meet my views. Still it appears to me that an international exposition of such magnitude should emanate from the government, be conducted under its auspices, and its agents be held directly responsible. The present status of the affair has too much, to my thinking, the appearance of donations to subsidies or organizations which have behind them personal steals."

HON. JERRY SIMPSON, OF KANSAS.

"I went to Chicago to get at the true 'inwardness' of the Fair management—and I did. It is simply a big scheme to create private profit and advancement from government credit. Its most prominent promoters are real estate speculators. Potter Palmer himself owns a piece of real estate which yields him \$1,000 a day. When it was proposed to build up a piece of land out in the lake, Palmer and the other real estate men would not permit it, because they propose to rent their own buildings. Notice has been served of an increase in rents in Chicago of from 20 to 25 per cent, so that the poor of the city will be really suffering in direct consequence of the Fair. If public credit is extended the exposition I want a good round sum charged for interest, such as they would demand of me. The land values which will be created will go into the speculator's pockets, and always will continue to do so, directly or indirectly, until the single land tax is adopted. As long as present conditions exist, the speculator will alone benefit. I have no objections to the Fair. It will display the achievements of labor, the advancement of invention and science, the products and beauties of the world. It is nominally a good educator. But I do not desire to cater further to manipulators and railroads in their acquisition of unlawful gain, and upon this line I will fight in Congress the appropriation."

HON. JOHN DAVIS, OF KANSAS.

"I favor a loan at a low rate of interest which otherwise they could not attain. Their creed is, that prosperity or adversity among the people

is something with which the government has nothing to do, and say you can not legislate to make crops grow, or to regulate their prices; that the law of supply and demand must regulate all of this; that the government has no money except what it taxes from the people, and that it can not make money. They do not deny the fact that the government has made money, but answer by saying that it has done many things it had no right to do. These, generally, are the advocates of 'overproduction,' and blame the 'advance of science,' the industry of the people and labor-saving machinery for the condition in which we find ourselves, and they even admit that extravagance has something to do with it. Extravagance and overproduction. First let us look at supply and demand. What is it for which there is a lack of demand? With millions of starving people in the United States, and a devastating famine abroad, is there no demand for food? And yet neither breadstuffs nor meats sell for enough to pay the expenses of raising them. With millions of half-naked people all the world over, is there no demand for clothes? And yet factories are constantly closing in and running upon half time, because their products do not sell for enough to make a profit upon their cost, and millions of poor creatures are starving in the act of making clothes, because of the low price at which they must sell. Now, there is both the supply and demand for two of the principle articles of commerce, and yet nobody can deny that something else is necessary. A moneyless man can not buy either clothes or food, simply because the supply is before him, and because of his demand for them; he must have the medium of exchange. Now, where is that to come from? The Constitution reads that 'Congress shall have the power to coin money and fix the value thereof.' To coin money and fix the value thereof! What is the good of its doing either if it stops there? The money must be gotten into the hands of the people, or it may as well not be coined. It is valueless as long as it remains beyond their reach. Then Congress must not only have the power, but it must be the duty of Congress to get that money among the people. How shall it be done? Shall we sing out here and there a favored few, and make an artificial and costly means of getting the money into their hands, which cost the people must pay, and then leave it to that few to get it into the hands of the people or not, as shall to them seem best to suit their purposes, and to add to their private gain? Such has been the means adopted, and our present condition is the result. Would it not be wiser for the government itself to get the money into the hands of the people and save the expense incurred upon the artificial means? Save the bonds and the interest thereon, save the profits paid to this favored few, receive, as securities the evidences of debt which these capitalists now receive, and, which is still better, receive to itself in the name of, and for the benefit of the people the interest which is now making millionaires of the receivers and paupers of the payers. In other words, let the government become the direct creditor of its subjects, and let them pay thereto a reasonable interest which will relieve them of other taxation for national expenses, as

well as from the heavier burden of a higher interest. By this means even the poorest mendicant will become a beneficiary of the national income, as he is already a contributor to it. \* \* \* I have talked of State and district exchanges pretty widely, and the answers I have heard generally, suggests to me the following thoughts and remedy. How are we to take stock which costs money when we have no money? How are we to buy for cash when we have no cash?

Resolved, That we notice with much pleasure and approbation the honest, manly, true and wise efforts of Hon. Thos. E. Watson, member of Congress from Georgia.

That in thus standing firm and true to the principles upon which he was elected, he has not only reflected our sentiments, but endeared himself to us by his consistency, and we also trust to every true American citizen who desires the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country at large.

That his position upon the 'Speakership,' and upon the Jeffersonian principle of 'committees,' is worthy of the earnest consideration of every true citizen who wishes reform, relief and general prosperity.

That we not only fully endorse Mr. Watson as an able and honest representative of the people, but we earnestly commend his course and position to the careful and unprejudiced consideration of his colleagues in Congress, as also to State legislatures, as well calculated to improve and benefit the people of this country at large, and to aid in bringing that speedy relief which is so much needed in every hamlet.

That we do not believe that the present exigency and relief so much needed has any analogy to a thirty-year contest, as did 'American slavery,' etc., nor that it requires any protracted nibbling and political tricking; but that honest and true legislators should, can and will soon find relief by aligning themselves with Mr. Watson.

That if we have elected men to represent us who are bribed by our enemies, and become so pusillanimous as to see no relief except in the long distance of a generation, we hope to find men who can see and act, and resist the shadow of a silver wheel, or the shade of a paper check; and, moreover, who will understand that they can not prove traitors and live in our midst unbranded.

That parties and men and names, however old and long supported, are not our shield, but living principles.

TILMON PERKINS, Pres't.

B. H. BLAIR, Sec'y pro tem.

The following resolutions were passed by the Nelsonville Farmers and Laborers Union No. 1829, of Kentucky:

1. Be it resolved, That we, the members of the Nelsonville Farmers and Laborers Union No 1829, ask you to give your support to the Bland silver bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and to use your influence to have the said bill passed.

2. Resolved, That you support the Washburne bill, prohibiting the dealing in futures, and use your influence to have the same passed.

3. Resolved, That we indorse the bold stand taken by THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST as the champion of our cause to right the wrongs of the down-trodden farmers and laborers.

4. Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to Hon. A. B. Montgomery, our member in Congress; also a copy sent to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST for publication.

J. B. MILLER,  
M. L. TROUTMAN,  
J. W. PIERCY,  
Committee.

Resolution passed by a Republican county convention at Columbus, Colorado county, Texas:

Resolved, That we will support no man for office who is not in sympathy with the Ocala demands, or who is not pledged to support our demands for immediate unconditional reform of money, land and transportation.

NATHAN AXLE, President.

N. A. HENDERSON, Secretary.

At a fully attended meeting of Amelia Court House Alliance, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

Resolved, That Amelia Court House Alliance number 1277, at its regular meeting held on the 12th day of March, 1892, heartily indorse the action of the St. Louis conference, and pledges itself to stand firm to the principles enunciated in the platform adopted.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, the Cotton Plant and the Somerville News for publication.

T. S. BROWNING.

Resolved, That these resolutions be sent to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, The People's party paper of Atlanta, Georgia, and the Virginia Sun, with the request that the Richmond Times-Dispatch and State please copy.

