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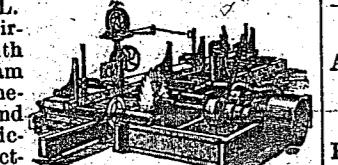
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The National Economist

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

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DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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VOL. 1.

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No. 16.

The Need of the Hour.

The tendency of the age is toward aggregation of force in the various fields of human occupation; the crowding out of individual enterprise and the replacing of it by the organized and concentrated energy of many.

The struggle for existence has developed from the irregular skirmish of individual enterprise into the systematic warfare of organized bodies into armies of industry and speculation, and these organized and disciplined forces are now arrayed for contest upon the great arena of the world. The conflict is, on the one hand, for gain and power, and upon the other for liberty and the enjoyment of the returns nature gives to labor. On the one hand it is strictly a war of conquest; a crusade for plunder, an organized campaign for robbery. On the other it is a war of defense, a struggle for existence, for life; failure means no less than total ruin, degradation, poverty, slavery, the desolation of homes, and the wreck of families.

Divided and disaffected, the original colonies would have been helpless to resist English oppression; but consolidated, organized, acting in harmony under a wise directing head, they successfully defied the arms of Britain and gave to the world the grandest nation it ever sustained. Little Switzerland, with her people divided, would have fallen a helpless prey to her tyrants, but rallied into a solid body they successfully defied the power of Austria. History is filled with proofs of the power of harmonious action and the fatal results of dissension and disagreement among peoples as well as the necessity for harmony and co-operation to secure success.

For years the army of aggressive speculation has been organizing its forces. The system of capitalism recognizes no desultory warfare. The secret of its power lies in thorough organization and united action. Its strategy is to crush by weight of its masses. Its tactics is Napoleonic; it never strikes except with a superior force. Its policy is to separate the enemy into factions and overwhelm each in detail. It fights heavy and depends upon the volume of its columns. The leaders are shrewd, cruel, unscrupulous. Business knows no sympathies; its motto is, "Self before all."

The present condition in our own country, the dominance of capital and the subjugation of the masses by it, is proof now and here of the necessity for the rallying of the people under one banner. The time has come when division means ruin to all. The cause is a common one; it is the common defense. It is well and proper that each industry should be organized as such, but there should be a consolidation of all these forces just as the regiments, brigades, and divisions of an army are formed into one grand whole, wielded and directed by one head, so that all act in harmony and to the best advantage. Capital is so organized, and to this organization is attributable its success as much as to the irregular and imperfect resistance brought to bear against it. Force must be met by force, organization by organization. Only in this way can the full power of the masses be brought to bear.

In every field of human industry the organization is complete, the discipline perfect, the plan of operation thoroughly understood, and now the advance is made all along the line. The skirmishers are called in and the solid columns of trusts, combines, corporations, like the Assyrian cohorts, flashing in armor of gold, are moving upon the scattered industrial masses whose destruction is already assured unless they rally in a solid phalanx and present an impen-

etrable front. Scattered, dissipated, with conflicting aims and plans of resistance, they are certain to be crushed in detail and overwhelmed by the hosts bearing down upon them; united, their numbers could defy the most desperate assaults; but how utterly helpless when divided, scattered, and unprepared.

The scanty numbers of Macedonia were contemptible when divided into detached parties, but when Philip welded them into a solid phalanx their undaunted front defied the world, and under Alexander carried their standard throughout Asia.

The scattered bands of Europe could have overwhelmed Rome in her palmiest days if consolidated and organized for harmonious action, and yet they fell before the solid legions of Caesar and Germanicus like chaff before the wind.

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The last clause of the first Democratic platform reads as follows:

II. Encouragement of science and the arts in all their branches, to the end that the American people may perfect their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions, and influences.

How have our policies really developed since this declaration was written in 1800? The sentiment of the times strongly declared the determination of the people to be independent of all these evil influences; and yet we have to-day not only the power of foreign monopolies brought to bear upon the interests of the people, but we have a home growth of the same evil kind encouraged and protected by legislation, the effect of which is still more dangerous to the liberties and welfare of the people. The effect of foreign influences and institutions is deprecated and declared against and the laws of primogeniture and entailment were repealed and decided to be in conflict with the spirit of free institutions. The law of entailment merely made possible the massing and retaining of great wealth and power in favored families. The feudal system of land tenure merely gave the right of massing great holdings of lands in the hands of the wealthy, thus giving them the right to levy a tax upon

the industry which cultivated and utilized it, and in no case could an alien exercise this right and power over the citizens of any government. Our system has not only recognized this "foreign" institution, but extended the privilege growing out of it to aliens, who have already gathered to themselves millions of acres of American lands and levy tribute upon American citizens for the privilege of improving it while they spend the tribute thus wrung from American labor in advancing the interests and wealth of a foreign power. The American people have either degenerated from the teachings and principles of their fathers or they have been betrayed by dishonest, designing, and traitorous leaders into the power of foreign schemers and speculators. We are to-day worse afflicted by the very evils declared against by the first Democratic platform than the people of the time in which it was written were. At that time no alien could control a foot of American soil, nor could foreign wealth command any class of industry. To-day foreign aristocrats own and control thousands of square miles of American soil and levy tribute upon thousands of American citizens. The tribute paid to-day in rents for land to English noblemen and capitalists no doubt exceeds the entire revenue paid by the colonies to England. In addition, a great proportion of our manufacturing is done with English money, and its profits go to England. A great bulk of the stock of our mines and iron-works is held in England, and the profits go into foreign pockets. Our transportation system is largely owned and controlled in Europe, and foreign interest dictates the policy under which they must be operated. Is it not clear that our policy, if intended to carry out the objects declared in the above quotation, has been a miserable failure, or that the people have been betrayed for profit? Evidently it is not the desire of the American people to become dependents upon the capital of European aristocrats, to be again the vassals of the same English aristocracy against which their fathers rebelled. If this be true, then it must be that they have been betrayed into this vassalage by treachery and deceit. The guilty schemers can easily be discovered if the people desire that they shall be. The time has come for the American people to shake off the lethargy which has so long overcome them and undo the evil already wrought before it is too late.

How to Investigate.

BY HON. A. J. STREETER, OF ILLINOIS.
I congratulate you on having made the ECONOMIST such an able and desirable paper for farmers to read. If the agricultural people in every State would read and heed its teachings their interests would be promoted thereby.

THE monopolist believes in competition between those who must live by their labor, and he stands by waiting to accept the offer of those willing to work for the lowest amount that will sustain life when this competition has compelled it.

THE one great commodity of which this great people stand especially in need is honesty, and it is sadly needed among the class who assume themselves to be the representative class of our people. The honesty we stand most in need of is the old-fashioned kind, that which is born of principle, of honor. Honesty may be the best policy, but a meaner motive for honesty than policy could scarcely

be conceived. The man who is not honest from principle and a natural sense of honor and justice is essentially dishonest, and it only requires the opportunity and profit to make him a thief. We have too many among us who are honest because it is the best policy. What we want, and especially want among our legislators, is men who are honest because it is right to be honest.

THE ECONOMIST has received copies of the circular letters Nos. 6 and 7 issued by the Farmers Alliance Exchange of Florida. They show a higher order of business talent, and are very instructive guides to the membership in their business efforts. They show that Florida farmers will wrap their cotton with cotton and not jute, and that the Florida Exchange is determined to be a great benefit to the order in that State.

THE struggle of the masses for a fair share in the values created by their labor means much more than a mere increase of a money return. It means a great social advancement; it means the raising of the workers to a higher social plane. It means higher education, greater refinement, improved social conditions, general mental development. It means the starting of the people of the Nation upon a new stage in the march of National progress. It means the elevation of the race. It means that after the industry of the Nations has provided the viands and the luxuries for the feast of civilization, all shall sit down at the board, groaning with the creations of their skill and labor, and enjoy the repast; and that the workers shall not creep off like dogs to their kennels while the feast they have prepared is enjoyed by the drones of society. It means that the leaven of education is doing its work; that men begin to understand their relations to society; that the pride of manhood is awakened; that the spirit of liberty has breathed upon them and they have become transformed; that the darkness of ignorance has been pierced by the light of progress, and that the somber wings of the vampires of capitalism can no longer soothe them into the deadly slumber which has so long wrapped their senses.

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The people in this country may be divided into three principle classes: 1. The wage workers. 2. The great middle class, which includes most agriculturists. 3. The moneyed aristocracy.

The middle class should consider the great responsibility now resting upon them, and that they must come to the front if the Government of our fathers, a Government of and by the people, shall not perish from the earth. In this endeavor but little help need be expected from the poor wage class, now struggling to live, many of whom are lacking in courage, independence, or will-power, and who are too often at the mercy of master or employer.

Combined capital, in trusts and other combinations, evidently intends to own and control this country. These combines have become

the bane of our prosperity, blighted our happiness, and menaced our liberties. By reason of their interests they have become opposed to a government of the people and purpose to supplant the Government of our fathers by a moneyed aristocracy—a greedy, grasping, sordid, selfish aristocracy. This transitive process is now going on, and will soon be the established order of things, unless the great middle class shall rally to defeat it.

The aristocracy believe in the doctrine first proclaimed in one of the great New York dailies, and owned by them, as the solution of the labor problem, and in which it said: "The American laborer must make up his mind to not be so much better off than the European laborer; men must be content to work for less wages, and in this way they will be nearer to that station in life to which it has pleased God to call them." In accordance with this plan, we find that wage labor is still being cut on every hand, and the end is not yet.

It would be very interesting reading if the trust in cotton bagging and binding twine would make a report for publication in the ECONOMIST, stating how much they have raised the price of wage labor in their mills since raising the price of binding twine from 8 cents up to 20 cents per pound. It would also be interesting if they would tell us how the tariff on sisal and other imported materials used in the manufacture of cotton bagging and twine has benefited the laborers in our protected business. And will you, gentlemen of the combine, tell us wherein is the justice of protecting your business by a tariff when you raised the price above the tariff 150 per cent. on binding twine?

But to return to the farmers. They still have it in their power to defeat this trust by refusing to buy their goods. To do this they must organize—organize in self-defense, and act with promptness and courage.

These combines and trusts are driving farmers, by the thousands, annually, into the wage class for subsistence. These changes have gone on already until wage labor is a drug in the market, and until in many places two men are competing for the work that one man can do, and still the increase of the wage class goes on. Farmers, is it not time to stop and think? And to inquire how to save ourselves from being pushed into the wage class, already too numerous? Do you really think it would be wicked to join the Alliance, or Wheel, or Grange, or some other farmers' organization, and there among yourselves discuss these conditions and the remedy? We often hear farmers say: "I know there is something wrong, but the cause of these hard times and the remedy is more than I can tell." Then does it not follow that you need more light? The way to obtain this light is to join a farmers' organization of some kind wherein these topics are being discussed, and in this way investigate for yourself.

THE fundamental idea of a government by the people is that, the laws enacted for such government should be framed by men chosen from the various callings pursued by the industrial masses, and in this way the various interests could be protected. Under our present system the legislation is devised and framed by professional politicians, speculators, lawyers, and through the corruption brought to bear by concentrated capital. What can people reasonably expect who can be induced to give their support to such men? Let the legislators of the Nation be chosen from among the active and responsible citizens of every class, the professional patriots be let severely alone, and the probability is that the interests of the various classes will receive honest attention.

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History and Government.

No. 16.

The results of the battle of Marathon, although of the highest consequence to Greece, were by no means confined in their influence to that grand people. They affected the civilized world, and were to extend their influence to, and put their impress upon, the millions in Europe who were still wrapped in the darkness of barbarism. Besides, the pride of Persia had been insulted, her autocratic dignity had been defied, her colossal power scorned and even put to shame by a mere handful of "barbarians." Such effrontery was not to be borne by the autocrat of Asia, and his breast burned fiercely with resentment against the impudent few who had dared defy the power before which all Asia trembled.

The mighty Oriental potentate could not comprehend how such audacity could be, and rather looked upon the defeat of his army as the result of accident, a freak of fortune, anything but an actual victory fairly won by the unparalleled courage and heroism with which this peculiar people had been inspired by their democratic institutions, their liberty, and their devotion to the government which defended its citizens in their just claims and dignity.

This battle was a proof of the wonderful influence of democratic institutions upon the people reared under them, as no people would have dared face the odds to which the little band of Greeks was opposed, unless their devotion to their country and its cause was so great as to absorb all else, and even life was reckoned worthless if robbed of the blessings which such institutions alone could confer.

The almost fanatical patriotism of the Greeks can be, to some extent, comprehended when it is recalled that this was their first battle against a great power, and the first time their loved institutions and their liberties were threatened by a power which, once successful, they could never hope to overthrow; and that this power was so formidable that resistance seemed madness, and yet these devoted patriots proved their willingness to give up their lives rather than the institutions to which they were so enthusiastically devoted and without which their liberties could not exist.

Social and political institutions which could command such unreserved and perfect devotion must necessarily have been of such a character as to deserve the closest study, and surely were far superior to any of which we have record, for no people before or since have ever exhibited such perfect and enthusiastic devotion.

The result of the battle was probably as much a surprise to the Greeks as it was to the Persians, because it seems evident from the desperation and recklessness with which the Greeks attacked, that they had little hope and had resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible, dreading Persian slavery more than death, and yet this desperation proved their salvation.

The immediate result of the battle, so far as the Greeks were concerned, was of very little consequence as compared to the moral effect upon the entire people, which resulted later on in a series of victories and a magnificent dis-

play of heroism and patriotism unparalleled in either history or romance.

This victory robbed the Persian power of its terror, which had so long held the world in awe. It taught the Greeks a high estimate of themselves, their valor and their glorious institutions. It taught them that liberty made a man a hero, and that free institutions made nations of heroes. It showed them the glory of sacrificing one's life in defense of his country and for the preservation of liberty, and inspired them through succeeding ages with a noble emulation and an earnest desire to imitate their ancestors and maintain that high standard of virtue and integrity that had preserved to them the liberty which made them what they were, the grandest people of the later eras.

Of course, after his great achievement at Marathon, Miltiades was the hero of the hour.

All Greece rang with his praise and did honor to his genius, patriotism, and valor. He was the savior of Greece, the preserver of her liberties, the champion of justice, the idol of the people, and yet, in an exceedingly short time, this admiration changed to suspicion; this laudation to heartless persecution, and the man who had so nobly defended and preserved to the people their nation, their liberties, even their lives, was sacrificed to a senseless jealousy and an ungenerous suspicion. He had been appointed to the command of a fleet of seventy ships, which had been fitted out to punish some of the Greek islands which had favored the Persians in their late invasion. He had already punished several of them and had laid siege to Paros, where he met with strong resistance, and having received a report (which afterward proved false) that the Persian fleet was advancing on him, he abandoned the siege and returned to Athens with his fleet. On his arrival he was accused by rivals, jealous of his fame, of having raised the siege of Paros through treachery and on account of a heavy bribe paid him by the Persians. As he had been severely wounded at Paros and was unable to appear before the assembly of the people on account of his wounds, the charge was pushed with all the venom jealousy naturally developed, and he was condemned to death without having been heard. This circumstance proves how easily people are influenced by every means brought to bear, and how important it is that every matter brought before them be seriously and carefully considered, without passion, before decision is reached. The Athenians were naturally a volatile and capricious people. They had but lately been delivered from the yoke of the tyrant, Pisistratus, and their liberties again threatened by a foreign tyrant; naturally they dreaded falling under another Pisistratus, and the great admiration held for Miltiades led them to fear that he in his turn might play again the part the late tyrant had acted. Extremely jealous of their liberties, they were awake to the least shadow of danger, and their admiration was easily turned to suspicion. However, after the proofs which Miltiades had given of his devotion to the cause of the people, the justice of which that people boasted demanded that, at least, he should be heard in his defense, and that he should not be condemned except upon the most positive proofs. Not only was he condemned without a hearing, but the most cruel and bar-

barous punishment was adjudged against him, and the people he had saved were, in an hour, changed from the most ardent admirers to the most bitter persecutors.

This fickleness is no insignificant source of danger to popular government, and all free people should bear in mind that they should extend to others the same justice they expect toward themselves, and guard vigilantly against the great evil of hasty judgment formed upon impulse and without mature deliberation.

The manner of executing criminals found guilty of great crimes was by throwing them into the Barathrum, a deep pit, where death came only after the most excruciating torture from hunger, thirst, and exposure to foul odors, damp, and filth. This sentence was pronounced against Miltiades, but the magistrates could not consent to such horrible ingratitude, and, in consideration of his former services, commuted his sentence to a penalty of fifty talents (equal to about \$40,000 of our money).

Not being able to raise this sum, which was evidence of the falseness of the charge against him, he was thrown into prison, where the wound from which he suffered, growing worse from bad air and confinement, finally turned to gangrene and ended his life and misfortunes. The persecution of this great man did not end with his death, as the ungrateful city would not permit his body to be buried until all his debts were paid, and his young son Cimon, who afterward emulated the splendid example of his father, gained permission to bury him by raising the amount of his fine among his friends and relatives and paying it to the state.

This foul ingratitude still blackens the fair record of the Athenian people, although they afterward endeavored to atone for it by raising a splendid tomb, and acknowledging the great virtue of the man who had given his life in their defense; and yet, even with this terrible warning before them, they were afterward guilty of almost equal ingratitude and baseness arising from hasty action taken while laboring under excitement and unjust prejudice. This instance, recorded in history, should be a constant warning to all free people against such inconsiderate haste; as all action taken under such conditions invariably reacts upon society to its misfortune and the detriment of all.

Sardis was the rendezvous of all this mighty force, and here was gathered the greatest army ever known on earth. Xerxes took up his march from Susa just ten years after the battle of Marathon, and thus began the next great war of wealth and power, of centralization and despotism against liberty, independence, and the rights of man.

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The amount of provisions necessary to feed such a vast number was enormous, and the invasion not only threatened the Greeks with destruction by the sword, but their products and supplies would be consumed almost immediately and they be left exposed to starvation. The amount required to feed such an army would include nearly thirty thousand barrels of flour and 15,000 beeves per day, to say nothing of other necessities. When it is considered that the whole of Greece was little, if any, larger than the State of Georgia, and that the system of agriculture was of the crudest kind, it can be understood to what straits the Greeks were reduced; and had this immense army been dependent on the country for support their invasion could not have lasted a great while. However, Xerxes had been four years preparing for the expedition and gathering stores, and fleets of vessels were constantly plying between the coast of Asia-Minor and Greece and coasting along with the army, thus providing for their necessities.

Besides this colossal force, Xerxes had command of unlimited millions of money—in fact, the treasure of the world. Surely all this was enough to make the hearts of the Greeks faint and their determination to waver, and yet it did not; and the modern world owes them an eternal debt of gratitude that their valor and patriotism was equal to the unparalleled demand made upon them.

Xerxes, the son of Darius, who succeeded him, was the grandson of Cyrus the Great, his mother being the daughter of that great conqueror and founder of the Persian power. He

inherited his father's enmity to Greece and his grandfather's ambition for universal empire. He took up his father's plans where he had left them off and determined to wreak a terrible vengeance upon the Greeks for the dishonor they had put upon the Persian power. He declared that he would no longer buy the figs of Attica, but would seize the country and have his own figs. He was ambitious, arrogant, and impetuous, believing the Persian power invincible and the world at his feet.

This arrogance was fostered by ambitious military leaders, among whom was Mardonius, who had met such disgraceful defeat at Marathon, and these men urged the King on in his grand preparations, but his designs were opposed by his uncle, who warned him against his mistaken estimate of the Greek people and cautioned him to be careful and deliberate and not overestimate his importance or power. The warning was not heeded, however, and the preparations went on.

Not only was the full power of the Persian arms mustered, but an alliance was made with the Carthaginians, who were at that time the most powerful people of the West, and especially skillful on the sea. These people were to awe the Greek colonies scattered on the islands of the Mediterranean Sea, and keep them from coming to the assistance of the Greeks, while the Persian armies should advance upon the doomed state. Thus the Greeks were to be attacked from all sides and by every means known to military and naval science at the time. Xerxes having drained the East to make up his own army, and the West to recruit that of the Carthaginians under Amilcar, began his march from Susa just ten years after the battle of Marathon, and thus began the next great war of wealth and power, of centralization and despotism against liberty, independence, and the rights of man.

Sardis was the rendezvous of all this mighty force, and here was gathered the greatest army ever known on earth. Xerxes took up his march from Susa just ten years after the battle of Marathon, and thus began the next great war of wealth and power, of centralization and despotism against liberty, independence, and the rights of man.

The forces gathered here were sufficient to awe the mightiest kingdoms of the age, much less an insignificant little state like Greece, which could not support such numbers as were here gathered, even for a short time. Nor was this enormous force all that was opposed to them, for Xerxes had furnished the Carthaginians with unlimited money, and they had gathered soldiers out of Spain, Gaul, and Italy, besides northern Africa, and had collected an army of 300,000 men and a proportionate number of ships, which were to be used as agreed against the Greek colonies. This seems alone force enough to have overwhelmed Greece, and yet it was only to be used as accessory to the grand army collected at the Hellespont.

This great army was composed of all the nations of the East and of people scarcely known to history except by name. They came from the mountains and jungles of India and from the steppes of Scythia; there were Medes, Persians, Bactrians, Lydians, Assyrians, Hyrcanians, Babylonians, and a hundred other na-

tionalities; they were of all colors, languages, characters, and dress.