C. N. STACY, Secretary.

The following resolutions were adopted by Unity Alliance No. 2, of the State of Washington.

Whereas there is a bill pending in the House of Congress known as the Bland silver bill; therefore be it

Resolved by Unity Alliance No. 2, of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of the State of Washington, That we demand of our representatives in Congress that they support the bill.

Whereas there is a bill pending in the United States Senate known as the Washburn bill, the object being to prevent gambling in grain; therefore be it

Resolved by Unity Alliance No. 2, of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of the State of Washington, That we demand of our representatives in Congress that they give it their support. Also that they be furnished with a copy of these resolutions.

At a meeting of the Second Congressional Farmers and Laborers Union, held in the county courthouse in the city of Knoxville on the 3d and 4th instants, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas the Second Congressional Farmers and Laborers Union believes that unjust discrimination has been made against the industrial and producing classes by both State and national legislation, and favoring monopolists and aggregated capital; and whereas we believe that great injury has resulted to the industrial and productive interests of the country by the demonetization of silver and the establishment of a single gold standard of value; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we heartily indorse the efforts put forth by our friends and brethren in Congress to secure such specific legislation as will emancipate the farming and industrial classes from the unjust taxation of organized capital that has grown into huge incubus under the present financial policy of this government, and is robbing labor of her just reward.

Resolved, That we earnestly and respectfully ask Congress to give us such legislation as will relieve us, by the enactment of such laws as will embody the demands of our Order as adopted at Ocala in December, 1890, and re-indorsed at Indianapolis last December.

Resolved further, That we do hereby demand of our present Congressman, Hon. John C. Houk, his influence to the end of securing the legislation herein adopted; and,

Resolved still further, That our secretary be and is hereby instructed to furnish Hon. John C. Houk, the Alliance Advocate, the Toiler, and THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, a copy of these demands.

N. L. FRENCH, Sec'y-Treas.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted—the nine female members present showing their approval by voting for their adoption—by Lebanon Alliance No. 575, at its regular monthly meeting on February 27:

Whereas the calendars of Congress already contain a number of bills in the interest of the whole people, and in this respect is differentiated from its predecessors for the past thirty years; and whereas this departure is the result of the burdensome and oppressive legislation as now in force, and the fixedness of purpose on the part of the oppressed classes to seek relief in and through the legislative department of our national government; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we take this occasion to put upon record our appreciation of the many fight being made for reform by Congressmen Peffer, Watson, Livingston, Clover, Davis, Alexander, Simpson and others, and the hope they may stand as a wall of defense for the rights of the oppressed classes until measures of relief be enacted into law.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, the Cotton Plant and the Somerville News for publication.

T. S. BROWNING.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## ECONOMIST EDUCATIONAL EXERCISES.

(Copyright 1892 by The National Economist Publishing Company, Washington, D.C.)

A series of instructive lessons for use in Alliances, debating societies, lyceums, and to disseminate a correct understanding of the economic questions of the day.

The series will consist of forty exercises, and will be published in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST during the year 1892, ten lessons each quarter.

Lodges or societies which meet only once or twice a month should at once open a voluntary class that will agree to have weekly meetings for the purpose of conducting this educational work.

The exercises will be published about two weeks ahead of the date on which they are intended to be used, in order that all may have time to get them and study them well.

LESSON No. 9.—To be used during first week in April.

## GLASGOW—THE MODEL CITY.

London is the first and Glasgow the second city in the British Empire.

## GLASGOW.

About the middle of the 6th century Kentigern built a little wooden church on the spot upon which the cathedral now stands. The inhabitants gathered around the church of St. Mungo, and the village under the fostering care of the monks grew slowly, until it became a place of importance in the 12th century.

Its growth was not rapid until recently, as in 1750 its population was supposed to be less than 25,000. In the next fifty years it about trebled itself. In 1811 it had reached 100,000, and in the next twenty years it doubled itself. Since that time but few American cities have had a growth more constant or more rapid than Glasgow. In 1888 it had a population of 560,000 on an area of 6,111 acres. There are probably at least 800,000 people in Glasgow and its continuously built-up suburbs at the present time.

"Glasgow may well repay study. It combines in itself most remarkably all that is significant in the history of city government among people of British origin; that is to say, to study Glasgow is to study the progress of municipal institutions in every stage. Like all modern commercial cities, Glasgow has exhibited the phenomenon of rapid growth, and has had to meet the various problems that rapid growth, under new industrial and social conditions, has forced upon the attention of all such cities."

## LONDON.

In 1849, previous to the great plague, London is supposed to have contained at least 90,000 inhabitants, for it is said that 50,000 persons were buried in one cemetery that year. The population of cities in ancient times did not always increase with their age. Sometimes an epidemic would carry off half the people, or the ravages of war would cut down a large percentage of the inhabitants. Many times in the world's history unjust legislation has been the means of causing a rapid decrease in population. In 1377 the population of London had decreased to 34,971. In something over two hundred years it increased again to about 160,000. During the next forty years there was another decrease (1631—130,000); but in the following thirty years an increase (1661—179,000), while in the next thirty years the city more than doubled itself (1694—530,000), which it did not quite do again in the 18th century. It is now more than five times as large as it was at the beginning of this century. Glasgow does many things for itself which London leaves in the hands of speculators. Three monopolist companies furnish London its gas, with this result:

"Notwithstanding a net profit of nearly a million sterling, the gas-light and coke company, which has a complete monopoly of the supply of London north of the Thames, raised its price in 1890 by 10 per cent, in order to maintain a 13 per cent dividend to its ordinary shareholders. This involved an additional charge upon two-thirds of London, amounting to over a quarter of a million per year."

Eight companies furnish London its water at an annual profit of over a million sterling. "It costs less than 700,000 pounds a year to supply London

with water; but London has to pay over 1,700,000 pounds for the water so supplied." "The actual capital expenditure has been only a little over 14 millions sterling." Nominal or present selling value, 33 millions sterling.

## GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF GLASGOW.

"The whole government may be said to be exercised by a grand committee of fifty men chosen by the qualified electors." There are sixteen wards, each of which elect three members of the town council for a term of three years, one man from each ward retiring annually. The guilds furnish the other two members.

The franchise is now extended to all householders who pay their poor rates, including women, but excluding lodgers who occupy rooms worth less than \$50 per year. There are about 75,000 men and 15,000 women who are entitled to vote, but unmarried workingmen are practically excluded, as well as those who do not pay their rates. In 1889 there were 121,722 houses, but about 25,000 householders were disfranchised by reason of non-payment of assessments. The better class of workingmen pay their rates and vote, but there is a large population of destitute poor which does not participate in elections.

From their own number the counselors choose a provost and ten bailies or magistrates, the provost corresponding to mayor and the bailies to aldermen in English towns.

"The counselors of Glasgow come chiefly from the ranks of men of business, and are upright, respected and successful citizens. No salaries attach to such offices anywhere in the United Kingdom, and it is deemed an honor to be selected to represent one's ward. Party lines are seldom very sharply drawn in municipal elections. An efficient counselor may, in general, expect re-election for several terms if he is willing to serve. The seat of a satisfactory man who asks re-election is, in a majority of cases, not contested at all. No other candidate will appear, and he will be awarded the seat without the actual holding of an election. It may be said that in the sixteen wards of Glasgow it is unusual to have more than five or six contests for seats in any one year."

## DENSITY OF POPULATION.

"The density of London, according to the census of 1881, was 51 to the acre, while that of Glasgow was 84. The average density of sixteen of the twenty-four sanitary districts, moreover, is above 200, and the average density of five districts, 300. Localities are not few where single acres contain a thousand or more people. The tenement house is almost universal. The best, as well as the worst, of the laboring class, and the large majority of the middle class, live in the 'flats' of stone buildings, three or four stories high. In some cases two or three hundred people use a common staircase, and much greater numbers may be found using common passageways, or 'closes,' as they are called in Scotland." —Albert Shaw.

## HOW THEY DO A WASHING-IN GLASGOW.

"Twenty-five per cent of the inhabitants of Glasgow live in houses of one apartment; 45 per cent in houses of two apartments; 16 per cent in houses of three apartments; 6 per cent in houses of four apartments; and only 8 per cent in houses of five apartments and upwards." —Dr. Russell.

## TAKING LODGERS.

"This simply means that 126,000 of the people of Glasgow live in single-room tenements, and 228,000 in two-room tenements." \* \* \* \* "The work of the night inspectors is done under the authority of clause in the Glasgow police act, which provides for the measurement of all houses and the ticketing of those which have less than 2,000 cubic feet of space. The tickets posted on the doors show the maximum number who may occupy the house, and the night inspection is to prevent overcrowding. For, small as these abodes are, great numbers of them take lodgers in addition to the regular family. Fourteen per cent of the one-room houses, and 27 per cent of the two-room houses, take lodgers." —Albert Shaw.

The average number of inmates in the one-apartment houses is three, but Dr. Russell tells us that there are thousands of these houses which contain five, six, and seven inmates, and hundreds which are inhabited by from eight even to thirteen."

## HOW GLASGOW IS LIGHTED.

In 1869 the gas supply of the city was transferred from private hands to the corporation, at a cost exceeding \$2,600,000.

"Twenty years of management by the authorities has given unmitigated satisfaction to all the citizens of Glasgow. The quantity of gas sold has increased from 1,026,000,000 feet in 1869-'70, the corpora-

tion's first year, to 2,427,000,000 in 1887-'88, an increase of 140 per cent, while the population has grown only 20 per cent. In 1869-'70 the amount manufactured was 20 per cent greater than the amount sold or accounted for. Careful management has reduced this amount of leakage to about 10 per cent. More than 130,000 meters are in use; and as it is not the policy of the corporation to charge its customers for more than they actually receive, it is inevitable that there should be a considerable percentage of loss in delivery. From \$1.14 per thousand feet, which was charged customers in 1869-'70, the corporation has been able to make reductions year by year, until for 1888-'89 the price was fixed at 66 cents. No one will claim that a private company would have made these reductions while continuing to supply a satisfactory quality of gas."

"In the rather gloomy winter climate of Glasgow, which necessitates a large use of artificial light, cheap gas in all the tenements, however humble, and in every passage-way, is an inestimable blessing; and the more than doubling of the per capita use, under the city's management of the works, means a vast increase in comfort and happiness that defies statistical expression." "These considerations of the general good which dominate the public control of such services as those of light and water, can have only small weight in the councils of a private money-making corporation; and herein lies perhaps the most fundamental reason for the municipal assumption of these functions."

## GROWTH OF GLASGOW—BLACKBOARD EXERCISE.

Increase of population during the present century thought to be greater than any other city in the old world.

1750 population less than 25,000.
1801 population was . . . 77,300.
1821 population was . . . 147,000.
1841 population was . . . 255,600.
1861 population was . . . 395,500.
1871 population was . . . 477,700.
1881 population was . . . 511,400.
1891 population was . . . 565,700.

## QUESTIONS.

1. Name the two largest cities in the British Empire?

2. About when were they founded?

3. What was the population of Glasgow in 1750?

4. What is its population now?

5. Did London grow steadily, or did its population fluctuate?

6. How much more than cost do the citizens of London pay to the gaslight and coke company for their supplies?

7. What per cent did the company raise its price in 1890, and why?

8. How much more than cost does London pay for its water supply?

9. Is this the best way for a city to do?

10. Describe the town council of Glasgow?

11. To whom is the franchise extended, and under what conditions?

12. What can you say of the councilors of Glasgow?

13. Do they receive salaries?

14. Compare the density of population in London and Glasgow?

15. How many people sometimes use a common staircase?

16. Who takes lodgers in Glasgow, people living in large houses, or people occupying one and two rooms?

17. Describe the city lodging-houses?

18. How many are there, and how many lodgers did they entertain in 1883?

19. Do these lodging-houses pay as a financial investment?

20. Do they pay as a moral investment?

21. Describe the wash-houses.

22. How long does it take to wash, dry, and iron a basket of clothes?

23. When, and at what cost, was the gas supply of Glasgow transferred to the corporation?

24. How does the per cent of increase of quantity of gas sold compare with the increase of population?

25. Does Glasgow charge for the amount of gas

manufactured, or for the amount received by the customer?

26. Would a private company be likely to reduce the price of gas from \$1.14 to 66 cents of their own free will?

27. Whose interest does a private company always consider first?

28. Whose interest does a corporation consider first?

29. In which case does the public stand the best chance of being well served?

30. Which city is the best managed, London or Glasgow?

## GROWTH OF CITIES.

European cities have grown wonderfully during the nineteenth century. London and Paris are each about five times as large as they were at the beginning of the present century. Berlin has grown more rapidly, and Vienna has expanded marvellously since 1840; but this does not necessarily indicate a high degree of prosperity, as her citizens are fighting in her streets for bread. There were 8,000 loaves to be distributed March 1, 1892, and 12,000 starving people waiting to receive them.

London increased from about 900,000 in 1800 to about 1,500,000 in 1830, and 2,500,000 in 1855. Statistics of European cities are often puzzling. For example: The census of 1881 gave the city of London, which is really old London, 50,652 people; while the county of London contained 3,834,354, and greater London, which is what we should understand by the city of London, enumerated a total of 4,776,661. The census of 1891 gives the county of London 4,231,431 people. There are probably within the police circumscription about 5,500,000 people, and living within twenty miles of Charing Cross (near the center) perhaps 6,000,000 or 6,500,000 people. It is thought that the official bounds of the municipality will ultimately include this vast population which is rapidly increasing.

There are three or four times as many dwelling houses in London now as there were when Victoria was crowned. In 1831 there was not an underground sewer in London. In 1855 there was not a good pavement nor a broad, convenient thoroughfare. In less than half a century about 2,500 miles of new streets have been formed. If London, a city of perhaps twenty centuries, is but reaching manhood now, what shall we expect of our American cities, which have accomplished so much in their infancy?

## WHAT GLASGOW DOES FOR HER CITIZENS.

The city is divided into sanitary districts, each having a sub-inspector, with nuisance inspectors, epidemic inspectors, a lodging-house inspector, and a lady visitor. Glasgow has the finest epidemic hospital of any city in the United Kingdom, if not in the world. It contains accommodations for 600 patients, which could easily be increased to 1,000 without overcrowding. It has eighty nurses and cares for about 3,000 patients a year. The hospital is built on a thirty-acre estate on the banks of the Clyde, and looks like a pretty village with trees, lawns, play-grounds and flower gardens. The rich as well as the poor often avail themselves of the privileges of the hospital.