The land army which came out of Asia consisted of 1,700,000 foot and 80,000 horse. After crossing the Hellespont 300,000 more were added, which, with 20,000 for taking care of animals, supplies, etc., aggregated 2,100,000 men.

The fleet from Asia consisted of 1,207 vessels of war, all of three banks of oars. Each vessel carried 200 men, natives of the country to which the ships belonged, besides 30 more that were either Medes or Persians, which made in all 277,610 men. The European nations augmented this fleet with 120 vessels, each of which carried 200 men; in all, 24,000; these, added to the others, aggregated 301,610 men.

Besides this fleet, which was composed entirely of large vessels, the small galleys of thirty and fifty oars, the transport ships, the vessels that carried provisions and that were employed in other uses, amounted to 3,000. Counting only 80 men to each of these, the aggregate was 240,000 men.

Thus it will be seen that when Xerxes arrived in Greece his land and sea forces together amounted to 2,641,610 men, without including servants, sutlers, women, eunuchs, and all the various kinds of people who followed a Persian army, and whose number was said, in this instance, to have equaled the fighting force, so that the aggregate number which followed Xerxes into Greece amounted to 5,283,220. This is the calculation of Herodotus, who lived at the time of the expedition, and who is considered one of the most reliable historians. Plutarch and Socrates agree with Herodotus in this estimate. Herodotus also refers to the inscription upon the monument built by order of the Amphycotic Council in honor of the Greeks who fell at Thermopylae, which stated that they fought against 3,000,000 of men.

The amount of provisions necessary to feed such a vast number was enormous, and the invasion not only threatened the Greeks with destruction by the sword, but their products and supplies would be consumed almost immediately and they be left exposed to starvation.

The amount required to feed such an army would include nearly thirty thousand barrels of flour and 15,000 beeves per day, to say nothing of other necessities. When it is considered that the whole of Greece was little, if any, larger than the State of Georgia, and that the system of agriculture was of the crudest kind, it can be understood to what straits the Greeks were reduced; and had this immense army been dependent on the country for support their invasion could not have lasted a great while. However, Xerxes had been four years preparing for the expedition and gathering stores, and fleets of vessels were constantly plying between the coast of Asia-Minor and Greece and coasting along with the army, thus providing for their necessities.

Besides this colossal force, Xerxes had command of unlimited millions of money—in fact, the treasure of the world. Surely all this was enough to make the hearts of the Greeks faint and their determination to waver, and yet it did not; and the modern world owes them an eternal debt of gratitude that their valor and patriotism was equal to the unparalleled demand made upon them.

Old Jute is Dead.

The Rockdale, Tex., Messenger describes how "Old Jute" was laid away in a deep hole with military honors in the Alliance lot in Cameron, Milam County, Texas, with imposing ceremonies:

"The Alliance meeting at Cameron, Tuesday, was made the occasion of the performance of a very solemn and highly important ceremony.

"The victorious army after a battle buries the enemy's dead. The dead are always entitled to decent sepulcher. So the Alliance, having choked the wind out of Old Mr. Jute, concluded to lay him—what remained of him—away under the daisies. There was only a small piece of him left in Cameron, and that was a small roll belonging to the Alliance store. So a meeting was organized to prepare for an imposing burial.

"The following was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare and publish a burial service for 'Old Jute' and that each county Alliance, Wheel, and Union in the United States, at their July meeting, bury a roll of jute bagging with military honors, firing ten salutes, one for each cotton State, and that each member wear for thirty days a badge of joy, to be furnished by the cotton mill.

"Resolved, That we now inaugurate the same by proceeding to bury the only piece of jute bagging in town on the Alliance lot.

"Mr. Enoch Breeding was appointed chairman of the committee to prepare the burial service, he to appoint the other members of the committee.

"Messrs. J. M. Frierson, B. C. Barrett, S. B. Ford, Anton Lecovsky, J. M. Randolph, and Geo. B. Bryant were appointed pall-bearers; R. S. Murff, officiating priest; E. B. Warren and Enoch Breeding, guards of honor, and Marion Zellner was unanimously elected hearse.

"The procession started from the Alliance store at 5 o'clock and comprised almost the whole people of Cameron and visitors. The tall and sturdy form of Marion Zellner, with the corpse on his shoulder, towered aloft on a dray, while the guard of honor with arms reversed, followed by the pall-bearers and long procession, came close behind.

"Arriving at the appointed place, the ninety-foot lot recently purchased by the Alliance, facing the public square, they formed around the open grave and the remains were gently lowered in their last resting-place. An appropriate oration was delivered by Priest Murff and the grave filled. It was remarkable to see the anxiety displayed by all to get a chance to pitch a bit of dirt on 'Old Jute.' After this a salute of ten guns was fired, and the funeral cortège proceeded to return.

"It was somewhat of a ludicrous proceeding but it has a significance which will not be lost sight of, and it will be safe to say that 'Old Jute' will be buried in every section of the cotton-raising South between now and the ides of July."

A Lesson from History.

BY WILL. H. TUNNARD, OF NATCHITOCHES, LA.

History tells us that Egypt, Greece, and Italy were the fountain-heads of our civilization and the source of our knowledge. The modern excavations in Troy, Nineveh, Babylon, and Pompeii have revealed information that pertains to a high civilization little less wonderful than the boasted knowledge and perfection of the present century. Through the cycling years have come many lost arts and the long-hoarded secrets of antiquity, preserved intact, and resurrected by the spirit of research, enter-

prise, and the thirst for knowledge. From these researches has sprung to light all the glories of these countries, their grandeur and magnificence; their domestic life, utensils, religion, fine arts, literature, employment, tombs, and catacombs. Among the employments were various manufactures—colored glass, jewels, pottery, carpenters' tools, professions, baking, dyeing, painting, cloth manufacture, husbandry, agriculture, etc. Among the subdivisions of the caste of the Egyptians was the third, embracing husbandmen, gardeners, huntsmen, boatmen of the Nile. In a country proverbial for the richness and productiveness of its soil, the first place belonged to the husbandmen, upon whose labors then, as now, depended the wealth, prosperity, and abundance of the land. From their methods, as shown by history, some valuable and salutary lessons could be learned by modern agriculturists, applicable to their own needs and wants. They were trained in these peculiar pursuits. They were thoroughly cognizant of the capabilities of the soil, the modes of enriching it when depleted, the proper season for sowing and reaping, and useful secrets connected with their employment, improved in the lapse of time by experience, that most solid of all acquired knowledge. The peculiar nature of the country led them to fertilize by means of irrigation. This method was conducted with system and so admirably managed that art supplied what nature denied. The forms of cultivation were primitive, their implements simple as compared with the numerous labor-saving machines of modern times, worked by the agency of steam as a motive power instead of with cows and oxen. They adapted their productions to the soils suited for them, and not attempting to cultivate different products from the same soil, as is too much the case in these days of advanced civilization and innumerable implements for husbandry.

Here, then, tersely stated, is shown the wisdom of the tillers of the soil among a people whose glory departed in the ages-long gone, yet whose records in this respect convey lessons worthy of emulation in modern times. Thus the Egyptian husbandmen demonstrated these important facts. They learned the seasons for planting; they knew the chemical admixture of the earth; they selected the soils best adapted to the different productions. The alluvial deposits of the Nile for grain with their fertilizing richness; the edge of the desert with its admixture of sand and clay for vines and other plants; nitrous soil as a dressing for arable lands and other rich manures. True, their work was necessarily superficial, owing to the simplicity of their implements. Does not the same spirit exist in America, particularly in the South, where negro labor is most employed, and where a system is followed which has been adopted for past generations? There is too much superficiality dominating methods; too little scientific knowledge practically applied to the soil and the chemical properties it contains, and an ignorance of the elementary substances of vegetation and its requirements. Professor Ville, in a lecture before the Agricultural Society of Brussels, says:

"In my preceding lecture I told you what I must repeat again, that the substance of vegetation is composed of fourteen different elements, three of which, carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, represent in themselves 95 parts of 100. I added that the carbon originated from the carbonic acid of the atmosphere, hydrogen and oxygen from rain water. From this comes the practical conclusion—that 95 of the 100 parts of the vegetal substance come from above, and are derived from sources entire strangers to the soil. I add that the minerals remaining in the form of ashes, when a plant is burned, is represented by 3.38 parts of soda, magnesia, oxide of iron, oxide of manganese, chlorine, sulphuric acid, and silica; that these substances originate from the soil, and there is no fear of their exhaustion, for the poorest soils are abundantly provided with them. Finally, there are four substances (in closing the list of those composing vegetation), nitrogen, phosphoric acid, potash, and lime, which the soils contain in very limited quantities, we must give back to the soil if we wish to maintain its productiveness. But those four substances hardly represent one-hundredth of the weight of vegetal matter.

"You see how singularly incorrect was the belief that to keep up the fertility of the soil you must return to it weight for weight what the crops drew from it, while, really, all that is needed is to restore the quantity of phosphoric acid, nitrogen, potash, and lime which plants and crops contain. There is a distinction to be made between these four terms, which, when united, I have named complete fertilizer. Phosphoric acid, potash, and lime should be returned in full quantity, but nitrogen should be reduced to 50 per cent., as the atmosphere furnishes the rest.

"How different these ideas from those which led to the necessity of using manure alone as a fertilizer. But this is not all. The use of the complete chemical fertilizer, composed of nitrogen, phosphate, potash, and lime, gives regal command over vegetation, the most remarkable part being that the efficacy of the mixture depends upon the union of the four terms at the same time. If you try the experiment of suppressing one of them the other three are at once struck by a partial inertia. The presence of the four is necessary to gaining the desired effect. If the fact is certain (which is placed beyond discussion by the testimony of millions of proofs), do you not at once perceive the advantage to be gained by analyzing the soil, not in the absolute sense of this word but from a view of the real needs of the plant? What does the crop require? That the soil shall contain nitrogen, phosphate, potash, and lime in such form that the plants can themselves make use of them. There is nothing simpler or easier than to learn this. The method is essentially practical and accessible to all; the teacher is the plant itself."

Here, then, is it conclusively demonstrated that education is a potent factor to the success of the farmer. It is as necessary as that of the lawyer, physician, chemist, geologist, botanist, or any species of skilled labor. Theory is simply worthless without its practical application. One of the encouraging signs of the times is the application of agricultural science to actual experiment, and the deep interest manifested in the results. The earth is like man's physical nature. The wear and tear and drain on its resources must be constantly renewed to sustain its strength and aid its powers of endurance. It is a hopeful sign when these facts are recognized and acted upon. The time is not far distant when superficiality in planting and cultivating crops will give place to the beneficial influences of agricultural education, with its system, order, and eventual prolific results. When that era attains the zenith of its glory and power the farmers will become self-sustaining and independent. No longer the servants of monopolists and corporations, then will their labor become their shield of strength, a strength made impervious to every assault by a unity of purpose and unity of action under the sure guidance of intelligence. Their toil will confer blessings, riches, and power; and not, as now, become the lever in the hands of monopoly and wealthy syndicates to impose the burdens of a worse than despotism, ending, eventually, in squalor, misery, and abject serfdom, worse than African slavery. Education and organization are the potent factors for the future success and freedom of the agriculturists, from whose efforts emanate the world's sustenance, commerce, traffic, and advancing greatness.

Equal Taxation.

BY HARRY HINTON.

In the year one hundred and thirteen of American Independence, being the first year of the Presidency of Benjamin Harrison, Chief Executive of the American Republic, and it also being two thousand six hundred and twenty-six years since the building of the city of Rome, Harry Hinton, the son of Jacob Hinton, he being the son of Dan Hinton, and also a prophet, had a vision which sorely perplexed and troubled him till he could no longer sleep, and rest departed from him. Being placed, as it were, on the vast plain beyond the Mississippi, where no hills of mountains intervene to intercept the vision of man, and where solitude holds her enchantment, Harry Hinton saw arise out of the plain a very great and tall mountain which obscured the sun, and flung its dark shadow over the face of the earth. No sooner had it begun to rise from the plain than a multitude of voices were heard, indistinctly at first, but which became louder and more numerous as the mountain grew larger, till their echoing and re-echoing out-roared the cyclone or a tempest at sea. As the son of Jacob Hinton stood wondering at what was before him, and made deaf by the din and clashing of so many voices drowned in one sound as the voice of many waters, a being came with wings washed in snow flying athwart the heavens and tipped the summit of that dark mountain with her wings, and lo! it began to burn and melt away. As the mountain continued to burn and grow less and to evaporate into smoke and gas the voices grew less and diminished till not a sound was heard, when the naked plain appeared again. This was the vision of Harry Hinton, the son of Jacob Hinton, whose father, Dan Hinton, was a prophet. This occurred in the year one hundred and thirteen of American Independence, and in the first year of the Presidency of Benjamin Harrison. Harry Hinton would be gone and leave place of such wonder, for he understood it not, but an aged man suddenly appeared whose visage was made white by the touch of time, and, leaning upon his staff, said: "Harry Hinton, son of Jacob Hinton, be not dismayed, but stay and learn the meaning of all these things, for I want you to speak unto the people in my name and they will hear you and be benefited. My name is History. As soon as man was I was. Adam and I played together in the garden of Eden, and I have been the companion of all nations and peoples. The mountain that you saw rise gradually from the plain is the collected literature written upon the tariff question, and the voices you heard as a mighty storm upon the land and sea are the collected words spoken, and the being you saw with pearly wings whose touch fanned into flame which evaporated this huge dark mountain into smoke and gas, is the Genius of America. Go tell the people that every man should pay taxes to support the Government in proportion to his ability, and when this is done all other things will adjust themselves accordingly." Saying this he disappeared.

Harry Hinton therefore considers the question of equal taxation paramount to every question connected with the tariff discussion. Shall every man pay taxes to support the General Government in proportion to his ability? is the ruling question of the hour.

The first purpose and object of government is protection—protection in person and property—and more especially protection against alien powers and people. Then that American labor and manufactures should not be protected from foreign trusts and combinations would deny the right of their being protected at home from the same machinations. The principle of protection is all right. There is no dispute here.

That one industry should be taxed to support another industry—that I who choose to raise potatoes should be compelled to pay my neighbor a bushel of potatoes for every bushel of wheat he raises—is all wrong. The principle is wrong.

How, then, shall we reconcile these antipodal questions? There is only one solution and that is this: That as soon as one industry is protected by taxation upon other industries it ceases to be a private business. It is public business—a business of Government. The Government builds railroads, digs canals, establishes schools, and does many other things by taxing the industries of the country. So it makes up the deficiency in profits to various lines of manufacturing by taxing the industries of the land by the same principle. The Government has no right, in justice and principle, to tax one private business to enhance another private business—to take away from one man by force and give it to another man whom it may like better. Therefore the question is settled that all protected industries have ceased to be private industries and are public business, and are liable to all the rules and regulations which Congress may impose. These industries, first infants crying for bread, have grown to be giants, and imperiously dictate to their parent, the Congress of the United States. Instead of being regulated, they have become the regulator. Instead of supplying the American market at the lowest price, they limit the output, form trusts and combinations. All these things are an abuse of their privilege. Still the principle remains that all American industries which need it should have a limited protection against alien competitors; but it is radically wrong to tax one brother and make it a present to another. Thus far Harry Hinton is a Republico-Democrat, indorsing the first principle of both parties as correct. But there is another fact equally as true, which is demanded, not by National interest and policy alone, but by the sword of eternal justice, and that is this: That every man should pay taxes toward the support of the General Government in proportion to his ability. No one will have the hardihood to deny this proposition. How is it now under the present system of taxation? It is simply so arranged that a common laborer may pay as much as a millionaire, especially if the latter be a crusty old bachelor. There are computed to be 12,000,000 heads of families in the United States; and say, for round numbers, that the Government collects \$480,000,000 taxes each year, then the average tax paid per head of a family is \$40, and that, too, under a system in which a millionaire may possibly pay no more than one of his lowest clerks. Let me furnish a diagram to illustrate this subject.

A	B	C	D
\$100	\$1,000	\$10,000	\$100,000
\$40	\$25	\$100	\$500
E	F	G	
\$1,000,000	\$10,000,000	\$100,000,000	
\$30	\$200	\$200	\$300

Here we have seven heads of families—A, B, C, D, E, F, G—each one consecutively worth ten times as much as the one preceding, and we have attached such figures representing the Government tax as it is possible for each one to pay. We find it possible for the common laborer to pay more tax than the millionaire, and the man simply worth his thousands pay more than he who is worth his millions. This system is iniquitous, not to say unjust. See, now, how it would be if every man paid in proportion to his ability—say 1 per cent.—very heavy.

A	B	C	D
\$100	\$1,000	\$10,000	\$100,000
\$1	\$10	\$100	\$1,000
E	F	G	
\$1,000,000	\$10,000,000	\$100,000,000	
\$10,000	\$100,000	\$1,000,000	\$10,000,000

This shows plainly where the desolation of

abominations comes in. Under a direct ad valorem tax the individual, until he come to be worth over \$10,000, would not pay as much tax to the support of the General Government as he does now under the present system. Whatever justice demands must be useful and beneficial at large. There is no dispute about the justice of an ad valorem system of taxation. This being admitted, its utility, benefit, and good policy follows without argument. But let us notice one thing before we pass further. The Government is a great distributor of money. As the vapors of the sea ascend, form clouds which rain and fill our streams, which return to the sea again, so the Government would, under an ad valorem tax, continue to distribute the taxes received, each man paying in proportion to ability, as the streams run into the sea of different sizes. It would lift the burden of sustaining the Government from the common man and place it on those more able to bear it. The present system makes the rich man richer and the poor man poorer.

Objections to this system will now be noticed. The first objection is our fathers did not use it. In answer to this objection we will say, it is not to be supposed that our fathers were altogether perfect, and could possibly meet all contingencies that might arise in coming ages. In our new Republic they feared to put too hard a strain upon a people just emerged from a war of seven years and overwhelmed with debt. So they looked to the blind tax of the tariff for relief. Besides, the fact that the consumer paid the tax finally, and not the importer, was not plainly made clear. They also had some feeling against England, who had prohibited manufacturing in the colonies. The colonies, each being sovereign and independent, could not be taxed by a direct tax at that time, and to much extent even after the formation of the Federal Constitution. Such was their idea of independence and their antipathy to taxation. This is my reply to the first objection.

The second objection is, it will require more officers to collect the tax and the machinery of Government will be increased. In answer to this objection we will say there are now in the employ of the Government in the internal-revenue service plenty of men to do this service. So, you see, when it is to collect a blind tax which partially exempts the rich there is no difficulty; but when it comes to a tax which every man will be compelled to pay in proportion to ability, there will be awful obstacles, no doubt.

The third objection is, it will not afford protection to home labor and home manufactures. We have already seen that all protected industries before they can claim protection in justice and right must doff the character of private businesses and become public businesses, and as such they can be protected by the Government by paying a bonus by weight or measure so as to secure them against unlimited foreign competition, trusts, and combinations. We say they should be protected well, but protected by a direct ad valorem tax in the way of a bonus. What would be the result? The first result would be that those who are clamoring for protection for our labor and manufactures, who are not interested, would be clamoring against it. There would be a howl all along the line of the wealthy who are not interested in the manufacturing business. We would have the wealthy class divided as to private interest on this question, and we would have their talent and their cunning divided, and all the talent and cunning they can command—with money. This would place the question in a natural and healthy condition.

The fourth objection is that the tariff is not paid by the consumer; that all other taxes on goods are paid finally by the consumer; but this particular tariff is not. We assert that not only the tariff tax is paid but also the merchants'

percentage on that tax. For example: a French hat is worth \$1; the tariff is 75 cents; the first percentage of the merchant is 10 per cent. on tax—that is 7½ cents; the second 10 per cent.—7½ cents again; the retail merchant's profit is 25 per cent.—that is 18¾ cents; the whole percentage on the tax alone being 33¾ cents. We assert that the consumer has to pay not only the tax, 75 cents, but the merchants' commissions, 33¾ cents, on said tax. The merchants' commissions on \$1 by the same calculation would be 45 cents. Therefore the merchants' commissions on the tariff-taxed goods is 45 cents on the dollar's worth of tax, which is a clear dead loss to the consumer by this system of taxation. Consequently, on \$100,000,000 of revenue collected by tariff taxation the consumers sustain a dead loss of \$45,000,000 by way of merchants' commissions on tax. Not only this, but it enables the manufacturers to form combines and sell up to the margin the tariff tax will admit, thus often adding the same tax to home-made goods, with merchants' commissions, which we pay for foreign goods. Thus we can plainly see that the much cheaper plan of protecting our home industries is by a direct tax paid as a bonus. For on \$300,000,000 of tariff revenue the consumers sustain a dead loss of \$135,000,000 on merchants' commissions alone. Then add the price over and above a reasonable profit this tax often allows and we have many millions more than the whole tax itself. All this is a loss to the people.

There are a great many instances on record where tariff protection has enabled our home manufacturers to build up and sell goods much cheaper than they were offered abroad, and by bringing in a healthy competition among themselves our own manufacturers have reduced the price of goods in many instances. This is no argument in favor of the system, but is simply an argument in favor of protection *per se*. In order to unburden a plethoric foreign market, He also advocates that about one-third, or the remainder, be collected by a tariff tax on luxuries and other articles and with a view to protection. He also advocates that all protected industries be construed as public business immediately under the espionage and control of Government. He also advocates a liberal protection by bonus or tariff tax. This will bring about a system more nearly just and in which each man will more nearly bear his proportion of the burden of Government. If there be any other way by which justice can be done, Harry Hinton would be glad to hear it.