In 1883 Glasgow opened a sanitary wash-house, at a cost of about \$50,000. The amount of work done varies according to the amount of infectious disease in the city. "In 1887, 6,700 washings, aggregating 380,000 pieces, were done. Collecting wagons are on the road early in the morning, as most of the articles removed for disinfection and cleansing must be returned on the same day to meet the necessities of poor families."

Glasgow cleans private courts and passageways at public expense. One hundred and eighty-one miles of streets are swept nightly. As a result of its sanitary work Glasgow has little to fear from widespread epidemics. Glasgow lights private courts and passageways as well as public streets, and lights all common stairs in tenement houses. "A light is equal to a constable. The illumination of the dark passages has had a most marked effect in diminishing crime."

Glasgow has five large buildings devoted to public baths and wash-houses. It brings pure mountain water from Loch Katrine in the highlands. The cost was so great that no private com-

pany could have been induced to undertake the enterprise, yet the city furnishes an abundance of water, decreases the rate almost yearly, makes the work pay for their own maintenance, and is accumulating a sinking fund for the liquidation of the original cost.

Glasgow's street railways or tram lines are built and owned by the city which leases them. The company is required to pay to the corporation "(1) the annual interest charge on the full amount of the city's investment; (2) a yearly sum for sinking fund large enough to clear the entire cost of the lines at the expiration of the lease; (3) a renewal fund of 4 per cent per annum on the cost of the lines, out of which they were to be kept in condition and restored to the city in perfect order and entirely as good as new; in 1894; and (4) a mileage rental of \$750 per street mile." The interests of the public were also well looked after. Charges were never to exceed two cents per mile, and workingmen's trains were to be run night and morning at one cent.

## SUGGESTIONS.

If Glasgow sells 2,500,000 feet of gas yearly at a reduction of 48 cents per thousand, this would make a sum of about \$1,200,000 annually retained among her citizens, instead of being appropriated by a gas company. Which is the better business policy for a city—to keep this money among its people, or to pile it up in the hands of a private company?

The first tram lines were opened in Glasgow in 1872, and the lease then made is to terminate in 1894. The city will receive the roads in perfect repair; it has received interest on its invested capital (about \$1,700,000); the sinking fund will pay about \$1,000,000 of the cost; the city will have received about \$225,000 rental money, and can demand more favorable money terms for its next lease. After 1894 Glasgow's tramways will yield a large income without a penny of public expenditure. How does this compare with similar transactions in American cities?

The London water companies have been steadily increasing their charges, without improving their service, and actually supply less water per house than they did ten to fifteen years ago. "From 1871 to 1883 their stock had increased 100 per cent in value." "A public water supply would give the citizens a far better service at materially reduced cost, besides earning sufficient profits to pay the interest charges and gradually redeem the principal of the original investment," Mr. Shaw tells us in his interesting article on Glasgow in the "Century," March, 1890.

In Glasgow city taxes are divided between the owner and the occupier. In London they all fall upon the occupier. It is said that "the owners of the land upon which London stands could fit without much inconvenience on the inside and outside of an omnibus." "Usually, houses are built upon land acquired by leasehold title. When the leases fall in, they carry the houses with them. Everything eventually goes to the ground landlord." House occupiers have no motive to make repairs, and house owners make as few as possible, especially in the twenty years that precede the falling in of a lease." "Large parts of London are held as individual properties, such as the estates of the Dukes of Westminster and Northampton and the Portman and Bedford estates; and these properties are increasing enormously in value by the falling

**THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST**

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Statement 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

subscriptions.

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

scarcely advocated our cause and defended our

principles; therefore

Be it resolved, that 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 free-

dom. Deafined at Ocala as follows:

Resolved, That the Supreme Council re-inforce

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST and the action of

Brother C. W. Macne 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.

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**N. R. P. A.**

FIFTY old numbers of THE ECONOMIST will be sent to any address, postage paid, for 25 cents.

A NOVEL plan is being operated in the Dakotas. Each sub-Alliance is asked to prepare and seed a certain number of acres of land to wheat. This is to be an offering for the spread of Alliance principles, by selling the wheat and expending the proceeds for that object. It is said that hundreds of acres will be used in that manner, and great good is expected from the experiment. Such methods disclose an earnestness that should know neither opposition nor discouragement, and should lead a nation or a people out of the dark shadows of distress into the bright sunshine of prosperity.

With continued regularity since 1868, the State of New York has alternated between one party and the other in presidential years—Seymour, 1868; Grant, 1872; Tilden, 1876; Garfield, 1880; Cleveland, 1884; Harrison, 1888. It now seems

that New York will contribute the

next President if historical precedents count for anything.

TEN days spent by the House of Representatives in tariff discussion, bringing every possible influence of both parties to bear, supported by the political press, has demonstrated that it is up-hill work trying to get the people to take any interest in the tariff question until the silver question is disposed of.

Do you want good reform literature for distribution? Nothing is as good for that purpose as back numbers of THE ECONOMIST. Send 25 cents and get 50 back numbers by mail, postage prepaid, all different. This is the cheapest and best mode of doing missionary work.

THE Alliance demands are simple, Jeffersonian Democracy, and still the partisan papers truthfully admit and proclaim that the Alliance demands are antagonistic and incom-

pative with Hill-Cleveland-Tammany boss rule machine politics. Ergo modern Democracy has departed from its original landmarks to which the Alliance movement is firmly anchored. "Equal rights to all, special favors to none."

KEEP steady at work and good results will surely follow. It is the steady and persistent lick that counts. A man can walk farther than any horse can run. One of the best ways to carry on the educational work in the Alliance is to have a small, cheap circulating library. For this purpose

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST library of extras fills the bill. Nine volumes now out at 12½ cents each; three more to follow in the near future. Send for them.

As an evidence of corrupt political machine work, the State of Tennessee takes the cake. Governor Buchanan has made a splendid governor. His administration has been wise, firm and judicious amid very trying circumstances and turbulent times. He has won the admiration and gratitude of the whole State, but he is a "hayseed" governor; he belongs to the Farmers' Alliance, and the silk hat professional dudes, gamblers and politicians have been scheming against him. They have succeeded in getting the nominating convention set for August 25, in the hope that they may load him with enough national third party blame to beat him in the convention. They will be surprised when they see that they are forcing many honest men out of the Democratic party in that State, and that their acts may give the third party a victory.

With continued regularity since 1868, the State of New York has alternated between one party and the other in presidential years—Seymour, 1868; Grant, 1872; Tilden, 1876; Garfield, 1880; Cleveland, 1884; Harrison, 1888. It now seems that New York will contribute the next President if historical precedents count for anything.

MRS. ANNIE L. DIGGS expects to work in Ohio, instituting Alliance Aid Degree lodges during April. Apply for dates to M. W. Wilkins, Cincinnati, O., Neve Block.

READ article, pages 25 to 28, on Alliance Aid Degree and Mutual Fire Insurance. Alliance papers please copy.

THE House of Representatives holds Friday night sessions to consider private bills, and it is enough to make the honest American citizen blush with shame and to arouse the indignation and resentment of the heroes of the late war, to sit in the gallery

and hear the bills presented to remove the disabilities from deserters from the army during the war, in order that they may now be pensioned for doing what Grant would have rewarded by having them shot. And when the questions come to a vote, members who have been enjoying a pleasant conversation during the reading of the bill, vote for it without knowing what it is, so they may get votes for the private bills they in turn have to present. It is a clear case of "I'll help rob the people for you and you help rob them for me." This is a greater injustice to the worthy old soldier than to any one else, because it mitigates against all pensions.

PARTY is a means, not an end. The doctrine that the end justifies the means is pernicious.

THE end of political effort is absolute justice and right, but the means must be laudable.

WHEN a political party becomes corrupt, it is not a proper instrument through which to get good results, and should be exchanged for a proper means to secure the end sought.

"FRET not thyself because of evil doers," nor hesitate to abandon the councils of those who would do evil that good may ensue. As well may you expect "grapes of thorns or figs of thistles."

BROTHER WILLITS will spend the month of April speaking in Missouri, and will make a specialty of explaining and instituting the new co-operative degree. His appointments will be published next week. The members should turn out en masse to him; it will pay you. Alliances wishing to secure his services should apply to President Leonard, or Brother Dines, at 810 Olive street, St. Louis, who is advertising and arranging his appointments.

If the discussion of the silver question and the passage of a free coinage bill ends with the veto of the President, still the time consumed and the trouble had is all justified by the single fact that it developed in a well defined and unmistakable form the real, overpowering issue of the coming campaign. This issue was plainly laid down by Mr. Williams, Democratic representative from Massachusetts, when he said that a choice would have to be made between "Farmers' Alliance in the South and Democratic alliance in the North."

Ex-Speaker Reed cordially agreed with Mr. Williams and echoed the sentiment of his speech. Here is plainly marked out a union of the Democrats and Republicans of New England against all financial reform. Here it is plainly said to the South, give up your effort for a change in the monetary system of the country, or we Democrats of New England will join with the Republicans and let loose upon you all the horrors of threatened political legislation that will bring upon you social, political and industrial ruin. This, now, is the attitude of New England. How different the attitude of the West and the Northwest! Come join with us, they say. Strike hands. Our homes are mortgaged, so are yours. We are robbed of the product of our labor, so are you. Massachusetts laughs at the distress of Kansas, so Maine laughs at the unburied corpse of Georgia's child. Come join with us in a new

that he comes from the only State that has lost in population during the last decade.

THE politician's mission seems to be to insult the farmers with the old chestnut, that they can only get money to pay their debts by working for it, and that you can not legislate everybody rich. Nobody knows that better than the farmer, and what they want to know now is, why can't they be benefited by reversing legislation that has made them poor in spite of industry, economy and frugality?

**PLEA FOR MORALS IN POLITICS.**

P. P. stands for People's party, and also for purity in politics. There is no use in having one unless we can have the other. There is little to be gained by a mere change of leaders, unless we get good men by the exchange—men who will remain true to the interests of the people who elect them; men who can not be "bought" or "sold," "bribed" or "influenced," or corrupted in any way; men whose personal character is above reproach. It is vain to hope that a bad man will make a good politician. He never will.

The temptations in public life are ten-fold harder to resist than in private life. A dishonest, treacherous man out of office will be a dishonest, treacherous man in office. Voters need to remember this.

**NOTES BY REFORMER.**

A CLEAN-CUT ISSUE.

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struggle for independence, for liberty.

Now, when the West comes to the South bearing their olive branch—is she in earnest? Is her heart in the movement? Look at the facts. H. L. Loucks, vice-president of the Farmers' Alliance, and editor of the Alliance organ of South Dakota (where the Union veterans, it is said, bear a larger proportion to the population than in any other State of the Union), kept at the head of his paper, in order to test fully the disposition of his subscribers, the name of a confederate Southern soldier as a fit candidate for nomination for the Presidency of the United States. Not one veteran among his subscribers protested. Look at the Western and Northwestern States that have stamped out and scattered to the winds the dominant majorities for the Republican party of the last thirty years. They have crossed the Hellespont and burned their boats. Again, look at the unions of the blue and the gray at Ocala, in Kansas and California, at Indianapolis, and at St. Louis, where the welkin rang with the shout of a reunited people. Look at the close-knit union of the reform element in the halls of Congress representing the South and the West.

Away with such a relic of barbarism and tyranny.

GENERAL NOTES.

President Carnot has signed a bill allowing \$650,000 for the French exhibit at the World's Fair. The only conclusion, in view of the many evidences that present themselves, is that the West is honest, and terribly in earnest when she stretches out her hand toward the South. It can not be but the heart of the South is touched by this exhibition of friendliness, this offer of a closer union of interest and effort on the part of the West, and there is but one response she can make. This is the answer of the bride. "Let the bans be proclaimed!" There is no sacrifice of principle involved. The whole reform element is returning, going back to the Democracy of Jefferson, of Clay, and of Lincoln. The bastard political faiths of the present day are being renounced, and there is going on a baptism into the faith of our fathers. Men of the South! Men of the West! Don't let the grand opportunity go by.

**PROPAGANDA FUND.**

I see a good suggestion in the Dakota Ruralist as to a plan for raising campaign funds. Briefly stated, it is for each sub-Alliance to put in ten acres of spring wheat, and devote the result to the educational or propaganda fund. Why not this plan be adopted by every Alliance or other labor organization in the United States, only extending the crop to every species of vegetable, grain or grass? In every Alliance some farmer can be found who will donate at the least one acre of ground, and then the members can easily arrange among themselves to prepare the ground, plant and reap the crop; each assisting with a horse or a day's work. Nothing is more feasible, and nothing will yield larger results. If every sub-Alliance or other organization in the United States would act upon this suggestion the effect would be tremendous. Assuming that there are about 50,000 farm organizations in all, here you would have for the propaganda fund the enormous sum of \$1,250,000, putting the yield of each acre at an average of \$25. Here is the road to success, let us follow it.

Jay Gould has given \$25,000 to the University of New York and \$10,000 to the Presbyterian Church extension committee. Mr. Gould remarked in justification of this unfeigned rashness, "that the Presbyterian Church presented to his mind the best organization extant for the spread of the gospel."

"The queen of song," Madame Patti, rendered, in response to a recall before the footlights lately, "Annie Rooney." Her audience which had expected the usual "Home, Sweet Home," were taken utterly by surprise. Patti is wise. She sees the handwriting upon the wall and bows to the coming sovereignty of the people.

A Russian newspaper claims that the wood from the State forests which was placed at the disposal of the famine sufferers by order of the czar,

does not go to the poor, but to the profit of rich peasants, who take the logs to build houses, while their unfortunate brethren are perishing with cold because they do not possess horses to transfer the fuel.

**STATE BANKS.**

I did not think there was a man in the United States acquainted with the financial history of this country that would honestly or seriously propose to revive the old "State banks," but it seems that Senator Butler has introduced in the Senate a bill to repeal the 10 per cent tax on the issue of such banks.

The people want nothing but national currency issued to them directly, without the intervention of banks. They are tired paying interest to a favored class.

They do not wish to create again that class of citizens who grow wealthy by collecting interest on the debts they owe to the people.

Away with such a relic of barbarism and tyranny.