Let us now recur to first principles and restate our axioms: That, inasmuch as protection is the prime object and purpose of government, our home labor and manufactures of a right ought to be protected against foreign power injurious thereto. Second, no government has the moral right to tax one private business to support another private business. Third, that every man should pay taxes for the support of government in proportion to his ability. These are axioms which need no proof. The only question is how to carry them out into practice—which question is not for us to consider in detail. We find the people burdened and oppressed ten times more outrageously than they were as American colonies under the rule of Great Britain. The remedy must come, and that speedily. Those who have been figuring on the various forms of oppression in this Government have unearthed villainies that no free people with sense enough to know their rights, and manhood enough to maintain them, will endure much longer. Some people look to one party for redress; and some to another. Vain, delusive hope! The parties can only dance as they are made to dance. They will fiddle for you as long as you choose to dance yourself, but they will not dance save by force—force of the voting power. They have the people arraigned into two contending parties in vain jugglery while they are fleeced out of millions. One says, we are for a protective tariff; another says, we admit a little protection, but the main, leading idea is, a tariff for revenue. This is all party jugglery

and nonsense; for there is scarcely two articles imported into the United States under precisely the same conditions and circumstances. Each and every article demands a separate and distinct consideration at the hands of the legislator. No procrastinate rule nor general principle can be laid down which will fit all cases. The attempt to do so is a delusion.

Let us enumerate some of the varied questions which arise in considering a tariff tax:

1. Does that particular article need protection to enable the people to produce it successfully?

2. How much protection is needed?

3. Is it a public benefit that that particular article should be produced in this country?

4. What is the condition of trade between this country and the one from which it is mostly imported?

5. If we take off an import duty here, will they not place on it an export duty there?

6. Is it a luxury not needed?

7. Is it a necessary, or one in general demand?

8. Is it raw material, or manufactured, or partly so?

9. Will the production of this article be a necessity in time of war?

10. Had not the people better produce something else more adapted to their circumstances and still allow this to be made elsewhere, where it can be done much cheaper?

These are some of the questions to be considered in levying a tariff tax. Various others often arise not enumerated here. Then for one to say, I am for protection, and another to say, I am for revenue, as the leading idea is no business. Harry Hinton's platform on the tariff is this: "That each article of import requires each a separate and distinct consideration as regards a tariff tax by the legislator."

Harry Hinton advocates that about two-thirds of the revenue needed by the Government be collected by a direct ad valorem tax. He also advocates that about one-third, or the remainder, be collected by a tariff tax on luxuries and other articles and with a view to protection. He also advocates that all protected industries be construed as public business immediately under the espionage and control of Government. He also advocates a liberal protection by bonus or tariff tax. This will bring about a system more nearly just and in which each man will more nearly bear his proportion of the burden of Government. If there be any other way by which justice can be done, Harry Hinton would be glad to hear it.

BRO. HARRY TRACY concluded his lecturing tour in this State last week and left Saturday night for North Carolina, where he will continue to preach Alliance doctrines and principles. Brother Tracy has done a great work in this State, and wherever he went he did not fail to arouse the Alliance to a full sense of its duties. He has received the highest praise from press and people, and the fruits of his good work will be seen and felt many days hence.—Westville, Miss., News.

A STURDY mechanic, a life-long Republican, said to us last Saturday, after working hard all day in his shop and putting most of his work on the books with promises to pay soon: "It is no use for the Republicans or Democrats to put any more tickets in the field unless something is done soon to give the people more money. They will fiddle for you as long as you choose to dance yourself, but they will not dance save by force—force of the voting power. They have the people arraigned into two contending parties in vain jugglery while they are fleeced out of millions. One says, we are for a protective tariff; another says, we admit a little protection, but the main, leading idea is, a tariff for revenue. This is all party jugglery

living as the fruit of their efforts.—Labor Tribune

The Interstate Farmers Association

This body, which was organized at Atlanta, Ga., in August, 1887, is composed of representatives from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. These representatives (five or more for each Congressional district) are appointed by the vice presidents of the States, respectively:

R. F. Kolb, Montgomery, Ala.

L. P. Featherston, Forest City, Ark.

J. T. Peterzen, Pensacola, Fla.

Jno. P. Fort, Mt. Airy, Ga.

Jno. Dymond, Bellair, La.

J. T. Henry, Greenwood, Miss.

Elias Carr, Old Sparta, N. C.

E. R. McIver, Palmetto, S. C.

L. D. Yarrell, Bellfield, Va.

B. M. Hord, Nashville, Tenn.

G. B. Pickett, Decatur, Texas.

The association will meet in the city of Montgomery, Ala., on the 20th of August next. Reduced rates on all lines of railway will be secured, as also at the hotels and boarding-houses of that city, and will be furnished to delegates in due time by the secretary.

Composed of leading, practical agriculturists of the South, this body will represent the enterprise and progressive thought which new conditions and surroundings have evolved, and which must solve the great economic questions now confronting us. Let every State be fully and strongly represented. Important questions affecting the material advancement and industrial development of the South, and especially the promotion of her great agricultural interests, will be considered.

L. L. POLK, Pres., Raleigh, N. C.
JNO. C. CHENEY, Sec'y,
Montgomery, Ala.

AN EXCELLENT amendment has been proposed to the constitution of Illinois, which is a provision of the present constitution of the State of California. This practical step toward the equalization of taxation is as follows:

A mortgage, deed of trust, contract, or other obligation by which a debt is secured shall, for the purposes of assessment and taxation, be deemed and treated as an interest in the property affected thereby. In case of debt so secured, the value of the property affected by such mortgage, deed of trust, contract or obligation, less the value of such security, shall be assessed and taxed to the owner of the property, and the value of such security shall be assessed to the owner thereof, in the county, city, or district in which the property affected thereby is situated. The taxes so levied shall be a lien upon the property and security, and may be paid by either party to such security. If paid by the owner of such security, the tax so levied upon the property affected thereby shall become a part of the debt so secured; if the owner of the property shall pay the tax so levied on such security, it shall constitute a payment thereon, and to the extent of such payment a full discharge thereof; provided, that if any such security or indebtedness shall be paid by any such debtor or debtors, after assessment and before the tax levy, the amount of such levy may likewise be retained by such debtor or debtors, and shall be computed according to the tax levy for the preceding year. Every contract hereafter made, by which a debtor is obliged to pay any tax or assessment on money loaned or on any mortgage, deed of trust, or other lien shall, as to any interest specified therein, and as to such tax or assessment, be null and void.

INTEREST gathers to itself what labor produces; the one exhausts itself while the other fattens and grows.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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

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

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NO GOVERNMENT CAN BE just and hope for the devotion of its people that takes from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned or that grants to one citizen powers and privileges that can not be enjoyed by all. Justice is the parent of patriotism.

IN 1810 our Government was almost as badly afflicted by a one-idea policy as it is now, although there was probably more honesty in the conception than there is at present. Now it is the development of manufacturing at the expense of all other interests, or, to put it more exactly, the development of the fortunes of manufacturers at the expense of all other interests. Then, it was the development of navigation. Jefferson, who rarely, if ever, made a mistake, in one of his letters at the time said:

I trust the good sense of our country will see that its greatest prosperity depends upon a due balance between agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and not on this protuberant navigation, which has kept us in hot water from the commencement of our Government, and is now engaging us in war.

The duty of the Government is to encourage the development of all industries alike. It is not only unwise and unjust to favor any one at the expense of another, or all the others, but it is assuming a power which ethically it does not possess. It is tyranny plain and simple.

TO CONTROL labor, in order to absorb its earnings, is the problem constantly before the mind of the financial strategist. The same problem was the one from which the centralized power of Asia grew, and in later times the feudal system.

ACCORDING to corporation philosophy, the old adage, "Wrong can never be right," is a fallacy. Corporation morality says that whatever is legal is right; therefore, to make wrong right it is only necessary to legalize it. Easy, isn't it?

THERE is something to be learned by the people of this free Nation from the treatment of monopoly by monarchical England. The telephone service in England is not a monopoly,

as with us, and upon announcement that three of the great telephone companies were negotiating a consolidation, the Postmaster-General made a statement in the House of Commons that the Government would probably soon take over all the telephone business of the country. The companies took the hint and abandoned their consolidation scheme, but did what amounted to the same thing—two of them went out of business and abandoned the field to the third, receiving for their disinterested generosity an equivalent in profits. The general outcry against the monopoly will, it is thought, compel the Postmaster-General to take charge of the business. This in England, under a monarchy, yet in this free Republic the telephone monopoly is not only allowed to squeeze the people, but is defended in its right in the courts. The telegraph is another instance of the same character.

MONOPOLISTIC RASCALITY SPENDS MILLIONS IN CONTROLLING ELECTIONS AND LOBBYING THROUGH LEGISLATION FAVORABLE TO ITS NEFARIOUS ENDS AND OPPRESSIVE OF INDUSTRY, AND IN THE END INDUSTRY PAYS THE WHOLE OUT OF ITS EARNINGS.

ATTENTION is called to the communication of J. A. Tets in this issue, setting forth the necessity for a better system of enrollment. This is very important, and should receive the attention of country delegates to the coming State meetings. One of the most important subjects of legislation on the part of the State Alliances and Wheels will be to provide an efficient and accurate system of enrollment. A complete roll of individual membership should be kept in the office of the State secretary, and another showing the name and address of all county and subordinate officers should be kept up, making all changes as they occur. A compilation from all this should be accessible to the order in the office of the National Secretary.

MUCH PRACTICAL AND USEFUL INFORMATION WILL BE GAINED FROM THE ARTICLES UPON "APPLIED SCIENCE," BY M. G. ELZEY, IN THIS ISSUE.

THE THREE DAYS' SESSION OF THE FARMERS ALLIANCE FOR SOUTH DAKOTA WAS A THOROUGHLY BUSINESS MEETING. OVER FIVE HUNDRED DELEGATES WERE PRESENT, EVERY COUNTY IN SOUTH DAKOTA BEING REPRESENTED, WHICH IS THE MORE REMARKABLE AS THE FARMERS IN SOUTH DAKOTA ARE SOMEWHAT DISCOURAGED OVER THEIR CROP PROSPECTS. TWENTY DELEGATES FROM THE BLACK HILLS COUNTRY ACCOMPANIED BY THEIR WIVES WERE PRESENT, NECESSITATING A DRIVE OF TWO HUNDRED MILES ACROSS THE SIOUX RESERVATION TO PIERRE AND FIFTEEN DAYS TO MAKE THE ROUND TRIP. IT MAY SAFELY BE ASSUMED THAT EVERY FARMER IN SOUTH DAKOTA WILL TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN THE FORMATION OF THE NEW STATE. IN HIS ADDRESS PRESIDENT LOUCKS DISCOURSED ANY THIRD-PARTY MOVEMENT ON THE PART OF THE ALLIANCE AND URGED THE MEMBERS TO WORK WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTIES TO ACCOMPLISH A REFORMATION AT THE FOUNTAIN HEAD, THE CAUCUSES AND CONVENTIONS, WHERE THE POLITICIANS GET IN THEIR DEMORALIZING WORK. MR. LOUCKS WAS FOLLOWED WITH A RINGING ADDRESS BY MASTER-WORKMAN WILDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR, IN WHICH HE SAID THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE

UNITED STATES COIN THEY HOLD SOMETHING WHICH IS INTRINSICALLY WORTH THE VALUE IT REPRESENTS, IT MAY BE INTERESTING TO KNOW THAT A NICKEL COIN COSTS THE GOVERNMENT JUST THREE-QUARTERS OF A

TOWNS WOULD STAND SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH THE ALLIANCE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE COUNTRY IN RIGHTEOUSNESS OF LEGISLATION AND RAISING THE STANDARD OF POLITICS, WHICH SPEECH WAS CHEERED TO THE ECHO AND ASSURES PERFECT ACCORD BETWEEN THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS. THE MAIN BUSINESS OF THE SESSION WAS THE MAKING OF A PLATFORM AND APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION WHOSE DUTY IT WILL BE TO SEE THAT EVERY FARMER IN SOUTH DAKOTA IS VISITED AND KEPT FULLY ADVISED OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION. THE BUSINESS ORGANIZATION WILL BE STRENGTHENED AND PUSHED MORE VIGOROUSLY THAN EVER.

AMERICANS FLATTER THEMSELVES THAT THEY ARE SECURE FROM FOREIGN INVASION; THAT VAST RESOURCES AND IMMENSE POPULATION ARE A GUARANTEE OF SECURITY AGAINST FOREIGN CONQUEST AND THE LEVYING OF TRIBUTE BY FOREIGN POWER. LOOKING ONLY IN THE DIRECTION OF MILITARY POWER FOR THE DANGER, THEY HAVE LEFT UNGUARDED THE LITTLE BREACH IN THE RAMPARTS, THROUGH WHICH CUNNING, CORRUPTION, FRAUD, AND TREASON MAY STEALTHILY CREEP IN, AND, IN SECRET AND THE DARKNESS OF DECEPTION, SO UNDERMINE OUR INSTITUTIONS AS TO ACCOMPLISH A VIRTUAL OVERTHROW. THE ACTUAL INVASION OF THIS COUNTRY BY THE SINWEWS OF ENGLISH POWER, WEALTH, IS ALREADY IN PROGRESS, AND ALREADY FAR ADVANCED IN THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ITS DESIGNS.

THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA CAN AS SUCCESSFULLY BE LAID UNDER BONDAGE TO ENGLAND'S ARISTOCRACY BY THE POWER OF CAPITAL AS BY FORCE OF ARMS. IN THIS AGE, CUNNING IS MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN ARMED FORCE. CAPITAL, IN THE HANDS OF SHREWD, CONSCIENCELESS CUNNING, IS MORE DANGEROUS THAN THE COHORTS OF PERSIA, THAN THE GRANDEST ARMY UNDER THE GREATEST CONQUEROR THE WORLD EVER KNEW. INTEREST, EARNINGS, RENTS, AND PROFITS ARE THE SHACKLES AMERICANS HAVE TO FEAR; THEY ARE THE MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLAR, THE GIVES, THE MANACLES, AND THE CLANKING CHAIN.

ALREADY MILLIONS OF ACRES OF AMERICAN LANDS ARE LAID UNDER TRIBUTE TO ENGLISH LANDLORDS, AND STILL THEY CONTINUE TO GATHER TO THEMSELVES THE LANDS, AND THROUGH THEM LEVY THEIR TRIBUTE UPON AMERICAN CITIZENS AND AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

ALREADY OVER FIFTY MILLIONS OF ACRES OF AMERICAN LANDS ARE IN THE HANDS OF ALIEN LANDLORDS, ALMOST ALL OF WHOM BELONG TO THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY, AND THESE RETURN THEIR REVENUE TO LONDON AS REGULARLY AS THE LANDS OF ENGLAND OR OF IRELAND. NOR IS THIS ALL; THE POWER EXERCISED OVER AMERICAN TENANTS IS MORE TYRANNICAL THAN IT IS IN IRELAND. THE RACK-RENTING IS MORE OPPRESSIVE AND EVICTION ACCOMPLISHED WITH GREATER EASE THAN IN IRELAND. BESIDES THIS, ENGLISH ARISTOCRATS AND CAPITALISTS HAVE OVER A THOUSAND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS INVESTED IN OUR RAILROADS, AND EQUALLY VAST AMOUNTS IN VARIOUS MANUFACTURING AND MINING INDUSTRIES. TO ALL THIS VAST WEALTH AMERICANS PAY TRIBUTE, AND AMERICAN SOCIAL CONDITIONS ARE THUS AFFECTIONED AND CONTROLLED AT THE WILL OF THE ENGLISH INVADER. IS THIS NOT CONQUEST? IF THE PEOPLE DO NOT AROUSE THEY ARE UNDONE AND BETRAYED INTO FOREIGN BONDAGE.

TO THOSE WHO IMAGINE THAT WHEN THEY HOLD UNITED STATES COIN THEY HOLD SOMETHING WHICH IS INTRINSICALLY WORTH THE VALUE IT REPRESENTS, IT MAY BE INTERESTING TO KNOW THAT A NICKEL COIN COSTS THE GOVERNMENT JUST THREE-QUARTERS OF A

CENT. EVERY ONE-CENT COIN COSTS THE GOVERNMENT JUST ONE-QUARTER OF A CENT. THE LAW REQUIRES THE TREASURY TO BUY AND COIN AT LEAST \$2,000,000 OF SILVER INTO DOLLARS EVERY MONTH: THIS \$2,000,000 WORTH OF SILVER MAKES NEARLY \$2,750,000 IN COIN, SO THAT THE INTRINSIC VALUE OF THE COIN IS NEARLY ONE-THIRD LESS THAN THE VALUE REPRESENTED BY THE COIN, AND THIS INTRINSIC VALUE IS PRINCIPALLY DUE TO THE FACT THAT IT IS USED FOR MONEY; WERE IT NOT SO USED IT WOULD BE WORTH LITTLE MORE THAN COPPER. THE PROFIT MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT ON ITS COINAGE OF SILVER DOLLARS, NICKELS, AND PENNIES IS ABOUT \$10,000,000 PER YEAR.

ONE OF THE MOST EXPERT OFFICIALS OF THE TREASURY ESTIMATES THAT THERE ARE STILL IN EXISTENCE, SOMEWHERE FLOATING ABOUT THE COUNTRY OR IN THE HANDS OF COLLECTORS OF CURIOSITIES, OVER 100,000,000 OF THE OLD-FASHIONED COPPER CENTS, ABOUT 20,000,000 OF COPPER-NICKEL CENTS, NEARLY 500,000,000 OF THE PRESENT ISSUE OF BRONZE CENTS, 25,000,000 OF NICKEL THREE-CENT PIECES. THE TOTAL VALUE OF THESE OUTSTANDING MINOR COINS IS PUT IN ROUND NUMBERS AT \$120,000,000. ALL THIS IS CLEAR PROFIT TO THE GOVERNMENT.

THE TWINE TRUST MAY FINALLY DEVELOP SOME GOOD UNINTENTIONALLY. THE PROSPECT NOW IS THAT HEMP RAISING WILL BE REVIVED. THE FARMERS IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY IN DAKOTA ARE PREPARING TO GROW THEIR OWN HEMP.

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS EXPRESSED ITSELF WITH REGARD TO TRUSTS. IT DECLARES "THAT COMBINATIONS OF COMPANIES TO DESTROY COMPETITION AND RAISE PRICES ARE AGAINST PUBLIC POLICY, AND THEREFORE UNLAWFUL." CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER DELIVERED THE OPINION OF THE COURT.

SECRETARY RUSK HAS DIRECTED THAT OUT OF THE \$85,000 AT HIS DISPOSAL FOR EXPERIMENTING WITH SORGHUM, \$38,500 BE EXPENDED IN KANSAS, \$15,000 IN NEW JERSEY, AND \$5,000 IN LOUISIANA.

MR. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, IN HIS SPEECH AT THE YALE LAW SCHOOL, PROVES HIMSELF SOMEWHAT IN ADVANCE OF RAILROAD MEN GENERALLY. THE STATE REGULATION OF THE HIGHWAYS IS CONCEDED, THOUGH HE SPEAKS OF IT AS A COMPROMISE, NOT AN ACT OF JUSTICE GROWING OUT OF THEIR RELATIONS TO THE PEOPLE:

AN EMINENT JURIST SAID TO ME RECENTLY THAT MANY AMBITIOUS LAWYERS IN HIS STATE HAD PREACHED, FROM THE STUMP AND ON THE PLATFORM, THAT RAILROAD OWNERSHIP WAS ROBBERY, AND ITS CONFISCATION BY SPECIAL TAXATION AND UNREMUNERATIVE RATES A PATRIOTIC DUTY. THEY SOUGHT BY THIS APPEAL TO TEMPORARY INTERESTS TO BECOME JUDGES AND CONGRESSMEN, THOUGH THEY KNEW THAT THE GENERAL INculcation AND ADOPTION OF THE PRINCIPLE WOULD END IN COMMUNISM AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PEOPLE THEY PROFESSSED A DESIRE TO PROTECT. FIFTEEN YEARS AGO ONE MAN OWNED A MAJORITY OF THE STOCK OF THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD AND A FEW OTHERS MOST OF THE BALANCE. NOW, IT HAS 10,000 PROPRIETORS, AND THE LARGE MAJORITY OF THEM ARE PEOPLE OF SMALL PROPERTY. THIS INDICATES A PROCESS OF DISTRIBUTION WHICH WILL SPEEDILY CHANGE THE CHARACTER AND MANAGEMENT OF AMERICAN CORPORATIONS.

THE MAGNITUDE OF MODERN ENTERPRISES AND THE CLOSE COMPETITION OF BUSINESS HAVE RENDERED

RAILWAYS;

THEIR USES AND ABUSES,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

NO. 9.

HIGHWAYS AND PUBLIC FUNDS.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE THAT THE EXERCISE OF THE POWER OF EMINENT DOMAIN IN BEHALF OF THE RAILWAYS ENDOWED THEM WITH THE CHARACTER AND SURROUNDED THEM WITH THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE PUBLIC HIGHWAY, WAS ESTABLISHED BEYOND DISPUTE AT THEIR VERY INCEPTION, AND HAS NEVER BEEN CONTRADICTED SINCE. BUT ANOTHER DETAIL SOON AROSE IN WHICH THE SAME CHARACTER WAS AVOWED WITH EQUAL DISTINCTNESS. LIKE THE FIRST, IT WAS AVOWED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE RAILROADS, AND THE PRINCIPLE AS OBSERVED CONTRIBUTED LARGELY TO THE BUILDING UP OF THE PRESENT RAILWAY SYSTEM.

IT WAS FOUND NECESSARY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAILWAY SYSTEM, TO APPEAL TO PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS OF LOANS IN AID OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RAILWAY. THE VOTING OF STATE, COUNTY, CITY, AND TOWNSHIP LOANS TO RAILWAYS CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE LEADING FEATURES OF THE RAILWAY ERA. EXPERIENCE OF THE RESULT TO THE PEOPLE OF SUCH LOANS HAS LED TO THE ALMOST UNIVERSAL BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE MAIN AN IMPOLITIC AND IMPROPER USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS; AND THAT EXPERIENCE HAS RESULTED IN THE INCORPORATION IN MANY OF THE LATER STATE CONSTITUTIONS OF CLAUSES FORBIDDING THE VOTE OF PUBLIC AID TO CORPORATE ENTERPRISES. BUT IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY SUCH PROHIBITION, THE QUESTION WHETHER IT IS COMPETENT FOR MUNICIPAL, COUNTY, OR STATE GOVERNMENTS TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE STOCK OR TO PURCHASE THE BONDS OF RAILWAY CORPORATIONS, HAS BEEN ONE OF THE LEADING LEGAL QUESTIONS SETTLED BY THE COURTS DURING THE GROWTH OF THE RAILWAY SYSTEM.

IT IS STATED THAT THE PROFITS OF THE SUGAR TRUST IN 1888 WERE \$14,000,000, WHILE THE PROFITS OF OUTSIDE REFINERIES WERE ONLY \$5,000,000.

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THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF SPECIALISTS ALREADY CHOSEN BY MR. PORTER, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE CENSUS, TO AID HIM IN CARRYING OUT THE WORK OF THE NEXT CENSUS:

MR. HENRY GANNET, OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, TO HAVE CHARGE OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL DEPARTMENT. THE MORTALITY AND VITAL STATISTICS ARE TO BE UNDER THE CHARGE OF DR. JOHN S. BILLINGS, OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY. SOCIAL STATISTICS ARE TO BE UNDER THE SPECIAL CARE OF MR. WILLIAM C. HUNT, OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BUREAU OF STATISTICS. EX-ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY J. K. UPTON, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, IS TO HAVE CHARGE OF THE STATISTICS OF STATE FINANCE AND INDEBTEDNESS. THE STATISTICS OF LOCAL FINANCES ARE TO BE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MR. FREDERICK W. KRÜSE, OF OLEAN, N.Y. THE STATISTICS OF THE WOOL AND WORSTED INDUSTRIES AND OF THE NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE TO BE UNDER THE CARE OF MR. S. N. D. NORTH, OF BOSTON, SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS. THE STATISTICS OF THE CLAY AND POTTERY INDUSTRIES OF THE COUNTRY ARE TO BE UNDER THE CARE OF MR. HENRY T. COOK, OF TRENTON, N.J., AND MR. HENRY BOWERS, OF PHILADELPHIA, SECRETARY OF THE CHEMICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES, IS TO HAVE CHARGE OF THE STATISTICS OF THE CHEMICAL AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES.

One of the early and leading cases in which this principle was laid down was in the supreme court of Pennsylvania. In that case a vote of aid by the city of Philadelphia to a railway corporation was disputed by a citizen of Philadelphia, on the grounds that, even with the legislative authority, the city had no right to invest the public funds in a private enterprise. In the case of *Sharpless vs. The Mayor of Philadelphia*, the supreme court held that such subscriptions authorized by the legislature was constitutional, solely upon the ground that they aided in the construction of a public highway. The court said:

A tax for a private purpose is unconstitutional, though it pass through the hands of public officers; and the people may be taxed for a public work, although it be under the direction of an individual or private corporation. The question, then, is whether the building of a railroad is a public or a private affair. The railroad is a public highway for the public benefit, and the right of a corporation to exact a uniform, stipulated, and reasonable toll from those who pass over it does not make its use a private one.

The natural and legitimate result of this declaration in favor of the railway was made by the same court in another case a few years later, in which the forfeiture of a railroad charter by act of the legislature was involved; and in this case the court declared the public character of the railway in the strongest terms. The lands for the road, the court said, "were taken for public use, otherwise they could not have been taken at all." The principle that railways were public highways was declared to be the full justification for appropriating land, for making municipal subscriptions, for fixing tolls, or for granting to corporations by individuals the right to build and operate such roads. "A public highway," said the court, "is not private property any more than a public office, and when the corporation forfeits its charter by abuse of its corporate privileges, or by any act in derogation of public rights, the public highway reverts to the control of the State and the franchises of the corporation in the road are extinguished."

It is an interesting fact that the decisions of the Pennsylvania supreme court in these two cases defining the public character of the railway were delivered by the very jurist who, thirty years later, astonished all the railroad advocates of the country by renewing the same declaration. Judge Jeremiah S. Black was not possessed of that facile lack of logic which enabled him to assert on the bench that railways were public highways for their own benefit, and to ignore the fact when it came to considering the public right over their operations. Having declared the public character of the railways in one case which aided the creation of one corporation, and in another which took away the charter from a corporation long since defunct, he knew that this principle was an axiom in the law which has created the railway system. He believed that the principles of law, which he himself had asserted on the bench for thirty years, and which, during the interim, had been entirely undisputed, were still governing principles in the operations of the railway. But the railway advocates and railway writers who build their theories on the principles that

whatever the corporations do is right; were prompt to condemn the principles which he enforced as a judge and avowed as a lawyer, as "old theories in law, modified by the necessities of modern progress." This makes it worth while to go on to later decisions and see to what extent this alleged modification has actually taken place.

While the ruling of Judge Black in the original case, in which he declared the constitutionality of city aid to a railroad on the ground of its public character, has been copied and followed by scores of decisions and by hundreds of cases in which taxes have been levied for that purpose, it has not been entirely undisputed; but with regard to the assertion of Mr. Craft and other railroad advocates, that this old principle of law has been modified by the lapse of time, it is pertinent to note that in two cases of equal prominence, and of comparatively recent date, the same principle has been avowed by the highest judicial authority in the land.

In the year 1872 three cases came before the United States courts in which that question was involved. Before these cases reached the United States court, the supreme court of the States in which they arose had held the levying of taxes and the use of public funds in railroad aid to be unconstitutional. These decisions were inspired by opposition to the corporations, and in the interest of the corporations they were taken into the United States court, and decisions were rendered on them by those tribunals. One case, that of *Talcott vs. The Township of Pine Grove*, did not reach the United States Supreme Court for the reason that the principle involved was decided by that tribunal in two others during the same year, in which Judge Emmons rendered his famous decision on the circuit bench; but while that decision is not so authoritative as the two others which were decided in the same year in the Supreme Court, it is worthy of notice for its remarkable citation of the host of authorities, in which the public character of the railway has been shown. Judge Emmons, in delivering his opinion, supported it by the citation of authorities in which the mere list of the cases declaring railroads to be public highways, and therefore proper subjects for public aid, occupies three pages of the legal report. Supported by these authorities, he made the following strong and emphatic declaration of the public character of the railway, which completely destroys all the fine-spun arguments of the railway advocates:

The road once constructed is *instante* and by mere force of the grant of law embodied in the governmental agencies and dedicated to public use. All and singular, its cars and its rights of way, and property of every description—real, personal, and mixed—are but a trust fund for the political power, like the functions of a public office. The judicial trustee, the corporation created by the sovereign power expressly for this sole purpose, and no other, is, in the most strict technical and legal sense, but its trustee. This is the primary and sole legal and political motive for its creation. The incidental interests and profits of individuals are accidents, both in theory and in practice.

In the same year in which this strong declara-

tion of the public character of the railways was made by the United States circuit court, two of similar character came before and was decided by the United States Supreme Court. As in the former case, the State court had declared against the constitutionality of the public tax for railway aid, and the United States Supreme Court reversed the decision of the State court. The decision was given by Justice Strong, who has never been held to be a judicial opponent of the corporations, and it was concurred in by Justice Field, whose reputation as a judge inclined to take favorable views of corporate privileges is national. The declaration, therefore, of the public-highway principle, as applied to the railways, can not be held to be inspired by adverse views to the corporations, and the principle thus set forth, for the interests of the corporation, is so much the more to be taken as entirely binding upon them. With this preliminary, it is interesting to find that the opinion in *Olcott vs. The Supervisors* contains the following unqualified statement of the principles which these articles are supporting. "Undoubtedly," says the court, "taxes may not be laid for a private use," but it goes on to state:

That railroads where constructed by private corporations, and owned by them, are public highways, has been the doctrine of nearly all the courts ever since such conveniences for passage and transportation have had any existence. Very early the question arose whether a State right of eminent domain could be exercised by private corporation created for the purpose of constructing a railroad. Clearly it could not, unless taking lands for such a purpose by such an agency is taking land for public use. The reason why the use has always been held a public one, is that such a road is a highway; so turnpikes, bridges, ferries, and canals, though made by individuals under public grant, or by companies, are regarded as *publici juris*. The right to exact tolls or charge freight is granted for a service to the public. The owners may be private companies, but they are compellable to permit the public to use their work in the manner in which that work can be used.

Upon the reasons so set forth the United States Supreme Court held in two cases in 1872, as stated in the syllabus, that "the railroad is a public highway. Used so, and thus a road for public use. A State may impose a tax in furtherance of that use."

This ought to settle the legal status of the railway. If it were necessary, the list of cases declaring the railroads to be public highways might, as Justice Redfield says in his work on the law of railways, "be multiplied almost to infinity," but it is not necessary, to do so. The cases which we have cited are decisive. In the first case which came before the United States Supreme Court, early in the railroad era, the railroad was declared to be a public highway; in the last case in which this principle was involved, only a decade and a half ago, the same principle was declared in even stronger terms. It is to be noticed that those eminent jurists, Justices Strong and Field, and Judge Emmons, do not follow Mr. Craft's theory that a railroad is not a public highway as a county road is. On the contrary, they declare that it is such a public highway in all its legal obligations and in its foundation upon the same legal principles. If they are not public highways, Judge Strong declares that neither could taxes

be levied nor the sovereign power of eminent domain exercised in their behalf; but as they are public highways the exercise of those powers has been legal. Judge Emmons makes a stronger declaration of the doctrine in asserting that the railroad and all its property is "but a trust fund" of which the corporation is "in the most strict technical and legal sense but its trustee;" while the property rights of the corporation are "accidents both in theory and in practice." After these decisions have been read and digested, the theories of Messrs. Craft and Curtis denying the public character of the railroad have very little left to them.

The idea that the railroads could be declared public highways solely for their own benefit, and freed from the obligations attaching to that character when it comes to their regulation in the public interest, would be simply a monstrous distortion of law for the benefit of the corporation; yet that is practically what the railway advocates hold, in declaring that they could be considered public highways for the exercise of the power of eminent domain and the receipt of public subscription, but are not subject to the rights of the public. It so happens that any such fallacy as that is entirely answered by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, both in the early and in the late cases. "The declaration in the charter that the Camden and Amboy is a public highway does not make it so, if the effect of the charter is to give its exclusive use to the corporation," said Justice Baldwin; and thirty years later Justice Strong asserts that the claim that they are "public only with respect to the power of eminent domain" is a mistake. "In their very nature they are public highways." All such attempts to avoid the obligations imposed by the public character of the railroad are exposed by the decisions given for their benefit. The courts are unanimous and overwhelming. The principle is beyond dispute. Every railroad must be a public highway.

After such a system is completed it will be but another step to National co-operation. National co-operation is the key that will unlock the door that leads to freedom to the farmer. With a perfect system of organization and a safe system of National co-operation we can accomplish our own redemption. Without it we need have no hope of timely relief. We realize the effect the money power is having on our destiny, and we need not hope for reform for years yet through our laws. It is much easier to fall down hill than it is to climb up hill; so it is much easier for the working man to lose his prospects for prosperity through neglect than it is for him to recover them through the most desperate exertion. So far the people are not well enough educated in their condition and the remedies to put forth even mild efforts at reform. Our only hope is to postpone the fatal day as long as possible, trusting that, through education, they may be made to see the cause and apply the remedy. With a just system of National co-operation we can evade the effects of a contracted currency and transact the larger part of our business without money. I have but little idea of the principles of banking or the clearing-house system; but, with that system in vogue between the States, most of our products could be marketed with but little money. All exchanges between the grain-growing States and the rice and sugar-growing States could be made with but little more than the cost of freights and the commissions. The system might be extended still fur-

A Step Toward a Farmers' National Exchange.

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

Would it not be well to begin a solidifying process in the business enterprises of the organizations composing the Alliance, Wheel, and Union? As matters now stand, we are like a vast army composed of separate and distinct companies, without any formation into regiments, brigades, or corps. It is true we have the subordinate, the county, the State, and the National organization, each with its head, but the connection between these is loose and indefinite. Each State organization should have a complete annual directory in which every president's and secretary's name and post-office address, together with the name and number of his lodge, should appear. This directory should be among the property of every subordinate body, and should be accessible to every member of that body. A directory of the officers of the county organizations of the different States should be compiled for the use of the National body, and a copy should be in the hands of the secretary of each State organization, as well as each county organization, and these should be accessible to any member in good standing.

With a perfect system of enrollment, the usefulness of the order would be greatly enhanced, and a system of education and co-operation augmented that can not otherwise be.

To the above system might very appropriately be added a directory of all the co-operative stores, factories, agencies, etc., that are in operation under control of the members of the order. Our people need light, and without a more perfect system of organization it is almost impossible to disseminate information among the brethren. With such a system the organization can be crystallized and unified more thoroughly than can be done by twice as many lecturers as are now in the field. We are a wild rabble with but little discipline and but a poor system of education. We should be so thoroughly systematized that the secretary of the National could convey a document to the secretary of any Alliance, Union, or Wheel in the United States without delay, and that the secretary of any subordinate in the United States could correspond with the secretary of any other subordinate body.

Every railroad must be a public highway.

The law, it is to be observed, has not been modified by modern progress, or relegated to the limbo of antediluvian principles. So far as the practice of the railroads in disregarding the public rights growing out of their public character are concerned, it has simply been ignored. But the railroad practice itself continues to recognize the full force and value of the principle for their own benefit. Every legal proceeding for the condemnation of railroad rights of way declares the railroad to be a public highway, now as it did fifty years ago. Every collection of taxes to pay interest or principal on bonds issued by States, counties, or cities in aid of railroad construction renews the declaration that the railroads are public highways.

Rightly understood these judicial assertions of the conditions on which the railways were created constitute a more binding obligation, and furnish a more comprehensive penalty for the disregard of that obligation, than can be imposed by any statute law. When a corporation has obtained first its very right to exist, and next, in a vast group of cases, substantial financial considerations upon these essential and indefeasible conditions, the non-fulfillment of the conditions necessarily wipes out the contract. After the solemn compact, as laid down at the start, by which the railroads were to be public highways, their neglect or refusal to respect or fulfill that character means the voiding of their charters, and the crushing penalty to them of corporate extinction.

ther, and in contracts for articles of manufacture part payment might be made in the produce of the farm without the use of money. Of course, my ideas on this subject are crude and undeveloped, but I offer them as suggestions for wiser heads than mine, hoping that they will be polished up and offered at some future time in practical form.

I wish to offer another thought here, which I think can be taken up and acted upon during this summer in some States to the advancement of the cause now, and as a nucleus around which a National system of co-operation can be built in the near future. Most of our States organized have set up some form of co-operation, and many co-operative stores are scattered over them. Most of these stores are acting independently, and many of them are (like the one I am in charge of) under the management of men who have had but little, if any, experience in the mercantile business. These are having much to discourage them, and need all the help they can get. The stockholders of these stores should arrange it so that the managers of all of them could meet in convention and compare notes. There are a thousand and one questions that they should discuss and be agreed on, and the expense of the convention would be repaid a hundred-fold in the increased success of their business after such a convention was held. This convention should also include the manager and directors of the State corporations. All classes of business men have their meetings of this kind, and an improvement in their plans and management is the result. In such a meeting there should enter no spirit of rivalry, but each should go in as a humble student, expecting to give up some pet theory and take in its stead something from the experience of some brother. A uniform system should be adopted, and I know of no better than the system adopted by our store—that is, profit-sharing with the customers.

Next, after each State has held such a convention and gotten all its co-operative enterprises into a system, the different State Associations might hold a convention of managers and directors and develop a system of interstate co-operation, which could be finally developed into a beautiful system of National co-operation, and a sanguine man might hope that it would end in a system in which producers of all kinds might unite and freeze out the middle-man, speculator, and money-shark, leaving the surplus wealth where it rightly belongs—in the hands of the producer.

The needs of the hour are education and co-operation. Without the first you can not expect the second. Without a perfect organization you can not expect to educate.

In the decade from 1790 to 1800 the ratio of births has been found to have been 3.05 per cent. From that time to the decade from 1870 to 1880 it has diminished to 2.01. The capacity of reproduction in the United States has diminished over 33 per cent. in one hundred years. In the early part of the century the annual ratio of immigration was about 1 per cent. for over forty years. During the latter half of the century the ratio has increased to 10 per cent. Suppose these conditions to continue for another century, what result may naturally be expected?

THE Insurance World records the fact that the Texas State board of underwriters has been dissolved on account of the ruling of the attorney-general of that State that the anti-trust law passed by the last legislature applies to such combinations and is intended to prohibit them.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

EDITED BY DR. M. G. ELZEY, OF WOODSTOCK, N. D.

STATE EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

The State experiment stations established by act of Congress in connection with the State agricultural colleges have been for the most part organized and in some fashion set to work. It is neither to be hoped nor expected that these preliminary organizations will in all cases stand the test of time, nor that the elementary work at first accomplished will ever in a majority of cases amount to much. In some cases men have been appointed to direct the work who will prove incapable; their work will be of no consequence; they will be recognized as failures, and they will be replaced in some cases by others, who, like themselves, foredoomed to failure, will be in their turn replaced, until by trial and test and the workings of experience the right man is found. In the meantime many practical men will lose all faith in the whole scheme and will begin to decry the useless waste of money expended for salaries and material which ought to be applied to some practical use. It need not be supposed that rapid and brilliant successes are to be achieved. Time will be necessary to reach important results and to correct inevitable mistakes in the selection of men for the work. Extravagant public expectations have been raised by the boastful declamations and profuse promises of men having no knowledge of experimental work on the one hand nor of the needs of practical agriculture on the other. In fact, men personally skilled and practiced in some one branch of science, with good all-around knowledge of the methods and results of modern science in general, and having at the same time extensive practical knowledge of the business of farming, are few and far between. Yet it is just such a man who is wanted for the director of an experiment station. It is essential that a scientific man shall be known as having technical skill and learning in some one branch of scientific research.

When time has been allowed for the correction of such inevitable errors, for the discovery of one of the few men well equipped for the undertaking, to direct the work to practical ends, it will begin to appear that a sub-station in each State, working in harmony with a National station at Washington, and to a certain extent under its advisory supervision, will constitute a co-operative plan of scientific research extending its work into every part of the country. With such a corps of trained scientists so working together to a common end, it can not be doubted that important practical and economic results must be reached. These results will all follow the same trend in the direction of cheapening the cost of the production of the world's food supply and of wearing apparel for the people, and so lifting from the shoulders of the great mass of mankind a portion, at least, of life's heaviest burdens. The most thoughtful statesmen do not, perhaps, at all times fully realize that the utmost toil and endeavor is demanded of millions of their fellow-men merely to obtain necessary food and necessary clothing. It can not be too often or too strongly impressed upon the rich and the well-to-do that all public expenditures, made even with the hope of cheapening life's necessities for the poor, should be met with cheerful alacrity. It is easy to discredit a valuable work in the public mind by reckless and ignorant criticism of which any mouthy bedlamite is capable. On the other hand, fair criticism and helpful suggestion from any reputable and competent source is eagerly welcomed by every right-minded person connected with public work of any sort. It is

easy to embarrass, to frustrate, to pull down the most important work, even by perfectly incompetent hostile criticism. Reckless and incompetent writers are always to be found ready to run a muck in any case whereby attention may be attracted to themselves.

It is most unfortunate that such destructive criticism, however reckless, however incompetent, however malicious it may be, and no matter by what interested or sinister motives inspired, is sure to command attention, inspire belief, and attract sympathy from every sort of people. In these columns no sympathy will be shown for such criticism. One of the greatest evils connected with the license given to this sort of thing is that it detracts from the dignity and force of legitimate criticism and weakens the influence and power of the press for good. It is necessary that any person who stands in the way of progress in any public work, whether from incompetency, unfitness, or neglect of duty, shall be held to account at the bar of public opinion; but when the press assumes, as it were, the duty of public prosecutor, it is necessary that the grounds of procedure shall be indisputably important and incontestably just. These stations are endowed by Congress for the public benefit, not only of the State in which they are located, but for the benefit also of all the people of the United States. Those therefore charged with the duty of appointing their officers, if they permit any other consideration to outweigh capacity and fitness for the work, are guilty of serious misfeasance and breach of public trust, and in their behalf no defense can be made. If any appointee shall be found incapable, as soon as he realizes the fact himself he ought to resign; as soon as the fact is recognized by the trustees, they ought to act upon it without waiting for public clamor to unseat their appointee. That mistakes of this sort have been made and will have to be corrected, there can be no doubt, and they should be corrected as soon as recognized, without the least delay or hesitation.