**ALLIANCE AID DEGREE.**

Hundreds of inquiries come pouring in for more complete explanation and information relative to the new degree authorized by the Supreme Council at Indianapolis, showing a deep interest in the plan, and a desire to know more of it and to avail themselves of its benefits.

The degree is a fraternal and co-operative one, designed to fulfill a part of the original intention of the organization, viz., to help ourselves instead of helplessly and blindly depending upon others, whose only interest in us was what they could make out of us.

The resolution establishing the degree reads as follows:

Whereas one of the cardinal tenets of our Order is the duty we owe our brethren in distress, their widows and orphans; and whereas our charter expressly provides for a fund for their relief; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a co-operative degree be instituted in the Order for the purpose of creating and maintaining a fund for the benefit of the families of deceased worthy members, and that the executive committee be instructed to establish said degree as soon as practicable.

The National Alliance Aid Degree is the result, and it provides for life insurance on the assessment plan precisely similar in general features to the ancient order of United Workmen, Knights of Honor, Woodmen, Odd Fellows, and Masonic and other secret-order aid associations. It admits all members of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, men or women, between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five years, who can pass the required careful medical examination.

Members over fifty-five, or those physically disqualified, are welcomed as honorary members without fees, and do not participate in the insurance, but do in the other advantages. A member can take either a \$500, \$1,000, or \$2,000 policy, or a man and wife can take a joint \$1,000 or \$2,000 policy, in which case the survivor receives entire amount of joint policy. A joint policy costs one-half more than a single policy of same amount.

The entry fees are low, just enough to pay expenses of securing members, viz., \$3 for \$500, \$5 for \$1,000, \$6 for \$2,000. A registry fee of \$1 on all policies, regardless of amount, except joint policies, which are \$1.50, is also collected for office expenses. All unused fees are turned into the benefit plan at close of each year.

Where a sub-Alliance or county Alliance wishes to establish a degree lodge, and seven or more members join at one time, seven being lowest number a charter will be issued to. The fees may be reduced to \$3 each, but only to charter members, and regardless of size of policies taken, thus making it an object for an Alliance to join in a body.

Assessments are made not oftener than once in two months, and then only when deaths occur, and are graded according to age, and never advance after a member once joins. A member aged 18 to 25 is assessed \$1.00 on each \$1,000 carried by him; from 25 to 30, \$1.10; 30 to 35, \$1.20; 35 to 40, \$1.35; 40 to 45, \$1.50; 45 to 50, \$1.75; 50 to 55, \$2; \$500 policies one-half as much, and joint policies one and one-half times as much. On a joint policy where the ages differ, one-half the sum of their ages is taken as a basis.

N. B.—An error exists in first copy of by-laws relative to assessments; will be rectified next issue.

One assessment is always collected in advance. Any regular physician can make examination, and the fee of physician is usually \$1.00, and is paid by applicant.

A relief department, designed to care for the sick and unfortunate, is instituted in every lodge, and it is expected they will act together in State or national calamities.

A bureau of information intended to assist members in selling or exchanging their farms, or securing employes or employment, is a part of the plan, costing nothing, except to those who utilize it.

A brief but attractive ritual is used, and the term degree lodge is used to avoid confusion of names.

The general headquarters are at Washington, D. C., with Western headquarters at Huron, South Dakota, where the secretary's office is located for the present, and where all applications for charters, and fees, and money should be sent, addressed National Alliance Aid, Huron, South Dakota.

The Alliance Aid Association, of South Dakota, which had a large membership, and has been in successful operation for over three years, and the Alliance Mutual Benefit Association, of Kansas, have consolidated their business with the National Aid, putting it on a strong basis to start on. Assessments are made through THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST and the official State organs, and the scribe of the local lodge collects the money and forwards it. The business is conducted directly under the control and supervision of the national officers of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, and is a part of the general work, holding no separate charter. All officers and organizers must give satisfactory bonds, and it is believed that our membership will appreciate the effort in their behalf and patronize it generally. There should be a degree lodge in every Alliance in the United States, and that quickly.

#### HOW TO ORGANIZE.

The organization will be under management of the State Alliance officers so far as possible, who will appoint district organizers, a list of whom will be kept in THE ECONOMIST, and the various State papers. Apply to your nearest organizer for information. Where none have been appointed, apply direct to National Alliance Aid, Washington, D. C., care THE ECONOMIST, or Huron, South Dakota, whichever is nearest, and blanks will be sent. Any one can organize the lodge. Have officers elected and send in the application for the charter, with the fees and one advance assessment, and a charter will be sent. The secret work will be communicated at earliest convenience, but you need not wait for that; the insurance commences at acceptance of application.

Local, county, district and State organizers are wanted at once. Reasonable compensation for services actually performed. It is the duty of every Alliance man who is in debt, to an extent that would embarrass his family in case of death, to carry a policy large enough to pay the debt. It is cruel and inexcusable not to do so. That is what this fund is created for, to assist families of worthy members when in need.

The Fraternal Life Associations are the safest and cheapest. They rarely fail, and average but one-third the cost of old line speculative life

insurance. The average cost of Fraternal Life Insurance for a long period of years, made up from over four hundred companies in the United States, ranges from \$7 to \$12 per year per \$1,000 carried, according to the age of policy holder. You can't afford not to do it!

We give address of some of State and district organizers to whom all communications from those districts should be addressed:

Michigan—A. E. Cole, Fowlerville.  
Iowa—E. B. Gaston, Iowa Tribune, Des Moines.

Kansas—W. H. Biddle, Topeka; or H. Baughman Burton.

Missouri—J. B. Dines, 8ro Olive street, St. Louis; or J. Weller Long, State secretary, Warrensburg.

Arkansas—J. W. Dollison, State secretary, Rector; or J. E. Bryan, Fayetteville.

Texas—Milton Park, Dallas; D. J. Eadmon, Deaton; R. W. Coleman, San Antonio.

Louisiana—J. W. McFarland, State secretary, Homer; T. J. Guice, Grand Cane.

California—J. L. Gilbert, Reddy.

Oregon—M. V. Rork, Salem.

New York—Ralph Beaumont, Ad-

dison; J. W. Dean, Honeoye Falls.

Tennessee—W. F. Gwynne, White-

Indiana—T. W. Force, Shoals.

Illinois—H. M. Gilbert, Genesee.

Kentucky—T. T. Gardner, Bard-

well; Miss B. G. West, Memphis,

Tenn.

Other States are being arranged for as rapidly as possible.

#### MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE.

The Supreme Council at Ocala requested the executive committee to prepare and present some feasible plan for farmers mutual fire insurance, and present it through THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. In this issue we print entire the thirty-seventh annual statement of the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of the District of Columbia.

The Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of the District of Columbia to December 31, 1851.

Amount of insurance Dec. 31, 1851. \$1,000,000

Amt of premium notes Dec. 31, 1851. \$2,65,643.00

No of policies Dec. 31, 1851. 5,495

CASH.

To balance cash on hand Dec. 31, 1851. \$7,545.44

To amount of premium notes Dec. 31, 1851. 22,597.06

To insuring risks for 1851. 115.48

To deposits to reinstate policies. 12.51

To interest on investments (bonds). 2,595.00

To interest on loans. 6,759.71

To rents (company's office not included) 4,285.99

To bonds redeemed. 7,500.00

To cash paid on loans. 23,925.00

To deposit on purchase of 1/12th prop. 500.00

**Total \$7,430.19**

CR.