The law requires that the line of research shall include experiments in the physiology of animals and of plants. In order that such experiments shall have any value they must be made by an expert physiologist. It ought not to be supposed that a chemist, however accomplished as a chemist, is able to conduct experiments in physiology; yet it seems to be so supposed, for we hear of stations being organized by the election of a director and a chemist. In some cases these officers have been merely a president and professor of chemistry, or professor of agriculture of the college faculty. Such an organization will never stand the test of time. The officers of the station should be separate and distinct from the officers of the college. The financial affairs of the two concerns must be kept completely apart. If the time of a man be paid for out of the college purse, no part of his time belongs to the station. If his time be paid for out of the station purse, all his time belongs to the station. If this line of separation be allowed to become indistinct, there will certainly arise trouble and hostile criticism as to an evasion of the law for the benefit of the college at the expense of the station, or for the benefit of the station at the expense of the college, as the case may happen to be. A station must have to carry into effect the purposes of the law, first, a director; second, a chemist; third, a physiologist; and without these three, whose entire time shall be devoted to the proper work of the station, it can not be organized according to the law. In time, without question, each station will be provided with a skilled investigator in veterinary science, especially in the direction of preventive medicine as applied to the domestic animals, many of the diseases of which are, as is known, communicable to man, and often with fatal results. With fully equipped stations at work in each

State, and with a National station to review the whole work and assist in disseminating a knowledge of practical results so obtained among the people at large, there is no reasonable doubt that valuable and important results will rapidly accrue. It will, indeed, be long before the great mass of agriculturists will accept and act upon the results when verified. They must be educated up to that point. The officers of the stations, and especially the directors, will overlook an important part of their duty if they fail to do whatever lies in their power to so educate them. Undoubtedly great discouragement will lie in their way. The apathy of the farmers themselves will be the most difficult thing to overcome, and there will be demanded for this up-hill work, endless patience, superlative tact, and popular talents on the part of these officers. It will be not until a great part of the present generation are dead that the truth will be accepted, that agriculture is a really scientific pursuit, deserving to rank among the learned professions and even standing at the head of the list of applied sciences, and the most intellectual of all human occupations, as it is admitted to be the most ancient, the most illustrious, and the most necessary. These things are nevertheless strictly true, and their truth will one day be universally felt and acknowledged. But until the true position of agriculture as a science and as a learned profession is understood by agriculturists themselves, it can not be expected that it will be admitted by others. Farmers continually are crying down their own profession; they too often despise it in their own hearts, and speak of it as though it were a mere manual labor occupation consisting of submitted drudgery, and affording no scope to the intellectual faculties. Besides being a gross error, this is a downright shame. Agriculture must be admitted among learned professions.

MODERN CONVENiences IN COUNTRY LIFE.

The entire absence of everything like modern conveniences about many country homes is at this late day a conspicuous and melancholy fact. It accounts for much of the difficulty of procuring and keeping help, and for the greater difficulty of keeping the wife and daughters of the country gentleman from giving up in despair. Seeking to better their condition, they advocate the abandonment and sale of their home and removal to some town or city where things can not go worse with them, and they fain hope may turn out better. Arrived there, in a majority of cases the bitterest disappointments await them. The country gentleman having soon expended the proceeds of the sale of his home, degenerates into a chronic place-seeker who never gets a place. Really unfit for any of the employments of town life, and too old to learn a new trade, he degenerates into a "dead beat," and the burden of his maintenance is thrown upon his wife and daughters. His sons work out for their victuals and clothes, and a life of the bitterest toil and care scarcely provides food to go around and decent garments to wear. In case of sickness, so sure to follow, nothing is left but in one form or another an appeal to charity, which generally takes the form of employing a physician without any hope of paying him. The last state of things is not better, but worse, than the first. There are hundreds of families whose post-bellum history is known to the writer to furnish complete verification of the above details. Very probably the cost of the railroad tickets which brought the family to town would have brought the water from the far-off spring at the foot of the steep and slippery hill to a tank at the kitchen door, whence a ready supply, both hot and cold, for kitchen and bathroom purposes would be always at hand, and that fact would probably have secured help, and, what is more, satisfied help in the kitchen.

On the table before us lies the June number of a monthly magazine, styled Recreation; a monthly exponent of the higher literature of

A cheap, safe, small power on the farm would have enabled a wood supply for winter use to be sawed and packed in the cellar or woodshed with covered way at a small expense and with little labor. Cooks know the difference between water inside the kitchen and water 200 yards off at the bottom of a steep hill, and so do housemaids. They know the difference between a supply of seasoned wood, dry and under cover, and a lot of green logs ankle deep in slush-mud at the wood-pile. A man who can, but does not, provide a water supply in the house and winter's wood under roof at the beginning of winter in a country home in a certain sense maltreats his wife. These things will pay for themselves in the saving of doctor's bills and funeral expenses within ten years. They will pay for themselves ten times over in one year in the increased happiness of the household. These things are hygienic and sanitary measures of the first importance. If in the two essentials of fuel and water our country homes were what they ought to be the old charm would so far return to them that the exodus from them to crowded cities would be rapidly reduced. We have merely selected these two points in household economy to illustrate the general fact that our country life is lacking in modern conveniences, and that the adoption of small powers and improved machines and methods in all farm economies would shortly revolutionize country living, and would bring back to it much of the old charm which it has lost by unfavorable contrast in all these particulars with modern urban life. Everywhere wind-power, water-power, and the secondary power of electricity run to waste, whereas they might do a great part of the work of tired servants, and do it better and cheaper, in respectful silence.

The objection to wind and water power is that they are unstable; now too much power, presently not enough, by and by none; then again, just right. Nevertheless they are cheap, and in the development of the storage battery their power may be stored away to be used as wanted. Let the wind-mill run when the wind blows to store electricity, which may be used when there is no wind and power is wanted. So too of water-power. The stored electricity, moreover, is free to a great degree from the vexing and violent oscillation of the wind and water powers, especially the former. Gas-engines, hot-air engines, and steam-engines of small power may even at present be used economically as labor-savers in numerous operations on the farm, and, as now made, are very safe, due precaution being taken about fire. In some dairies the bull stands day and night idle, chained up in his stall until brought out to serve a cow. He has too much food and too little exercise to be in vigorous health. No wonder the cows abort. In other dairies a railway tread-power suitable to the size and weight of the bull is kept. Every day he works that power to cut food, run separator, churn, and do other work; so not only earning his food, but wages, and also being in full health, vigor, and virility, the cows do not abort. *Verbum sapientis satis est.* For the utilization of modern conveniences and modern inventions to supersede drudgery there is no place like the farm and country home.

WHEN WE LEARN TO AVAIL OURSELVES OF ALL THE CONVENiences, ALL THE LABOR-SAVERS AND SUBSTITUTES FOR LABOR, ALL THE SANITARY IMPROVEMENTS AND HYGIENIC ADVANTAGES, ALL THE LUXURIES, ALL THE EMBELLISHMENTS WHICH MODERN PROGRESS HAS MADE POSSIBLE TO US, THE OLD HOME, REGENERATED, RENEWED, BEAUTIFIED, ADORNED, WILL BE HAPPIER AND MORE DELIGHTFUL AND DEARER THAN EVER.

RECREATION.

On the table before us lies the June number of a monthly magazine, styled Recreation; a monthly exponent of the higher literature of

manly sport. "Idleness is not rest; recreation involves motion." Of this magazine, our long-time friend, the brilliant and versatile Charles Hallock, is one of the editors. The other is Mr. Fred E. Pond, widely known as "Will Wildwood." That this magazine will be a valuable addition to the collection of periodicals suited to the taste of the country gentleman, there is no doubt. It proposes to deal with the philosophy of manly sport, as a means of rest and recreation. Its title-page reminds us of a profound truth, viz., that "idleness is not rest." The one person of all others known to the writer who spent the most idle life seemed always weary. He used to declare that he was always tired, tired now, and born tired. The philosophy of rest is a thing sung about by poets, but since Moses little studied or understood by philosophers and statesmen. "Tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep," is by them deemed all the rest needful for man during his allotted threescore years and ten. And even to sleep they would have us give grudgingly only half the hours demanded by nature, until at length, prematurely old, we begin to contemplate death as the only actual release from toil and care. In that view of the case

"How beautiful is death!
Death and his brother, sleep."

Nevertheless, he that is wise will seek rest in recreation which is manly and pure, and not in idleness, ever the handmaiden of vice. We have had it in mind to present to our readers some thoughts on the Sabbath, as made for man, not man for the Sabbath, as growing out of a physiological demand for rest, which is but another name for recreation, manly and clean and harmless.

No modern statesman has given us so noble a defense of the Sabbath as made for man as does Macaulay. In a speech in the House of Commons in favor of more rest and recreation for the nation's workers he viewed man as the greatest of machines, and effective at every species of work in exact proportion to bodily and mental vigor. He laughed to scorn the idea of competition of Germany with British manufacturers while their factory hands worked eighteen hours a day, with the result, as he showed, that they were dwarfed in stature and enfeebled in mind; and he declared that if the English people were ever outstripped in their manufactured products and beaten in the great markets of Christendom it would be by a nation superior to them in physical and mental endowments and not by a nation of physical dwarfs and mental imbeciles. Nothing is more needed in our country to-day than legislation in behalf of workingmen based on sound principles of philosophy and humanity and free from every trace of the foulness of demagogism. "Fecund inceptu fecund in exitu." Things which are foul in their origination are foul in their outcome. Now, therefore, we recommend to our readers this magazine, Recreation, in its capacity as "a monthly exponent of the higher literature of manly sport," seeing that "idleness is not rest," and that recreation involves a change of activities.

A THUNDERBOLT.

Some hours ago the writer sat in the seat where he now writes, the open window before him. A little child was playing on the grass under an old tree. The sun was shining, and light clouds overhead, high and harmless looking. Not a drop of rain had fallen, none was then falling within five or six miles, and none fell for at least an hour. Angry clouds were growling at the edge of the horizon, and late in the afternoon there might be a storm. Suddenly a ball of fire descended from heaven; there was an appalling crash, and a tree 200 feet off was shivered to atoms. There had been no flash of lightning, no peal of thunder before, and there

was none after for some hours within less than six to ten miles of this place. Last summer a tree standing within a few feet of the same spot was in like manner shattered, but a storm was then raging with great fury. In the present instance it was a clap of thunder from a clear sky. Last summer a man was reported killed in Baltimore under similar circumstances. Such cases teach us that we should avoid dangerous spots, as under a tree, when storms are approaching, even before it begins to rain, and when they are passing off, even after it has ceased to rain. Within the experience of the writer are several accidents from lightning under circumstances somewhat similar. Indeed, it sometimes appears that when a storm is just coming on, and again just when it is passing off, are peculiarly dangerous moments. Lightning may go anywhere, and no man can tell just when or where the bolt of death may fall; but there are places known to be peculiarly dangerous, as under a tree or before a chimney, and good sense dictates their avoidance.

Knox County, Missouri.

J. C. Custer, chairman of the executive committee and organizing officer of the county Alliance of Knox County, Missouri, reports the organization of the county Alliance of that county at Novelty, on the 1st inst. "The meeting was harmonious, enthusiastic, and business-like. The officers and members of the Alliance are determined to repel incursions upon their rights without the spirit of retaliation. Resolutions against trusts were unanimously adopted. Live and let live, is our motto. THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST was highly commended." Committee on resolutions reported, which was accepted without a dissenting voice:

Whereas, Having been taught by experience that the plain people is our country's sure hope, especially in time of need; and that salvation from peril must be worked out by their loyal faith and willing sacrifices; and,

Whereas, This Government is our Government, and any existing administration is our administration, regardless of the political party that placed it in power: therefore be it

Resolved, That we, farmers of Knox County, Mo., verily believe that our only hope of defending our just and legitimate claims as tillers of the soil and toilers in the field lies in our better education and our complete organization into one common brotherhood.

2. That the farming, laboring classes of this country form the conserving element whose power must stand between the Nation and its dangers which now threaten from unrestricted greed of influential monopolists, who defy law, and trample upon the principles of justice, in methods of acquiring the wealth that others create.

3. That we realize the fact of the existence of trusts, created to compel us to pay exorbitant prices, and we pledge ourselves to purchase nothing at trust prices unless actually compelled to do so.

Officers were then elected as follows: President, A. Kinman; vice-president, D. P. Six; secretary, W. D. Six; chaplain, M. L. Cockrum; treasurer, R. P. Johnson; lecturer, Asa Blanchard; assistant lecturer, C. G. McCoy; door-keeper, C. E. Rhoades; assistant door-keeper, T. B. Bowen; business agent, Asa Blanchard; sergeant-at-arms, G. W. Bowman. Officers were then duly installed.

T. A. CLAYTON,

Agent of the Farmers Union Commercial Association of Louisiana, Limited,

198 Gravier St., New Orleans, La.
Headquarters for purchase of Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, and Rice, and for sale of Cotton, Staves, and all Country Produce.

Step 1

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 12.

The two wings of the Capitol are occupied by the two Houses of Congress. The House of Representatives occupies the south wing and the Senate the north. The hall of the House of Representatives is located in the center of the south wing; it is in the form of a square, and is surrounded by capacious lobbies and galleries extending entirely around it. The hall is 139 feet long; 93 feet wide, and 36 feet high. The ceiling is formed of iron girders and cross pieces, forming square panels, which are set in stained glass, on which are displayed the coats of arms of the various States. Thus the entire ceiling is an immense skylight, and a flood of soft rays pour through it, lighting the vast hall perfectly. When there is a night session the hall is illuminated by 1,500 gas jets placed above the ceiling, and the light is softened by penetrating the frosted glass. The walls are set in front of the main wall and rise only about 12 feet to the galleries, which extend all around, and rest upon the inner wall. This inner wall is divided into panels by the doorways from the corridors, and these panels are elaborately ornamented in frescoes and gilt. The frescoes are in the most delicate tints and are arabesque designs. The top of the inner walls is finished by an elegant cornice, and surrounded by a balustrade which guards the galleries. In the panels to the right and left of the Speaker's platform are two grand landscapes, the production of the genius of Albert Bierstadt, America's greatest landscape painter. One of these illustrates the settlement of California and the other the discovery of the Hudson River. Both of these are masterpieces, very large, and immensely valuable. In other panels, on the same side, are a full-length portrait of Washington by Vanderlyn, and one of Lafayette by Ary Scheffer. A fresco of Washington at Yorktown by Brumidi occupies another panel. This fresco is signed: A. Brumidi, a citizen of the United States. The artist, although born under the sunny skies of classic Italy, wanted it recorded on the monument of the Nation and his genius that he was a citizen of the land to which he gave his best work and the best years of his life.

The desks and chairs of the members occupy the greater portion of the floor, and are arranged in semi-circular rows facing the Speaker's desk. The Speaker sits behind a white marble desk, upon a raised platform. At his right hand, upon a marble pedestal, is his emblem of authority, the time-honored mace.

The mace was adopted by the House in the First Congress, and has been in use ever since. When it is placed on its pedestal it signifies that the House is in session and under the Speaker's authority; when it is placed on the floor, that the House is in Committee of the Whole.

The mace is a bundle of black rods, fastened with transverse bands of silver like the Roman fasces. On its top is a silver globe surmounted by a silver eagle. When the Sergeant-at-Arms is executing the commands of the Speaker he is required to bear aloft the mace in his hands.

The galleries of the House of Representatives, as has been stated, extend entirely around the hall but separated by partitions into divisions. The division immediately over the Speaker's desk, and facing the desks of the Members, is reserved for the press and is supplied with desks for the convenience of reporters. A division is reserved for the members of foreign legations, one for the invited guests of Members, one for ladies especially, and one is open to the general public. The seating capacity of the galleries is 1,300. The divisions are marked off by light wire screens which do not interfere with the circulation of air or a perfect view of the whole from any point. The galleries are entered by numerous doors opening into the upper corridor, and each door is in charge of an assistant door-keeper who is always polite and attentive to visitors.

At the rear of the hall is the Members' retiring room. This is a magnificent apartment, gorgeous in marble and gold. The walls are of highly polished marble, relieved by paneled pilasters which are surrounded by elegantly carved capitals upon which rests the cornice which supports the ceiling. This cornice is of marble, elaborate in design, and massive in appearance. The room is divided by a half partition, formed by two marble columns flanked by marble panels. The ceiling of one room is formed of carved and ornamented marble panels, and the other is a groined arch. Magnificent mirrors, of the most perfect plate-glass, are let into the walls and surrounded by elaborately carved moldings of gilt. The gas fixtures are elegant and ornamental, all in gilt, and sufficient for the most brilliant illumination. The floor is in elegant designs of colored tile, which give a rich and brilliant effect to the whole. The coldness and barrenness is relieved by luxurious Persian rugs, rich in color and design, while drapery to correspond relieves the windows. The furniture is luxurious and elegant, upholstered in Russia leather, with little ornamentation, but massive and durable. The effect of the elaborate gilding on the marble carving of the panels is especially rich. The rooms for the various officials of the House open from the main corridor and are plainly though richly finished and furnished.

Leading from the corridor on the main floor to the galleries of the House are two grand staircases, one on the east side and one on the west. At the foot of the eastern staircase is a statue in marble of Thomas Jefferson, by Hiram Powers. This statue stands in a niche in the wall, inclosing the hall of the House of Representatives, and faces the staircase. The staircase ascends in a broad sweep toward the main wall and is of highly polished native marble, flanked with a magnificently carved balustrade of variegated Tennessee marble. Ponderous Corinthian columns stand at each side of the stair.

Upon the wall at the first landing is hung a colossal painting, by Frank B. Carpenter, of President Lincoln signing the proclamation of emancipation. This painting represents all the members of the Cabinet grouped about a table, and the portraits are said to be especially fine. The painting was sold by the artist for \$25,000.

The whole scene is real and tells volumes at a glance of the character of the people whose courage, energy, and sacrifices won for the Nation the mighty empire of the West. The coloring is rich and brilliant, the atmospheric effects and distances exquisite in the delicacy

of their rendering, and as one gazes on the scene the walls seem to expand and then to fade away, while before the enraptured observer the misty landscape stretches to the sleeping ocean, where the western sun is just sinking to his rest in all the golden splendor of the Occident. The mighty mountains raise their misty peaks into the azure depth above, and the distant crests blend softly into atmospheric tints. The rocks and mighty trees stand out in startling boldness, while the sunlight plays in brilliant color and a thousand tints upon the distant plain, until, receding, all are lost and blended in the soft, pearl gray which veils the far unknown.

This picture is one of the most striking objects of interest in the Capitol, and is especially interesting to the people of the West, the descendants of those brave hearts who endured so much that their posterity might enjoy all the blessings nature bestows upon her children; and whose grand courage, energy, and virtue made the present possible and real.

Facing this grand staircase, upon the inner wall, is a bust of an Indian in bronze, a fitting accompaniment to the scene on which he looks. Naturally the thought arises, where are now these people into whose keeping nature gave this grand domain? Were they unfaithful to their trust, and was the white man sent by the stern Nemesis to visit vengeance upon a guilty race, which had failed to improve the bountiful blessings that had been bestowed upon them? Or is the white man but a heartless robber, the murderer of a race, a very beast of prey, an ungrateful reptile that has stung to death the kindly hearts which cherished him in his misery and misfortune? Could he not have taken this kindly race along upon his march toward the grand goal to which his civilization seems to tend? Could he not have, in some degree, returned the hospitality so generously extended him, and raised his deliverer to a better life, shared with him the inestimable gifts of nature, and brought him, too, to that exalted plane which mankind seems destined at some future time to reach? Or has the white man in his turn perpetrated a great and cruel crime, which in its turn must meet the punishment that nature never fails to judge against her creatures who defy her laws or disregard her teachings? May this selfishness and cruelty, exercised against a weaker race, not react upon those who practiced it, and in their turn bring them to suffer from the same cause operating in a different channel? Are our people not now suffering from this same selfishness and cruelty exercised against them by those of their own race? Is retribution?

The National Banks.

The following dispatch from Washington has been circulated by the newspapers of the country. It is a fair sample of the information daily sent out by correspondents in this city, and deserves consideration:

"Preparations are being made at the Treasury Department for the redemption of United States bonds and the decrease of the surplus by calling in bonds which are, in very many instances, held by National banks to secure circulation, without any view to the effect these redemptions will have upon the general circulation of currency. The redemptions of bonds during the past year amounted, in round numbers, to probably \$50,000,000, and it is probable that the redemptions during this year will aggregate an equal sum. Very many of the bonds deposited with the Treasurer to secure National bank circulation are 4½ per cents., which fall due in about three years. The rapid redemption of bonds, the increase in their value, and the lack of any kind of calculation on the part of Congress for relief for the banks, is creating a great deal of uneasiness, which is daily showing itself at the Treasury Department. If nothing is done at the first session of the Fifty-first Congress toward providing for a new basis for National bank circulation, the prospects are that the circulation will be almost obliterated. A majority of the banks have already decreased their circulation to the minimum, and the balance of them are preparing to follow the example. There is no profit in National bank circulation, and it is safe to predict that if there was a law, as has been proposed, providing that banks could deposit a nominal sum to secure nominal circulation simply to meet the requirements of the Constitution which enable the Federal laws to be extended over their management, they would accept it; and that where National banks now have two or three hundred thousand dollars in circulation they would have but one thousand dollars."

This question is one of the most serious which will confront the Fifty-first Congress. The last Congress would have provided a new basis for National bank circulation had it not been for such demagogues as Weaver, of Iowa, and Bland, of Missouri, who think that by fighting the circulating medium over the shoulders of the National banks they will gain favor with the ignorant people, who believe that any legislation providing for circulation through National banks is legislation in favor of monopolists. The intelligent reader understands that the Government has no way of circulating National bank currency except through National banks, and that whenever this currency is decreased in volume the volume which reaches the citizens is proportionally decreased, and that there is no way by which the circulating medium can be more readily and directly contracted than through National bank circulation.

"There are indications of an organized movement on the part of National bankers to compel Congress to take early action on this question. If it is delayed till a late day in the session there will be no legislation whatever. The question is not one of politics. It is one of supplying the people with a circulating medium—money."

Attention is called to the last paragraph. If there is "an organized movement on the part of National banks to compel Congress to take early action" to provide for a new basis for the National bank circulation, is it not time for an organized move on the part of the people to resist the evil effects of such organized move, and to bring an influence to bear in Congress in behalf of the people that will so purify Congress that it will not be compelled to yield to the bankers' demands? The Government should go back to a strict construction of the Constitution and issue the money, and not, as now, farm that privilege out to individuals.

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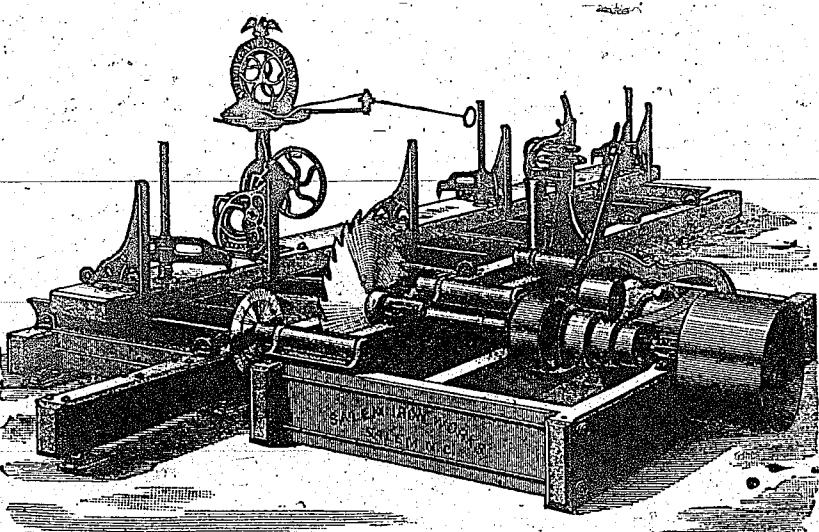
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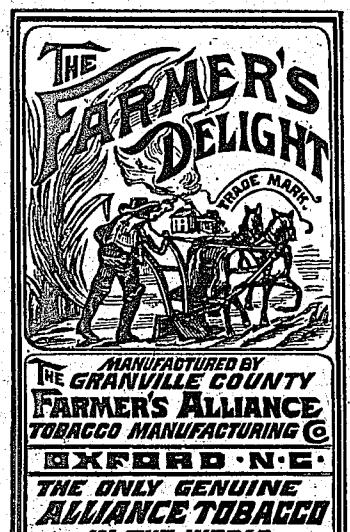
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Conservatism.

The era has passed, in the march of progress, in which those who achieved renown were successful by means of extreme views or measures. The popularity of the extremist belonged to an age in which man had not reached his present degree of development. The march of material progress and the development of a higher civilization have tended toward the substitution of wisdom and intelligence for brute force in the settlement of all differences, National and international as well as personal and local. He who to-day reaches the highest pinnacle of fame or enjoys the greatest degree of the confidence and esteem of his fellow-man must do so by means of a wise conservatism. No watchword or rallying cry will now arouse the masses to a hasty and unwise action prompted by an impulse that is created by class or other prejudice. In this age of education and literature, this pre-eminently practical age, in which every discovery is utilized to the utmost, the only appeal that will bring the masses into line and keep them there is an appeal to reason. Conservatism adds dignity and power to a literary production of any kind; it gives the individual added influence and prestige. Conservatism does not grow red in the face when it strikes, but it intelligently causes its blows to penetrate very deep. It is not all fuss and feathers; on the contrary it makes every move effective. Conservatism on the part of persons or measures may therefore be regarded as an indication of merit.

The student of history and current events must be very forcibly impressed with the probability of an impending crisis if present conditions are not to some extent modified. No populous country has ever long survived conditions whereby the greater portion of the lands were controlled by a few to the exclusion, and consequently enslavement, of the many, and a state of affairs in which the masses were debt-ridden, or impoverished and discontented, while a few enjoyed a great excess of wealth. Such conditions in the less enlightened periods of the world's history have invariably produced revolution, but revolution is now justly regarded as the "negation of all hope," on account of its expense and its evil effects; nevertheless, modern enlightenment may reach a point at which it will declare that "forbearance ceases to be a virtue" if oppressed too forcibly and too long. In view of all this, modern observers seem to be a unit in expecting the evolution, in the near future, of some very important and far-reaching reforms, and this condition of expectation seems also to permeate the ranks of the masses, until it may truly be said that everybody is cognizant of the prevalence of

depression owing to unjust conditions, and consequently everybody is expecting the inauguration of reform measures that will correct this tendency and displace the universal depression by contentment and prosperity. Realizing and anticipating this, there has sprung up all over the country an immense crop of self-styled reformers, who fulfill the adage that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread." Some of them do not hesitate to condemn the oldest and best established truths of economics. Others recommend sweeping changes that would not reform our system of government or its administration, but would actually substitute an entirely different and untried system, with as little hesitation as a duck would catch a fly, and certainly with no more wisdom. Others not only have changes to propose that would require the substitution of an entirely new form of government, but they are based on a radical change in the leading characteristics of human nature, a change that would substitute a model man morally for man as he naturally is,—this is practically one step in advance of the leopard changing his spots. A stereotyped cry with such reformers is that the masses are in a deep sleep, a perfect lethargy, and that they will not heed the cry of reform which is so vigorously made in their behalf. When accused of extravagance in their reform, and told that such ideals as they present must ever be purely utopian, they reply that the masses need to have the picture overdrawn in order to arouse them from this deep sleep. This is all wrong and shows a complete misconception of the true situation. The masses, and especially the rank and file of agriculturists, are not lethargic, neither are they in a deep sleep. They may at times be temporarily relaxed from excessive nausea caused by socialists labeling their pernicious doctrines as necessary and advisable reforms in the interest of agriculture, but they constantly have both eyes wide open and are straining them to the utmost to discover true reforms. If the self-styled reformer finds the people in a deep sleep the fault lies in such reformer and not in the people. It is because he is not conservative, because he presents a utopian ideal that is such a great innovation upon present conditions that it is of doubtful desirability and could only be achieved by revolution, while the masses of the people who are intelligent and conservative demand a gradual transition to the true condition, because that can be accomplished without violence or injustice to persons or interests. They realize that such transition can only be achieved by modification of present methods, and no proposed action or method can be accepted as a reform unless it be a practicable and just modification of present condi-

tions. Therefore, extremists who wildly propose a new form of government find that their extravagance strikes no responsive chord in the hearts of the practical thinking, conservative people. This is a demonstration of the fact that these questions will ultimately be correctly solved by the people, because the majority of the population are agriculturists, and their known conservatism, co-operating with the conservatism of the more intelligent of all other classes, is the hope of the country. He who blames the agriculturists for their slow and conservative ways is condemning a virtue upon which the very stability and perpetuation of this Government depends. Let the true reform be proposed, a reform that can beyond question be demonstrated as capable of correcting present evils without afflicting greater ones, a reform that is practical and fits exactly on the present plane reached in material progress and does not require the destruction of a greater part of our Government structure than it replaces, a reform that guarantees justice to all and injustice to none, and it will create the greatest awakening in this country that has ever been heard of.

The people expect it, they are waiting for it, they are ready and anxious for it, and will embrace it with vigor when the right plan is presented; but they and the country are to be congratulated that they possess a wisdom, judgment, and conservatism that will insure that they have the nerve to wait and suffer till a true remedy is presented, and that anarchy, socialism, and all kinds of crankism will be rejected, no matter how attractively labeled or by whatsoever self-sacrificing friend presented.

The agricultural and labor press of the country often fails to wield the influence and command the prestige it should because it has indiscriminately advocated reforms that were too sweeping or impracticable. Nothing can react more unfavorably on the publication of upon the reform movement than to get the ear of the people and then pour in a lot of visionary and impracticable trash labeled reform in the interest of agriculture. It is no excuse to say it was overdrawn purposely to arouse the people. They are already aroused, and have been for sometime, by the "stomach argument," and such stuff nauseates. They are practical and it will take practical methods to interest them.

Dreamers had better interest themselves with music and poetry. Reform is practical. It now means life or death. It must be instituted by practical men on practical methods. Therefore the greatest need of the hour, especially on the part of reformers, is conservatism.

The Scholar and the Schools.

Bishop Potter, of New York, has been made the butt of the press since his centennial sermon. The charge of pessimism, which the papers generally make against him, seems to be further sustained by his paper in the July Forum, in which he discusses "The Scholar in American Life." His conclusion that the American people are "raw, crude, unformed, half-grown," may well provoke a smile. Such a statement will not receive ready assent from people who feel that they are first in the march of enlightenment; that they are the most universally educated and strongest for defensive warfare of all the earth. The right reverend gentleman favors the idea that scholarship is *per se* a profession, and that the general tendency of our school system to prepare many to engage in scientific and literary pursuits as an avocation tends to lower its standing. The bishop makes a statement which can be construed into the manifest absurdity that, after one or two colleges are established, all additions operate upon the principle of the algebraic minus:

There are, in a single Western State to-day, some thirty-seven colleges, monuments of well-meant but ill-advised beneficence, no one of which, it is safe to say, will ever be likely to render a tithe of the service to true learning which it might have rendered if, instead of thirty-seven colleges, there had been one or two. For the purpose of a college, as we are wont to say, is to make scholars.

If the people outside the few who may adopt the calling of a scholar have one interest more strongly identified with education than all others, it is that opportunity should be as nearly universal as possible. Upon this theory all the State systems of education are based, and the demand grows with each year, not only that opportunity should be given to all the youth of the State, but that the standard shall be as high as the sum voted will allow. The average citizen feels that in making practical knowledge universal he is laying the surest foundation for the intelligent education of his children, and in turn for their children. Could the drift of sentiment on this subject be carried to its full result, the thirty-seven colleges, the existence of which the good bishop deplores, will each become equal to the best in existence, and the standard of the best need not be lowered in the slightest degree. Should the opportunities at the thirty-seven be less perfect than at the ideal two or three, there is still food for hope in the fact that the master scholars of all generations have become learned in what may be called by-paths, and the utmost universities have done has been to disseminate the truths revealed to solitary students in economics or physics. When the number of those who investigate is increased thirty-seven times, by opportunity of so many more of the young to participate, it is most reasonable to suppose that discoveries will be made and carried to their sequences with proportionate frequency.

It is evident that the bishop has a touch of the spirit of the guild, and is interested in the recognition which scholarship may receive at the hands of society. He desires that the "calling" shall receive a position of honor

in the social category. It does not appear that this is a nobler aspiration than that of other class organizations. If it be true that knowledge is a source of happiness independent of all else, then it would be better to make knowledge as nearly universal as possible.

The educational system of this country is developing each year, and as defects appear there is time for correction. The splendid provisions in the States can be made more available as the population increases, and it is no vain expectation that the cloud of illiteracy will be entirely removed from this country within the next decade. To expect that the result will be evil is unwarranted, else general education is a failure in its prime purpose, the preparation of men for citizenship.

A PROMINENT Western farmer says: "No farmers are not as prosperous as they have ever been; very few are making any percentage at all on their investments. Many of them are struggling to come out even, and think they have done well when they have lost nothing on the year's operations. Many others are falling behind year after year, as is shown by the decline of their stock, wearing out of their implements, decay and dilapidation of fences, buildings, etc." The Northern farmers are in no better condition. New York State sends commissioners into one-half her counties every year to value lands for taxation. Assessor-Wood says, on his return from this duty, that "in all the counties they visited they found a general depreciation of farm lands, and that the farms are growing less and less valuable, and nobody can see any prospect for improvement. Most of the farms are under mortgage and the outlook is that soon the old land-owners will be merely the tenants of the money-lender. While this is the case in the country the cities are piling up cash." This condition of agriculture is general throughout the Nation. There are many reasons why this sad condition exists, but it may be said in general that it is the result of shifting all the burden of unjust inequalities upon the farmer by means of thorough organization and harmonious action of all capitalistic interests. Lack of effective organization has made the farmer the prey of the capitalistic and speculative classes. It is this neglect that has driven the agricultural population to the very verge of bankruptcy. The time has at last come when the necessity is apparent and the Alliance is rapidly coming into a condition that will give the farmers the benefit so long needed and neglected. The Bagging Trust has already fallen before the organized assault, and such will surely be the fate of any organization the design of which is detrimental to agricultural interests if the farmers will only stand together. They, as a class, hold the balance of power. Combined, they are irresistible. How foolish, then, to allow themselves to be ruined while divided when the Alliance offers them a sure means of resistance and certain victory. But the leaven is working. Already the Alliance is organized in every section and its growth is phenomenal. By the December meeting in St. Louis all will be ready and a perfect consolidation effected; then acting harmoniously under wise leadership, with a clearly defined plan of action, the disenthralment of the agricultural classes will become easy of accomplishment.

When Xerxes had inspected his mighty army he turned to Demaratus and asked if he thought that the Greeks would dare to await the approach or would venture to fight an army that

History and Government.

No. 17.

The mighty host which personated the power of Persia and the East was a source of exaltation and pride to the autocrat whose will alone directed and commanded it. Its equal in numbers and appointment had never before been seen, nor has it ever been since. It was the most colossal military body ever gathered on the earth, and was enough to fill the head of a pampered autocrat with grand conceptions of his power and majesty.

Xerxes had given orders for the building of a bridge of boats across the Hellespont, which was but little more than a mile across at the point chosen. (This strait is now called the Dardanelles and lies between Turkey in Europe and Asia Minor.)

This bridge was scarcely completed before it was destroyed by a storm, and this accident so wrought upon Xerxes that he gave way to the most reckless fury and cruelty. He acted like a madman and had the heads of all the men who had been employed upon the work struck off. He even vented his impotent and childish rage upon the sea and ordered that the dashing waves be lashed with whips, as was the Persian custom with culprits. He then ordered a pair of fetters to be thrown into the sea to curb its future defiance of his will. After having given vent to his puerile and silly resentment he ordered two bridges to be constructed; one for the passage of the army, and the other for the trains and beasts of burden.

It may be considered certain that the men employed upon this work did it with the greatest caution and in the most approved manner, having, as they did, the fate of their unfortunate fellows before them as a warning. A description of the construction of this bridge is very interesting, but it has no bearing on our plan, and space will not allow such a recital.

When the whole work was completed the entire structure was bathed in perfume and strewed with myrtle. Xerxes poured a libation into the sea, turned his face to the east and worshipped the sun, which was the Persian deity; then throwing the vessel which had held his libation, together with a golden cup and a Persian scimitar, into the sea he went forward and ordered the army to follow.

This vast host was no less than seven days and seven nights passing over, while the officers quickened the movements of the troops by lashing them with whips, which was a common custom in the Persian army, and is to-day in the Oriental military system; the soldiers are treated as mere brutes.

Among those who followed Xerxes in this expedition was Demaratus, the exiled King of Sparta, who, though banished, was still true to his people and had merely taken refuge in Persia without being connected with the invasion of Greece. He was greatly respected by Xerxes and went on this expedition merely to observe, not to serve against his country.

When Xerxes had inspected his mighty army he turned to Demaratus and asked if he thought that the Greeks would dare to await the approach or would venture to fight an army that

drank up whole rivers on its march? Demaratus, before he answered, asked to know whether it was the King's pleasure that he should flatter him, or speak his thoughts freely and sincerely. Xerxes told him to speak candidly. "Then," said Demaratus, "since it is your command, I will speak with the utmost candor." Said he: "It must be confessed that from the beginning of time Greece has been trained up in and accustomed to poverty; but then she has introduced and established virtue within her territories, which wisdom cultivates and the spirit of her laws maintains; and it is by the use which Greece knows how to make of this virtue that she defends herself equally against the inconveniences of poverty and the yoke of servitude. But to speak only of the Lacedemonians, my particular countrymen, you may assure yourself that as they are born and bred up in liberty they will never listen to any proposals that tend to slavery. Though they were deserted and abandoned by all the other Grecians and reduced to a band of a thousand or even less numbers, they will still come out to meet you and not refuse to give you battle."

Xerxes laughed at this, as he could not comprehend how men, bred up in liberty and having no master to compel them to expose themselves to danger, could be induced to make such resistance. Demaratus replied: "The Spartans indeed are free and under no subjection to the will of any man; but at the same time they have laws, to which they are subject and to which they stand in greater awe than your subjects do of your majesty, and those laws are founded on justice to all. Now by these laws they are forbidden ever to fly in battle, let the number of their enemies be ever so great, and are commanded by abiding firm at their posts either to conquer or die." This greatly astonished Xerxes, who could not comprehend how any body of men would dare to face the mighty hosts under his command.

When the report of the advance of this powerful army was brought to Athens the Athenians and Lacedemonians sent messengers to the various states of Greece asking aid in opposing the common enemy. The Sicilians refused, fearing the Carthaginian, Amilcar, and his 300,000 men who threatened them. The Corcyreans pretended that they were wind bound and could not move their ships. The Cretans declared themselves neutral on the edict of the Delphic oracle. Thessaly and Macedonia were already in the power of the Persians. Athens and Sparta were again left alone to face the combined power of Oriental despotism. The little states of Platea and Thespia, alone of all Greece, came to the aid of the champions of liberty, and their aid was little indeed, as they were but small communities and could send but few men. The result of it all was that the entire army that could be mustered in defense of Grecian liberty numbered only eleven thousand two hundred men, and these were to meet the millions that did the bidding of the Oriental autocrat, but they were soldiers indeed; men bred amid danger and hardships, all determined to a man to conquer or die.

The command of this important post was given to Leonidas, one of the Kings of Sparta, and he had under his command four thousand men, all told. Of this number, only three hundred were Spartans, the rest were Boeotians, Corinthians, Phocians, and Arcadians. This force was taught to consider themselves but as a forlorn hope, to expect nothing but death, but by their desperate resistance teach the Persians what they might expect from the desperate valor of the combined Greeks.

It had been declared by the oracles that to secure the safety of Greece it was necessary that a king, one of the descendants of Hercules, should die. Leonidas gloriously devoted himself as this sacrifice; and when he marched out

of Sparta he considered himself a willing victim to be offered up for the salvation of his country.

Xerxes continued his triumphal march with his immense army flushed with success and confident of final victory. He expected no resistance, and led his mighty hosts more to intimidate and overawe the helpless Greeks to fight. Little did he dream of the sleeping lion in his path, which would soon arouse from its torpor and rend him, as it were, limb from limb. He had all along flattered himself that at his simple approach the Greeks would flee in terror at his might, judging them by the craven slaves over whom he ruled and who trembled before his slightest anger. Little conception had he of the inspiring spirit of liberty, of the exaltation that independence inspires, of the courage, self-reliance, and manly pride that is born of equality and a liberal social system.

He was soon to receive a lesson that would prove to him the fallacy of all his dreams; that true manhood is the incarnation of deity; that all men are capable of a high and grand development far beyond that which wealth can give or centralized power confer; that the lowliest, inspired by the spirit of liberty, sustained by a high moral sense and a true devotion to virtue, are capable of a development godlike in its character; that, before such development, all the gorgeous splendor of the East sinks into contemptible nothingness. The teachers who were to give this grand lesson to the mightiest monarch of the earth were but plain, simple men, humble citizens of an insignificant state, merely the equals of their fellows, but freemen, poor, frugal, and virtuous, but the children of liberty, the champions of freedom.

Demaratus had warned Xerxes that at the first pass he came to his army would be given battle, but he smiled in derision, he could not comprehend such courage. When he arrived before Thermopylae he himself took a view of the Greek camp.

Some of the Spartans were amusing themselves with military sports, others were combing and braiding their long hair. He inquired the reason of this, and Demaratus informed him that it was the Spartan manner of preparing for battle.

Xerxes still could not bring himself to believe that these desperate men really intended to give him battle, and waited four days to give them time to retreat, but still they continued gay and joyous, amusing themselves as usual, seeming not to regard the presence of the mighty Persian hosts. He used every means his ingenuity could suggest to induce Leonidas to abandon his decision to fight, made him the most magnificent promises; promised to make him master of all Greece if he would come over to his party. Leonidas refused his offer with scorn. Xerxes then proposed, if they would abandon their cause and deliver up their arms, that he would give them a country much larger and much better than the one for which they fought. Leonidas replied that no country was worth having unless won by virtue; and as for their arms they should want them whether as his friends or as his enemies. He then sent them a formal demand to deliver up

their arms. Leonidas replied, "Come and take them."