By losses by fire. \$4,958.75

By withdrawals and settlements. 8,559.18

By taxes, insurance and repairs. 955.95

By expenses of annual meeting. 49.95

By loans on real estate. 0.00

By Office Expenses as follows:

Telephone and safe deposit. 125.00

Printing. 125.25

Incidentals, fuel, stationery, etc. 73.51

Salary of president. 2,400.00

Salary of vice-president. 1,500.00

Salary of assistant secretary. 1,200.00

Salary of surveyor. 300.00

Salary of attorney. 1,200.00

Salary of six managers (for 1850). 1,200.00

Janitor. 120.00

**Total \$7,746.97**

By bal. cash on hand Dec. 31, 1851. 3,854.40

**Total \$6,350.19**

ASSETS.

U. S. and D. C. bonds (4 and 6 per cent) \$4,500.00

Loans on real estate. 173,183.83

Other loans (secured). 495.00

Real estate (estimated). 75,500.00

Office furniture, safes, etc. (estimated). 500.00

Cash on hand December 31, 1851. 3,854.40

**Total \$297,063.23**

LIABILITIES.

Amount due policy accounts. \$297,063.23

This company has been in successful operation thirty-seven years, employs no solicitors, pays no commissions, keeps an office and says we have good goods to sell. Who wants to buy? Insures property only where actually owned by party who owns real estate on which it is situated. Issues a perpetual policy subject only to cancellation for good cause. A demand note for 10 per cent of amount insured is taken, on which annual interest is charged sufficient to cover losses and expenses. The rate of interest since 1879 has been 1 per cent; that is, if you insure your house for \$1,000 you give a note for .10 per cent, viz., \$100, and on that you pay 1 per cent, or \$1 per year. (The first year 3 per cent is charged to cover initial expenses.) So that entire cost to carry \$1,000 insurance has been \$1 per year for the past thirteen years, and out of that they have saved enough so that the company's accumulations now amount to \$297,000, every dollar of which belongs to the policy holders themselves, and on selling out or retiring from the company a member receives his share of the accumulations, and the secretary of the company informs me that a member who has belonged for thirty-seven years could now retire, and actually take out more dollars than he had ever paid in. Such is the power of interest to accumulate. Ten cents on \$100 per year in an absolutely safe company, while an old-time company would charge at least six times as much.

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**THE REFORM PRESS.**  
The Discussion of Current Topics from  
Organized States.

The Bonne Terre Democrat (Bonne  
Terre, Mo.) says:

If those men, farmers and other laboring men in particular, who have been voting with the Republican party, would only reflect, they could soon learn that the one feature which more than any other characterizes the Republican party is contempt for the people. The latest glaring instance of it occurs in the speech of Governor McKinley, made at the banquet of the Michigan club. Speaking of his infamous tariff law, he boasted that "not one page of it can be repealed in ten years." This is a frank declaration, that no matter what the people may demand, the Republicans feel sure of being able to hold the Senate and anything the House of Representatives may do for a long time.

The Farmer Advocate (Yates Center, Kan.) says:

Tariff reform comes straight home to the pockets of every farmer in the land, reducing his family expenses, increasing the purchasing power of his surplus produce, so that instead of farming at a loss and running behind each year, he will be enabled to get out of debt, supplying his family with the necessities and comforts of life and lay up something for a "rainy day."

The Tulare County Times (Visalia, Cal.) says:

In imitation of the United States, Germany adopted a McKinley tariff bill not long ago. As a result, mobs in the streets of Berlin have been assailing the kaiser with imprecations and the police with cobblestones, because they can not get work nor bread. They have been singing the "Marseillaise," the chant of radicalism and revolution all over Europe, and are muttering about dynamite and the French reign of terror. The increased tariff on breadstuffs is the inequity that specially meets their condemnation. This recalls the corn law riots in England, and the famine in Ireland, when the Tories of Great Britain ruled the United Kingdom with a protective policy. Parliamentary reports of those days tell of half-naked women hauling coal carts in the depths of mines, and of thousands of children being born under hedgerows to an heritage of shame and toil at 6d. a day. Cobden and Bright and Daniel O'Connell broke the back of the accursed system, and now the Berliners are stoning the police as a protest against medieval paternalism. Either the kaiser or the tariff will have to go.

The New Era (Almond, N. Y.) says:

The only time that this government ever knew prosperity for its people was when individual banking was entirely knocked out, and when the government did the banking. It was then, for the first time, although in the midst of a bloody civil war, that the American people as a people ever knew equal rights. It was then and no other time before or since that all debts were universally paid, and that the people as a body were prosperous. No bank this side of heaven should issue money or control the circulation of the people's exchange except the government of the people. This is a boasted land of the free with toll-gates of oppression and extortion in nearly every town. This oppression is more bitter on progression in business matters than the great civil war was. This system makes debt five times as fast as the war did. The people have been free, but now are under bonds, the continuation of which seems to last forever. This inequality and control of the money and prices makes the millionaires, every one of them, out of the laborer's toil; it makes the dishonest officials, makes the millions of failures, and creates debt beyond comprehension of the common voter of the country. It makes nearly all the paupers in this broad land. The time has come when the truth must be told and need be entirely disregarded, selfishness or idolatry to party affiliation. If any government gives the issuance of money into the hands of a few it has at least partly ceased to be the government, for the money has the dealing that makes or unmakes men and women. Its presence equally and honestly distributed makes prosperous communities, good citizens, happy homes, and an industrious people. The dishonest, unequal distribution of money makes crime; makes

knaves and sharpers everywhere, and licenses highway robbery to the stealing of whole railroads and public domain enough to make a nation. With discounted money, government bonds and national banks came this condition of things. Let him who savors the truth say this is not the condition of things if he can do so.

The West and South (Guthrie, Okla.) says:

Congress has granted to railroads, in the last twenty-five years, 172,000,000 acres of our people's land. This makes a territory equal to France and England combined. But this is not all. Congress has granted to twenty-nine alien absentee landlords 20,647,000 acres. Here we have in the possession of twenty-nine foreigners a territory equal to Ireland. Not only this. The native landholders make an equally formidable array. Colonel Murphy left an estate of more than 4,000,000 acres; the Standard Oil Company owns more than 1,000,000 acres; ex-Senator Dorsey nominally holds 500,000 acres. Mrs. Disston has 2,000,000 acres; and Colonel Church of New York collects from 180 farms, averaging 500 acres each. Not only this. The total number engaged in agriculture in the United States is 7,670,493, of these only 2,984,366 are nominal owners of their holdings. The rest are tenants and laborers under great landlords. These figures give us the lead of all nations in possessing the largest tenant farming class in the world. Let us not forget, amid our proud boasts of universal freedom, that deeply rooted and rankly growing in our free soil is the deadly upas-tree of landlordism.