Xerxes then asked Demaratus if these men could expect to outrun his horses? Demaratus answered, that they would fight it out to the last, and not a man would survive his country's freedom. Some men in the Greek camp were heard to say that the Persians were so numerous that their darts would darken the sun. Dacieus, a Spartan, replied, "Then we shall fight in the shade."

Xerxes, having thus been treated with contempt, ordered a body of Medes to advance, telling all who had lost relations at the battle of Marathon to take their revenge on the Greeks. The Medes advanced, and were repulsed with heavy loss. These men were but children before the Spartans.

Then the picked corps of the Persian army was brought up. This was called "The Immortal Band," and consisted of 10,000 men; but they made no more impression on the Greeks than had the Medes. The charge was renewed the next day, and Xerxes endeavored to inspire his men by the offer of large rewards, but though "The Immortal Band" fought well, they failed to make an impression on the Greeks, who fought desperately and piled the pass with Persian carcasses.

During these desperate conflicts Xerxes sat upon a throne erected on an eminence and overlooking the battle. His rage knew no bounds when he saw his finest soldiers utterly exterminated in their fruitless assaults upon the heroic Greeks, who were but a handful compared with his powerful army.

For two days the gallant defenders of Greece held the combined powers of Asia at bay, and it seemed that it would be impossible to dislodge them, but, just as Xerxes was about to give way to despair, a Thracian, who had deserted from the Greeks, offered to show him a path that led through the defiles of the mountains and by which a body of troops might be led to fall upon the Grecian rear. Xerxes dispatched a body of 25,000 men, who marched by night, and arrived at daybreak at the top of the mountain.

The Greeks soon learned of this misfortune, and, Leonidas, seeing that his position was no longer tenable, advised his allies to retire and reserve themselves for better times, and the future safety of Greece. As for himself and his fellow-Spartans, they were obliged by their laws not to fly; that he owed his life to his country, and that it was now his duty to fall in its defense.

Having dismissed all but his three hundred Spartans, he exhorted his comrades in the most cheerful manner to prepare for death. He said: "Come, my fellow-soldiers, let us die cheerfully here, for to-night we shall sup with Pluto." His men, inspired by the same spirit as their leader, set up a shout as though invited to a feast, and prepared every man to die sword in hand in defense of Greece and liberty.

When darkness had fallen the Spartan leader determined to advance and attack the Persians in their camps, trusting to the darkness to aid their assault and hide the smallness of their numbers. Rallying into a solid phalanx they splendor of wealth and luxury.

advanced upon the Persians, and, slaughtering as they advanced, they had almost reached the royal pavilion where they had hoped to seize the king. The darkness added greatly to the horrors and confusion, and the Persians killed one another in the general uproar and thus greatly aided the Greeks. Success seemed about to crown their desperate enterprise, when the coming day revealed the smallness of their force. They were soon surrounded by the Persians, who, afraid to attack them with the sword, threw their javelins from every quarter, until the Greeks, not so much conquered as wearied with conquering, fell amid piles of the slaughtered enemy. Leonidas was one of the first who fell, and the valor shown by the Spartans in their endeavor to defend his dead body was something unparalleled in the history of the human race, and almost surpasses belief.

It was found by the Persians after the battle, buried under a pile of dead, and the pigmy-souled despot, incapable of appreciating such heroism as Leonidas had shown, in the impotence of his puerile spite had the body of this grand hero nailed to a cross as a mark of dishonor, but only, by this abominable act, showed his own brutality and disgusting littleness of soul. But the name of Leonidas stands to-day a synonym for all that is noble, grand, and virtuous, while the brutal victor is only remembered for his arrogance, egotism, and pernicious vanity. The wealth of a thousand Asias could not buy or create a soul like that of Leonidas or the most humble of his fellow-Spartans.

About this time some Government officials got after these enterprising gentlemen and told them to stop their coinage, or the law would put them in the penitentiary for counterfeiting Government money. Then that mint suspended.

I still needed more light concerning money and consulted authorities. Some writers and teachers in political economy tell us that gold and silver are the only true money; that these metals are the money of the world and made by nature for that purpose. Even some of our prominent statesmen of this day still adhere to this position. But facts do not sustain them. For if it be true that God made the gold and the silver to be money, then by what authority did Congress demonetize silver, it being money by the fiat of the ever-living God? Or how is it that other nations have demonetized gold also?

Xerxes was astonished at the wonderful spirit of the Greeks, and asked Demaratus if the Lacedemonians had many such soldiers as these? Demaratus told him that Lacedemon had a great many cities, the people of which were exceedingly brave and devoted to liberty, but that those of Sparta were eight thousand in number, and every man of them was just such as those who fought under Leonidas, and were ready at all times to receive him.

Xerxes is said to have lost twenty thousand men in the battle of Thermopylae, which is a most startling proof of the valor and desperate fighting of the Spartans.

There are only two instances in the history of the world where the entire body of soldiers devoted themselves cheerfully to certain death in defense of the cause they loved. Both instances were by the soldiers of a free nation, struggling in the cause of liberty and human rights, and it is improbable that any other cause could inspire men with such unselfish devotion. These two instances were the battle of Thermopylae and the defense of the Alamo by the glorious champions of Texian independence, who were men of our own blood and country.

Thus the first and last republics of history have given the noblest examples of human devotion. They are strikingly similar in various respects; let us hope that ours may, through the wisdom and conservatism of its people, escape the evils which beset our illustrious progenitor whose history we have to warn us when we enter upon the tempting paths that lead us from the homely duties virtue imposes and to the certain ruin that lies hidden beneath the numbers.

Rallying into a solid phalanx they splendor of wealth and luxury.

WHAT IS MONEY?

Experience and Investigation of the Writer Concerning Money.

BY HON. A. J. SHEETER, OF ILLINOIS.

Early in 1849 I went overland to California to prospect for money in its primeval state; to the end, in part, that I might know what it was and how it was made. I found gold and silver among the rocks, pure and simple; but there was no evidence that these metals were real money. I went to Sacramento City to buy provisions and other mining supplies; but somehow the merchants did not think my gold and silver were money, and were kind enough to tell me where to sell these "precious metals" for "current money with the merchant."

On another occasion I traveled two days with plenty of gold-dust in my pocket, but could not buy a meal with it, because they wanted current money. In fact, money was so scarce in that land where gold and silver were its principal productions, that some enterprising spirits concluded it to be a good idea to relieve the stringency in the money market by coining some native gold into five and ten dollar pieces, each containing the same weight in native gold as in Government coins. They said these are no fraud, for they are full weight and contain more gold than Government coins, which are one-tenth part alloy.

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I still needed more light concerning money and consulted authorities. Some writers and teachers in political economy tell us that gold and silver are the only true money; that these metals are the money of the world and made by nature for that purpose. Even some of our prominent statesmen of this day still adhere to this position. But facts do not sustain them. For if it be true that God made the gold and the silver to be money, then by what authority did Congress demonetize silver, it being money by the fiat of the ever-living God? Or how is it that other nations have demonetized gold also?

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nation is not money in that of another; no matter what material is used in the making of it, and the so-called "precious metals" can not be coined into a money that will pass, as such, beyond the confines of the country where made. And hence it follows that there is no "money of the world."

Then what is it? Money is a creation of the Government by law, to be a medium of exchange, and a tender in payment of debt. "Congress shall have power to coin money and regulate the value thereof," says the Constitution. Judge Tiffany, in his work on Constitutional law, says: "To coin money and regulate its value is an act of sovereignty, and involves the right to determine what shall be taken and received as money or tendered in payment. The authority which coins or stamps itself upon the article can select what substance it deems suitable to receive the stamp, and it can affix what value it deems proper, independent of its intrinsic value. The currency value is in the stamp when used as money, and not in the metal or material independent of the stamp." Because gold and silver have often been used to receive the stamp of authority, a popular idea of its money value often attaches to the metal rather than to the stamp upon it. This position is sustained by the courts.

Then I conclude that money does not exist by nature; but is created by authority of Government to be a medium of exchange and tender in payment within the country where made, and that in such creation the Government can use such material as it deems best, or most suitable, without regard to its form, substance, or intrinsic value.

MR. POWDERLY'S LETTER.

Read at the Meeting of the South Dakota Farmers Alliance.

SCRANTON, PA., June 15, 1889.

A. Wardall, Esq., Huron, Dak.:

My DEAR SIR: Since the receipt of a letter from Brother Loucks some two weeks ago, I have been anxious to sever some engagements previously made that I might have the pleasure of accepting his invitation to be present at your gathering next Tuesday. I find that I can not do justice to the interests in my keeping and go at this time.

While I can not be with you on that day to take part in at least a part of your deliberations, I am strong in the hope that ere the summer wanes we will have a chance to meet and compare notes. To my mind there never was a time in the history of our country when there existed a greater necessity for the thinking men of the farm and workshop, the mine and the railroad, to come together to take a good square look into each other's faces and get acquainted for the first time in our lives. We have stood too far apart and have never dug far enough beneath the very thin wall which separates us to know what relationship we bear each other. I have been tracing out our family tree and find that we in the city are bound in closest ties to those on the farm. I find that every year men are driven from the land into the cities because they can not pay the interest, because they can not raise the mortgage, and as a consequence can not raise enough to eat on land that is as productive as any that God ever made for his children. I have discovered that the farmer is taxed to death in our older agricultural regions, and that for every improvement he makes he must stand and deliver still more of his earnings to support the horde of office seekers who thrive on other men's misfortunes.

I have discovered that bonanza farming is making it impossible for the small farmer of one, two, or three hundred acres to send any of his produce to market until the price is regulated, not by what the labor of the farmer is worth,

but by the speculative price of the article as it is gambled for by the industrious farmers who live on Fifth Avenue, New York, and do the tilling of the soil in Wall street. I find that if the real farmer wishes to send his produce to the consumer in the city at fair profit to himself, he is deterred from doing so because the railroads hold a power over him which he can not resist and live. I find on going to a State legislature, or to Washington, that representation is not based on the interests of the people, as it should be; the farmer once so respected, the mechanic who boasts of his craft, the miner, the laborer, and the hundred others who toil, are not represented in any of these places as they should be. That class who live off the wrong-doings of mankind has over one-half of all the legislators, State and National, and if any of the men enumerated above wish to secure legislation to relieve them of any oppression they must squeeze it through the fingers of a lawyer, who is so used to taking fees that he actually thinks he should take a bribe for doing his duty.

On the other hand when I take a peep into the cities and see the poverty of the masses there, I can not wonder that the farmer does not find sale for his produce among so many who, in competing for the one situation, work for less than enough to sustain life honestly. I find that every imposition practiced on the men of the farm reacts on the men in the city, and that its rebound is felt by the farmers when they have to sell their produce in the cheapest market while buying in the dearest. Do not judge from that last remark that I am a free-trader. I am not, neither am I a high-tariff man. I am a protectionist and believe in affording the utmost security and protection to the labor of our people everywhere by means of just legislation regardless of the interests of monopoly. We once had a war in this country over a trifling matter of "taxation without representation." Do you think that I, a mechanist, or you, a farmer, can look to a lawyer in Congress and say: "I am properly represented?" Do you not think that something like the "cumulative system of voting" should be talked up until men become educated to know that legislation was not intended for the sharp, shrewd, and cunning of the race.

If proper conditions existed, why should a man have to mortgage his farm in order to live; why should a man have to climb up five, six, and eight flights of stairs in a city tenement in order to live; why should both sit down disheartened in the evening and ponder over the situation which surrounds them, and why should they not get their heads together and throw out strikes, boycotts, lockouts and such nuisances and unite in one strike through the legislative weapon in such a way as to humble the power of the corporations who rule the United States to-day? Why should Knights of Labor, after making such a grand record in educational work, not vote as they talk? Why should we not know each other's wants in order that we might unite as men in ministering to them? If your convention will listen to the reading of this lengthy letter, will it be too much for me to ask that a committee of conference be appointed to meet with a similar one from the Knights of Labor at no distant day, that we may sit together as the men who represent the real wealth of the Nation, and there take some steps to remove the burdens from the shoulders of the oppressed, and prevent the placing of burdens on those who are still unincumbered. It seems to me that we have been meditating the symptoms too long without locating the disease itself and before we can cure the patient we must root out the disease. To root it out we must know each other better and there must be a closer bond of union between us than the past has witnessed. Look back at the past in the older States and you will see the farmer

growing gradually worse in his surroundings; look at past and present in our cities and you will see the mechanics and other workmen surrounded by poverty and perplexities everywhere, you will hear them talking of strikes and eight hours and such things while all the time machinery, bonds, mortgages, railroads, and unjust representation are crushing the very independence out of all of them. Look a little closer and you will see that the men in the cities were so blind that they did not realize that there should be an alliance between them and the men on the farms.

Can we not unite on some common ground and work together? Is there not some short platform of principles on which we can take a stand and work out our future? If there is not, then there is no hope for this Republic and we will see it drift farther and farther away from its moorings each day.

I have a delicacy about saying that I think we should all know each other in one organization, for the reason that it might be said that I was seeking for the advancement of the Knights of Labor, and I want to be understood in a different light. While I seek to bring all men together in our order, I strive for the advancement of more than find a place with us, and the hardest part of the struggle is that we labor for those who do not appreciate it because they are not where we can meet with them. We must know each other better. Will it be agreed by your convention to assist in bringing together the chief officers of the Alliance and the Knights in order that we may eventually sail our ship in clear waters, manned by a crew who understand their duty, instead of trusting our destinies longer to those who know us not, and as a consequence care for our interests only as we pay them for it?

Let me express the fervent wish that your deliberations may prove to be of great service to your constituents; may cool, deliberate action be taken on every question, may you adjourn with a well-planned campaign ahead, and may you succeed in carrying it out to the letter.

I can not say what I want to in a letter; there is so much to say that we are both interested in. Will you do me the favor to endeavor to bring about meetings of Knights and farmers for the future so that what I have suggested may be brought about.

Permit me in conclusion to suggest that when our next session of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor meets we will have with us the fraternal delegates from the Farmers Alliance.

With kindest regards for all present,

T. V. Powderly,
General Master Workman, K. of L.

An address has been issued from Pittsburgh to the working people of America, signed by the representatives of all the leading labor organizations. The address says that differences of opinion and matters of detail in methods for the improvement of labor's condition have been magnified by interested parties into conflicts of the most belligerent and warlike nature. All labor organizations are called upon to put forth renewed efforts to strengthen and solidify their ranks and to leave nothing undone to make each society the power for good that it is intended to be. It is signed by S. Gompers and P. J. McGuire, of the American Federation of Labor; T. V. Powderly, John W. Hayes, A. W. Wright, and John Devlin, of the Knights of Labor; William A. Simscott, Railroad Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association; F. P. Sargent, Eugene V. Debs, and John J. Hanahan, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

Criticism.

T. D. HINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILL.

In the April issue of *The Peoples' Cause*, a journal of tariff-reform, ballot-reform, civil-service reform, Mr. C. G. McDougall, says:

"Many of our friends are anxious to know why the farmers of the West, and especially of Illinois, did not vote the Democratic ticket at the last election. I can give some reasons why they did not do so." He then declares as his reasons that local speakers did not denounce the principle of protection, and that for this reason the temperance question became the important one, and that farmers voted the Republican ticket because that party had the credit of enacting prohibition laws in Nebraska and Iowa. These are the only causes which he assigns for failure of Western farmers, "especially Illinois farmers," to vote the Democratic ticket.

In view of the fact that "protection" was the only thing that "local speakers" of the Democratic persuasion did denounce, it is plainly evident that Mr. McDougall did not attend Democratic rallies, or else has a very poor memory. It is true that the denunciation of protection indulged in by Democrats generally was the contemptible, half-hearted, 5 per cent. kind, but it is equally true that if they did not denounce the extreme protection views of the Republicans, they did not "denounce" anything. It is true that while Democratic "local speakers" spoke approvingly of the acts of the Republican Congressional tariff commission, and of the tariff views entertained by dead Republicans like Grant, Garfield, and Arthur, they nevertheless did denounce the extreme protection of the Chicago platform. It is true that the pusillanimous course of Democratic leaders in singing the praises of dead Republicans like lions whom, in their lifetime, they abused as heartily as they now abuse leading Republicans, lost them thousands of votes of men who were as honestly opposed to the tariff views of dead Republicans as they are to the views of live Republicans, but it is equally true that the little denunciation they did indulge in lost them hundreds of votes of men like McDougall, who believed the Democrats lied when they disputed that protection was responsible for the prosperity enjoyed by our country. Mr. McDougall says: "In regard to revenue reform all the speakers at the Chicago convention were in total ignorance concerning the intellectual and financial condition of Western farmers. The farmers of Illinois, at least, are not a poverty-stricken set of ignoramuses. We are making more money than the farmers made before the war; we live better, have better clothes, better houses, better horses and buggies, and in every way are far in advance of our fathers. Republican speakers point this out to us and claim it is caused by protection. Democratic speakers tell us differently, but we know they are not telling the truth." Did you ever! In

In regard to revenue reform the Chicago convention sized up the Western farmers, and especially the farmers of Illinois, as a lot of poverty-stricken ignoramuses when it asked the Western farmers, and especially the farmers of Illinois, to acknowledge the protection fetish as the god from whom all blessings flow, and we prove that the "speakers at the Chicago convention were in total ignorance concerning our intellectual condition" by doing the very thing their shrewdness told them we would do, and when Democrats declare that the superstitious god worshiped by the Chicago convention has not brought and can not bring us prosperity, "we know they are not telling the truth," and then we go and vote the Republican ticket, and assign as our reason for doing so the fact that Democrats did not denounce the protection god, and Republicans did enact prohibitory laws in Nebraska and Iowa. Aren't we a bright lot? And is not Mr. McDougall one of the brightest

* * *

Not a great while ago I was talking with the mayor of a city located not a thousand miles from my home, and, as usually happens when one of the people and when one of their official servants begin a discussion, the conversation turned upon the subject of politics. The mayor is an ex-business man, an ex-vendor of shoddy and other clothing. That he had been successful is evidenced by the fact that he owns several fine farms, in addition to \$50,000 or \$60,000 worth of business property in the city of which he is the official head, as well as property in other growing cities and a good bank account, as is usually the case with well-to-do men. Our mayor has no patience with men who complain of hard times, and delights to refer all such to his own successful career as evidence of what any man can accomplish in this grand country by intelligent industry and

close attention to business. He lives in a solid, well-appointed, well-furnished, but not gaudily decorated house; keeps his carriage, dresses his family richly and comfortably, and when he thinks a trip from home, whether it be to Chicago, California, or New York, will add to his pleasure, the trip is taken. His sideboard is furnished with the richest of wines and soul-inspiring liquors. He treats his friends, whether governor of the State or the humblest farmer, with that spirit of urbanity which is the characteristic of all true gentlemen. He has been elected and re-elected to the responsible position he now occupies many times, and is, no doubt, on the road to yet higher political honors. He pays his way as he goes, has an abundance of money. Why shouldn't he be content with things as they are? He is. He is a radical protectionist, and firmly, and, no doubt, honestly believes that protection from the pauper labor of Europe by means of our high tariff is the only thing that stands between our laboring men and utter destitution. He is, nevertheless, intelligent enough to recognize the fact that we have many poor, very poor men in our midst, and that this number is constantly increasing. He is also aware that the lines of our farmers are not laid in places particularly pleasant, but that, on the contrary, many of them—alas, too many of them—are heavily encumbered with debt, and unless speedily relieved must soon become renters on the land they now call their own. Our mayor, being an intelligent as well as a jolly and comfortable kind of an ex-business man, has a theory by which he explains the apparent discrepancy between the promised and the actual results of protection. He sums it all up, or boils it all down, into one word, "extravagance." It is extravagance that keeps so many of our laboring men poor. It is extravagance that has pushed our farmers further and further toward an all-engulfing maelstrom of indebtedness. It is extravagance that does all this. Extravagance, too, on the part of men whose daily wages do not average 75 cents, and who have to support large families out of that. Funny, isn't it? I don't mean the supporting of a large family on .75 cents per day, but the idea that it is extravagance that keeps such men poor. Our mayor will, to use slang phrase, "blow in" more in one purchase of fancy wines and liquors than the laboring men whose extravagance he condemns will earn in twelve months of hard labor. In the conversation above alluded to, the mayor, discussing the complaints of farmers, said: "When I first commenced business here farmers used to come to town in lumber wagons, sometimes drawn by horses but often by oxen. They and their families would be clad in homespun. But now it is different; they come in carriages and buggies, and they and their wives must be dressed in the latest style, and it is this extravagance on their part that is the cause of their complaint." It is true that some of our farmers do drive their buggies, dress their families comfortably and appear to enjoy life, but the number who do this compared to the great body who do not, is very small, indeed. And our mayor, citing the extravagance (?) of these few farmers as the cause of the universal complaint among farmers, gives about as bright an elucidation of the labor problem as Mr. McDougall does of the reasons why Western farmers refused to vote the Democratic ticket. There are apparently two things which our mayor has forgotten. The first is, that some of our economic teachers inculcate the doctrine that extravagance on the part of those who can afford it is a good thing for wealth-producers. I have no doubt that he, having been skillfully led up to defend the outrageous extravagance of tariff beneficiaries, would advance this very argument himself, and in that case he would be found upholding in them what, in our farmers,

he condemns as "extravagance," on the plea that it was for the "good of labor." And, indeed, admitting the justice of enormous individual accumulations, such as we see in this country, extravagance on the part of our wealthy men is labor's only salvation. The fallacy of the reasoning which sees in Jay Gould's million-dollar yacht philanthropic contribution from that gentleman to labor can only be seen by those who have reasoned deeply enough on the subject to understand that Jay Gould's immense fortune, being the product of labor, and he being physically unable to the performance of the immense amount of labor necessary to its creation, must necessarily make that gentleman appear in the light of a destroyer of those whose labor did create it, and that, therefore, his extravagantly-built yacht, instead of marking him as a beneficiary of humanity only the more effectually spots his fortune as an excrescence, a fungoid growth upon labor which it was well for labor to be rid of. The other thing which our mayor evidently forgot was the fact that if our farmers, whose extravagance he condemns, had had it in their power to retain even a fair share of the wealth which their labor created, he and thousands like him could not indulge in the many extravagancies they now do. He has evidently forgotten that when he commenced business and began dealing with home-spun, ox-driving farmers that his position in life was much lower down the social and financial scale than it is now. He has forgotten that his store-room and dwelling of the olden time, pitiful affairs both, were rented, and even a small part of his small stock of goods perhaps not paid for. He has forgotten how the exorbitant profits which the necessities, not the extravagance, of those same home-spun, ox-driving farmers compelled them to pay him has lifted him so far above even the wealthiest of them that he can retire from business while they, even those who ride easier and dress better than formerly, are still forced to practice a style of economy which he, in his present lavish-style of living, would deem niggardly. He has in fact forgotten the hand that fed him and now, when hundreds of the farmers, a part of whose scant earnings annually went to increase his ever-growing fortune, are on the verge of bankruptcy, he thoughtlessly (not to say meanly) taunts them with being extravagant, and seems to think that while it is all right that his condition should be immeasurably changed for the better; that his family should be clad in broad-cloth and silks and satins of the latest style and pattern; while it is the proper thing that he should ride in his carriage and be able to indulge in any luxury and extravagance which his taste might suggest, that the farmers, out of whose toil-created wealth his fortune was built should be content with the home-spun clothes, the ox-wagons, and the same humble surroundings of thirty or forty years ago. We might well ask, "upon what meat hath this our Caesar fed that he hath grown so great?" It is this spirit of thoughtless selfishness rather than a spirit of wanton meanness on the part of our wealthy classes that well-producing reformers will have to overcome.