The outrages fraud embodied in the Maxwell grant, of which much has been said and written, was the crowning triumph of stealing from a whole nation. The foreign holders of this great tract of public land have stopped at nothing to perfect their title through the agency of the law. And the half is not told. There is over 15,000,000 more of acres of the people's land given away which are not enumerated in the above schedule. Just think of it. This vast tract of land nearly equal to the aggregate area of the great States of North and South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas and the Indian Territory, including Oklahoma, or more than the aggregate area of Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Delaware, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland and West Virginia—a territory that to-day supports a population of 30,000,000 people. And these parties who gave away this vast area of land tell you that if you will only vote their tickets, they can give you all the relief you need.

The Superior Citizen (West Superior, Wis.) says:

There are too many blind leaders of the blind. They mistake effect for cause, and consequently prescribe remedies for effects. For instance, restriction of emigration as a cure for competition. Hard labor on water and bread as a cure for enforced idleness. Prohibition as a cure for intemperance, etc. While on the other hand these same doctors of economic and social evils uphold and protect a social system that breeds and fosters corruption, crime and intemperance.

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Why don't they prescribe remedies for the causes of these evils, which are monopoly of land, currency, transportation, and every necessity of life?

The Milton Star (Milton, W. Va.) says:

It must be gratifying to all lovers of reform to see in the signs of the times that the laborers universally are getting their eyes open as never before. They have for years been convinced that a great wrong existed, but never before realized so forcibly that the remedy was within themselves.

The Alliance Farmer (Atlanta, Ga.) says:

The Alliance will not become a political party, nor the kite to any political organization. It will hold itself in tact as an organization, separate and distinct. However, its members having been educated up to that intelligent point in the science of government that enables a man to vote for principles, will vote with that party that represents their views of reform.

The Herald (Myrtle Springs, Texas) says:

The President's salary is \$50,000 a year. Twenty years ago 30,000 bushels of wheat would have paid it; now it takes more than 60,000 bushels. Twenty years ago 500 bales of cotton would have paid it; now it will take 1,700 bales to get \$50,000. The annual salary of Congressmen is \$5,000. Twenty years ago 50 bales of cotton would have paid it; now it will take about 177 bales, and yet Congress seems resolved to reduce the currency, demonetize silver, and keep up the salaries. This is a very hopeful view of the promised reform, and a desire that justice be done the people is conspicuously prominent in Congressional movements.

The Union (Brookfield, Mo.) says:

The material of which money is made should have the least possible intrinsic value, and should be put in circulation through national depositories in each State and county where the convenience of the people require, and it should never exceed one-half the real wealth of the nation in land and produce. Why should individuals or corporations be permitted to control the natural gifts of God to man? Would it not be better for the race if the government, its agent, developed and controlled this power in the interest of all men? Is there a good reason why a few should control the means of life to free government? Not only it, but these weathercocks up at Washington feel the wind blowing. Secretary Foster says, increase the currency. He heard that from the Alliance.

The Alliance Gazette (Hutchinson, Kan.) says:

The statement so often made that gold is necessary to the existence of man, is given the lie every day in the year by every newspaper man in the State. All the gold in America might be shipped to Europe, and not one of these editors would find it out in the next ten years unless somebody should tell them. The presence of gold in this country is largely a matter of heresy with at least 99 out of every 100 of them. The Independent (New Britain, Conn.) says:

The average citizen sincerely desires to be right. If you can teach his reason and conscience through rational presentation of facts, you have a convert.

To gain a friend for reform, one who will stay, present your case in a reasonable and intelligent manner that will appeal to his reason and sense of right and justice. But to do this you must understand the question yourself, and you can't understand it unless you study it. The bane of the labor movement is the people who undertake to explain its objects and mission without understanding them, and who, therefore, misrepresent the movement and do it incalculable injury. The objects of organized labor are good, and their success would be a blessing to the nation.

The reason why so many stand neutral or oppose organization is because they have been misled by the enthusiasts who misrepresented the movement. The duty of every organized workman is to study the social problem so that he may be able to understand and explain it.

Not only that, but it is his duty to try and induce others to study it. Are you doing your duty? The Virginia Alliance News (Wytheville, Va.) says:

If the farmers hope to succeed they must become desperately in earnest and stay in earnest.

The Farmers' Democrat (Mattoon, Miss.) says:

The Alliance has no war to make on any profession or class except such as take away the labor of the people under the guise of law. It seeks to place farming and farmers on a higher plane, and when this is done the country will be more uniformly prosperous.

The decadence of England began when the farmers of the sea girt Isle began to fall behind and to grow restive under the unjust burdens they were bearing. Experience

ought to suggest that the best time

to forestall such results is to take time by the forelock, and begin the work of reformation when the premonitory symptoms appear. This is what the Alliance has sought to do.

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

The Alliance will not become a political party, nor the kite to any political organization.

It will hold itself in tact as an organization, separate and distinct. However, its members having been educated up to that intelligent point in the science of government that enables a man to vote for principles, will vote with that party that represents their views of reform.

The Herald (Myrtle Springs, Texas) says:

The President's salary is \$50,000 a year.

## SECOND DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Platform adopted by the Confederated Industrial Organizations at St Louis, Mo., February 22-24, 1892:

### PREAMBLE.

This, the first great labor conference of the United States and of the world, representing all divisions of urban and rural organized industry, assembled in national congress, invoking upon its action the blessing and protection of Almighty God, puts forth to and for the producers of the nation this declaration of union and independence. The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation. We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized. Many of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places in order to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down; and they are rapidly degenerating to European conditions.

The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes, unprecedented in the history of the world, while their possessors despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice breed the two great classes—paupers and millionaires. The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property, as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and is taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forbodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

In this crisis of human affairs the intelligent working people and producers of the United States have come together in the name of peace, order, and society to defend liberty, prosperity and justice.

We declare our union and independence. We assert our purpose to support the political organization which represents our principles.

We charge that the controlling influence dominating the old political parties have allowed the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to restrain or prevent them. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff; so that corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, "watered stock," the demonetization of silver, and the oppression of usurers, may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes and children upon the altar of mammon; to destroy the hopes of the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the great lords of plunder.

We assert that a political organization, representing the political principles herein stated, is necessary to redress the grievances of which we complain.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birth of the illustrious man who led the first great revolution on this continent against oppression, filled with the sentiments which actuated that grand generation, we seek to restore the government of the republic to the hands of the "plain people," with whom it originated. Our doors are open to all points of the compass. We ask all honest men to join with and help us.

In order to restrain the extortions of aggregate capital, to drive the money-changers out of the temple, to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of lib-

erty for ourselves and our posterity we do ordain and establish the following platform of principles:

First—We declare the union of the labor forces of the United States this day accomplished permanent and perpetual. May its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the republic and the uplifting of mankind.

Second—Wealth belongs to him who created it. Every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. If any one will not work, neither shall he eat. The interests of rural and urban labor are the same, their enemies are identical.

### PLATFORM.

#### FINANCE.

First—We demand a national currency safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; and that without the use of banking corporations a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent be provided, as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers Alliance, or some better system; also, by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

a. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver.

b. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

c. We demand a graduated income tax.

d. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand all national and State revenue shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

e. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

#### LAND.

Second—The land, including all the natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

#### TRANSPORTATION.

Third—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

a. The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

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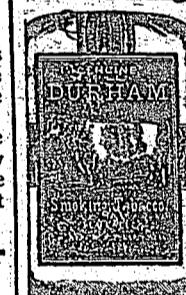
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