But with all his queer reasoning and self-sufficiency our mayor is a much more hopeful subject for reformers to try their skill upon than McDougall is, for the simple reason that he recognizes the fact that all is not well with farmers and laborers and does try, after a fashion, to account for their distressed condition, while McDougall sees in the fact that farming operations are still continued in this country an all-sufficient proof that the business of farming not only pays, but pays better than formerly. Of course McDougall sees in the fact that the Indian ryat who, comfortably clad in a breech clout, driving a team of little bulls worth \$8, hitched to a wooden stick plow worth

so varied has severely taxed the capacity of our Exchange, but we are proud to say that up to the present the Farmers Alliance Exchange has mastered every difficulty. One of the greatest obstacles to successful co-operation is the lack of knowledge on the part of the membership of all business principles and just what the Alliance is and what it will do for them. This we are overcoming by having an Exchange lecturer in the field all the time, and from now till September 1st every Alliance man, woman, and child will be given true Alliance doctrines. We have our Circular Letter visit each Alliance monthly, and the two systems combined are educating our people more than all else combined. Of course we have some "discontents" which comes from a lack of proper knowledge or disappointed ambition for office; but the rank and file are getting closer together, they will soon be as one man.

We will be in our own warehouse by the 1st of September. We have every facility for handling our cotton—bear in mind we have two kinds, long and short. The banks have tendered us all the money we will require, at low rates of interest; and owning our own warehouse, we can store it a year by simply paying interest and insurance, which will be less than one cent per pound.

We have every arrangement for the successful handling of fruits and vegetables, and the membership are standing by their institution solidly.

ONE of the greatest auxiliaries to efficient Alliance work is a good State organ. A leading newspaper in a State devoted wholly to Alliance news and views, always ready to defend the order, is an advantage that can not be overestimated. From its columns, friendly papers in all sections of the State get data to assist the cause. The Alliance of the State of Georgia is to be congratulated upon its prospects of a splendid State organ. It has had three or more good Alliance papers, the *Southern Alliance*, *The Farmer and Fruit Grower*, and *The Advocate* being the most prominent. These three papers have now consolidated under the name of the *Southern Alliance Farmer*, and will issue a first-class weekly from Atlanta. Each of the papers that entered into this consolidation having been extra good, it follows that the consolidated paper will be the peer of any weekly in the country, and therefore entitled to the support of all who are interested in the cause. Every member of the order should make it a rule to subscribe for the State and National organ.

Notes from Florida.

BY OSWALD WILSON, PRESIDENT.

While Florida was the last of the Southern States to enlist in the Farmers Alliance, the growth has been steady and progressive. The Alliance is two years old, with a membership of 20,000 in twenty-four counties and 372 Alliances. Realizing that we must do something for our financial relief, and that the Alliance was merely to organize the producers and to get that high mental, moral, and social culture, we must throw off the galling chains of slavery in the debt and mortgage system practiced upon us poor willing victims. The Farmers Alliance Exchange was organized one year ago, the authorized capital stock being \$150,000, divided into 1,500 shares of \$100 each. We had just got into operation when the fever broke out in Jacksonville and made the Exchange a "refugee" till January. The report of the business manager for the past six months makes a very satisfactory showing. There were 753 orders for supplies filled. This includes everything from a paper of pins to a steam-engine. We received and shipped 13,732 packages of fruits and vegetables, and 187 consignments of other produce, inclusive of cotton and everything raised on the farm. The financial statement shows a net gain over all expenses of more than \$450. Very satisfactory prices and terms have been made for supplies and some small advances have been negotiated for our members; they have been negotiated for our members; they get their supplies at wholesale with only interest added. The production of Florida being

THE American Non-conformist is publishing a series of articles in which it claims to make a full exposure of the great criminal explosion at Coffeyville. It charges with great clearness and precision persons holding positions of public trust, naming them, as being implicated in that horrible crime, and makes out a strong case of criminal neglect against the local officials. It boldly challenges an investigation of its evidence and testimony. Surely the authorities can no longer refuse that simple act of justice and duty. To longer refuse would justify the presumption that the charges against them are true. The press of the country will watch and wait for the conclusion, and will not be slow to support the plucky Non-conformist whenever its position is fully proven.

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C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE North Dakota Farmers Alliance met at Fargo June 26th, with fair attendance and had an harmonious session.

THERE is a law in Illinois requiring all trust companies to deposit \$500,000 in securities with the State auditor, and to make an annual statement before accepting trust in the State. The local trust companies are moving to compel the New York trust companies to obey this law, claiming that until they do so they can not foreclose a mortgage. The first action is to be taken against the Mercantile Trust Company, the agent of the gas trust.

UNDER the Louisiana law the cotton-seed-oil trust has been stopped from working in that State.

It behoves us to remember that power is always stealing from the many to the few, and that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Especially now and in our own country is it important that the people should be on their guard.

THE authorities of New York are trying under the provision of their trust law to upset the gigantic sugar trust which now has a finger in the pocket of every man in the country.

THOSE who are in the habit of considering Canada as an Arctic and sterile country will be surprised to learn that she has one-quarter more land fitted for wheat cultivation than the whole United States. In 1887 the yield of wheat in our own country was a little over twelve bushels per acre. In the same year

Manitoba alone raised 12,500,000 bushels, and averaged twenty-seven bushels per acre. The climate of Canada does not hinder, but contributes to, the wealth and enterprise of her people. She has more timber of every possible description than both she and the United States could consume in a hundred years. She has more iron and coal than any other country in the world. She has probably more copper than all other countries combined, and there is no telling what lies hidden under the snow and ice of her northern districts.

THE Princess Louise, daughter of the Prince of Wales, is to marry one of the Queen's subjects. This will be the second instance of departure from the rule of choosing husbands for English royalty from among the German princelings, and is an indication that modern progress is having its effect upon even the hereditary royalty of Europe.

SENATOR SHERMAN has been elected a vice-president of the World's Peace Conference at Paris.

Was it the courage, fidelity, and patriotism of the people that established this Nation? If so, then it is the welfare, comfort, and prosperity of the people that this Government should endeavor to protect and support, and not the interests of a class and of combines antagonistic to the best interests of these people.

THE latest horror is an explosion of firedamp in a coal mine in France which caused the death of over two hundred miners.

ANOTHER strike of telegraph operators is thought to be probable soon.

THE constitutional conventions called to frame constitutions for the new States of North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington will have their work placed before the people for ratification on the first Tuesday in October. The President of the United States is required to issue a proclamation announcing the result of the election in the States, and whether the requirements of the incorporating bill have been complied with. This proclamation is due in October. Upon its promulgation the new States will be formally placed on the roll of sisterhood of the Nation. Each State will start off with two Senators, and South Dakota with two Representatives; the others with one each.

AT Duluth last week 3,000 men quit work and went out on a strike.

BRO. W. U. FUGATE, writing from Gulnare, Pike County, Ky., says more interest is needed in that section. But five Alliances were organized in that county. An organizer is wanted, for whom plenty of work would be furnished for some time in that county alone. The people feel their burdens and are anxious for relief.

THERE seems to be a general interest excited in choice of a National flower for America. England has the rose; France the lily; Scotland the thistle; Ireland the shamrock, etc. Many American plants have been suggested,

but none seems to meet a unanimous approval. A Boston man suggests the golden rod. This really seems to meet the requirements, as its name and color typify perfectly the metal which seems to be the supreme dictator of American policies.

LABOR has built all the palaces that adorn the world, and yet has always dwelt in a hovel. Idleness has never created the most insignificant value, and yet revels in luxury.

THE senseless passion for accumulation which is growing to such dangerous proportions among the people of all nations is in the nature of an epidemic, and calls for the wisest action in order to stay its ravages. Its results are worse than those of pestilence, because of longer duration. From whence is to come the physician whose wisdom and skill will control the malady and give the people relief?

To make one millionaire, 10,000 industrious producers must be robbed of the product of their labor and live in want and misery. Are millionaires of such great importance to the welfare of the people that they must be maintained at such a cost?

THE citizens whose industry and energy create the prosperity of the country are certainly in equity entitled to enjoy all the benefits and comforts that prosperity brings. Yet our laws allow them to be robbed of the possibility of such enjoyment by the chicanery and shrewd trickery of the speculative few, who alone revel in plenty, while to the industry which created that plenty life is made a burden.

A NOTE from President J. Burrows, of the National Farmers Alliance, states that since last writing Ohio has been organized and organizers have been set to work in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Idaho, Oregon, and California. Work is extending rapidly. He also mentions the merging of the two Alliances in Kansas, which he commends.

IN all monarchies the aristocracy own the lands and dictate the policy of the government. When capital does this are the controllers of capital any less than an aristocracy?

THERE are in all the world something over 300,000 miles of railroad, and more than one-half of this is in the United States, the property of corporations to which the people must pay "such tribute as the traffic will bear."

THE census of 1880 showed that there were 1,024,601 tenant farmers in the United States. This says nothing of those who nominally own their farms but pay exorbitant rent in the shape of interest on mortgages. There are in Ireland to-day only 547,222 tenant holdings; in England and Wales together but 414,804, and in all Scotland 80,101. The State of Illinois alone has 20,000 more actual tenants than Scotland, and one of the most notorious Irish rack renters derives his principal income from his Illinois subjects. France has 5,000,000 small rural proprietors and 2,000,000 large proprietors and

owners of real estate in towns. Altogether the number of landed proprietors in the United States is not quite 3,000,000, and yet we have a greater population than France by 15,000,000, and many times as much land. The worst feature of the case is that the bulk of our great land proprietors are aliens.

in power, and prevents the reform of abuses or the remedy of wrongs.

At the third annual meeting of the American Economic Association, on the other hand, Prof. L. F. Ward stated that—

While engaged several years ago in the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department, he had undertaken to look into the question under discussion. He had studied the European railroad statistics, but could find such information as was wanted only in connection with the Prussian railway system, where the statistics are very thorough, not only with regard to the roads managed by the state, but those under control of private corporations.

As far as the United States was concerned, it was impossible to find statistics at that time.

No State having ever owned a railroad there was no opportunity for comparison in that direction. Nor do the railroad companies wish to publish statistics as to rates of transportation and passenger travel, but it is of great importance to have this knowledge. In the railroad journals there was no lack of assertions that the attempts of European governments to control railroads were failure; but the only question ever considered was as to the financial success of the lines. Also, they made the statement that the Prussian railroads cost more when managed by the government than when managed by private companies. But, two problems are solved by the Prussian statistics, namely, that government roads paid all their expenses, including interest, and that for the years 1874-'79, on all roads owned or managed by the state, the rates on freight traffic were 15 per cent. less than on those managed by private corporations, while on passenger traffic they were 10 per cent. less. One reason why it cost more for state management was that wages paid to employees by the state were much higher than those paid by private companies, and this was another public benefit. The point of view to be taken is that of the people of the country and not of the roads themselves.

It is generally admitted by the best authorities and shown by the most careful estimates that the net earnings of our farmers are not over 3 per cent. Taking this to be true the census returns of 1880 make it apparent that our agricultural interests can not much longer stand the drain of taxation alone at its present rate, to say nothing of the numerous commercial schemes to which they must pay enforced tribute. The last census returns show that the aggregate amount of direct taxes levied in 1880 for State, county, school-district, and municipal purposes was 1.85 per cent. of the assessed values.

Looking over the table of ratios by States it appears that agricultural States bear the larger portion of the burden, as for example: MANUFACTURING. AGRICULTURAL.

Rhode Island	1.07	Kansas	3.10
Massachusetts	1.58	Nebraska	3.08
New Hampshire	1.04	Missouri	1.93
Connecticut	1.64	Iowa	2.77
Pennsylvania	1.70	Illinois	3.13
		Louisiana	2.74
		Mississippi	2.16
		Dakota	2.85

All the manufacturing States show a per cent. below the average and all the agricultural above. This does not take into the calculation the indirect tax levied through the tariff. Now, out of his earnings of 3 per cent., after paying the above percentage of tax, how long could the farmer exist? The question is one mathematically simple. With almost 2 per cent. to go for taxes out of his earnings of 3 per cent., he would have but about 1 per cent. left, provided the census returns are correct, and since no accurate data was collected on the subject, it is fair to presume that they are not.

THE quotation from Mr. Depew's speech last week, in which that gentleman proposes to compromise with those who desire to enforce upon the railroads the obligations of common carriers, contains more than one avoidance of fair statement. The declaration that the stock of the New York Central now has ten thousand owners, while perhaps true in fact, does not dispute the other fact that the controlling interest is in possession of one family, whose confidential servant he is, and that there is no more probability of the control of the Vanderbilts being relinquished than at any time since this control was first secured. The further declaration in reference to Government ownership is even more unfortunate:

If representatives of the people are corrupt, arrogant, dictatorial, it is the duty of the people to depose them. If they attempt to use their position as a stepping stone to power or advantage, either for themselves or others, it is but necessary for the people, from whom they received their dignity, to take to themselves again whatever of advantage they have given to such representatives.

But experience has demonstrated that then, as in the German railways, the people get the minimum of service for the maximum of price, and an army of office-holders keeps its party

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

BY JAS. F. HUDSON,
Author of "The Railways and the Republic,"
No. 10.

PUBLIC RIGHTS ON THE HIGHWAYS.

The preceding articles of this series have been written to little purpose if they have not shown that the character and obligations of the public highway are fixed upon the railways beyond all possibility of quibble or repudiation in the interests of the corporation. Criticism and dissent from this principle have been frequently based upon the apparent supposition that there is but one class of public highways—the public roads built by counties or the State, and open to the public without payment of toll; but this is apparent by the discussion of the subject to be a very narrow and shallow mistake. The public highways include a variety of channels for transportation, differing widely in their purposes and methods, wholly dissimilar in material character, but founded by the same Governmental instrumentalities and subject to the same public obligations. County, State, and National roads, turnpikes, canals, and other improved water-ways, constructed either by the direct agencies of Government, or by corporations, and subject to the franchises of those organizations, existed and were recognized as public highways long before the railway era. Each was separate and distinct in its mode of use. The practical methods by which, for instance, the canal was used, would be utterly impracticable on the turnpike or county road. But all varieties of public highways created by the Governmental power were subject to the same public obligations of impartiality and freedom of use.

The railway was but the addition of another form or variety to this class. While the methods by which it was to be used and the mechanical instrumentalities used for performing travel and transportation upon it were entirely distinct from the previously-existing highways, the legal obligations and the duties to the public prevailed by the conditions of their charter, as much as in the case of canals and turnpikes. Newer varieties are still arising, as in the case of pipe lines for the transportation of gas and oil; or of telegraphic lines for the transmission of electricity. Their utterly novel material produced by modern progress establish widely dissimilar methods of use; but the principles of equality and public right are eternal, and must, by the Constitutional laws of this Government, continue to rule over the operations of all these new forms of the public highway, unless the fundamental principles on which this Government was constructed are to be overturned.

What are the duties and obligations of a public highway? When we come to consider the legal requirements which attach to their character, and the public rights which are inherent in the very existence of a public highway, it is not difficult to see how far this principle must work a complete solution of all the problems

which have arisen from the disregard of that character. This is the point upon which there can hardly be too much insistence or iteration. Let it be seen that as the very condition of their creation, the railways are surrounded and clothed with the obligations of the public highway, and the solution of all the questions which arise out of their practical operations becomes as inevitable as the deduction of any proposition of Euclid from the fundamental axioms of geometry.

While many, if not all, of the public duties and public rights arising out of the fundamental character of the railroads have been neglected and nullified in their practical operation, it is the fact that most of them have been declared by the courts, not only in their general character, as cited in the preceding article, but with regard to the exact details brought out in the practical operations of the railway for the last thirty or forty years. The detailed application of the principles follows necessarily from its comprehensive avowal in the fundamental cases; but it is important that it has already been declared independently of statutory enactments, and merely as a result of the conditions of the charter in all their details of railway operations. It is also important to remember that where the mere pecuniary interests of the corporation come into conflict with the public character of the railway, the public obligation is necessarily the supreme consideration. The ignorance of the railway school as to the relative force of the public obligations and the private interests of the corporation may explain the existence of a great many abuses which have become almost universal. But the fact, as declared by the courts, that the primary and controlling consideration in the management and operation of these corporations must be the public right, while the pecuniary purposes—or the profits of the stockholders—must be incidental and secondary, not only makes clear the foundation of the policy which should regulate the railways, but emphasizes the contrast between the principles which ought to rule their operation and those which actually do govern. The pecuniary profit of the corporation is a necessary incident to highways built by corporations and operated by them. Unless there is profit in their operation the enterprises will not be carried on, and the creation of railways by corporate capital will necessarily cease. So it should be understood that the declaration of the secondary and incidental character of the pecuniary purpose of the corporation does not imply that the railroads must be deprived of all profits. The necessity of profits to the operation of the railways must always be recognized. While it is incidental it is a necessary incident to all corporate enterprises, but the profits must be such as can be secured by their operation in strict conformity to their character as public highways, and with full regard to the public right inherent in that character. Wherever a real or alleged expectation of profits arises out of practices which are antagonistic to and violative of that character—which are inconsistent with the true operation of a public highway—there it must be recognized that the public rights are paramount, and that the essential conditions imposed by the very creation of the corporation can not be nullified in order to

advance the pecuniary profits of private individuals.

The fundamental principles which must govern the operation of the public highways were distinctly stated by the courts in the earliest cases, and have been reaffirmed in all their details by common law decisions up to the present time. The first requirement was impartiality and equality of use for all the public. Absolute impartiality as between all who desire to use the public highway, according to the methods peculiar to its character, is necessarily an essential obligation of the highway. And this requirement is to be met not by the fairness or liberality of the corporation, but is inherent in the character given to it by the exercise of the sovereign power in its behalf. "The true criterion," said the United States Supreme Court in 1842, "is whether the public can participate in them by right or only by permission." The idea that a railroad may so conduct its business as to afford cheap transportation to some persons and to exclude others from an equal advantage, was expressly denied from the start. All people must have the right of use upon paying "the usual rate of fare," as Chancellor Walworth ruled, and the claim since made, that the higher rate of fare is the usual one, and the lower rate granted to favorite persons, may be a special one, the Supreme Court of the United States forestalled by declaring, in the Camden and Amboy case, that there must be a "stipulated, reasonable, and uniform toll."

The forcible admonition was given in these earliest cases, that if the railway does not meet these requirements of the public highways, it can not claim the advantages of that character, and the legislative act by which it obtained its rights of way consequently becomes inoperative and void. The rates must not be excessive but reasonable. They can not be changed to apply to each individual case, but they must be stipulated; and they can not be made different to different shippers or travelers; but they must be uniform. And the device resorted to by railroads within the past fifteen years, of levying upon certain traffic such rates as render it impossible to continue shipments with profit, is expressly prohibited by the following language: "But if the toll amounts to a prohibition it is a monopoly, and the road is not public." The result of such devices to destroy the public character of the railway, and to base its existence upon the mere enunciation or affirmation of its charter that it is a public highway, is set forth in the assertion that "the declaration in the charter that the railway is a public highway, does not make it so, if the effect of the charter is to give the exclusive use to the corporations," in which case "it would be opposed to every Constitutional principle which protects the right of private property," to permit the sovereign power of eminent domain to be used in setting up such travesties upon the title of public highways.

It might be an interesting subject of speculation to imagine what these courts would have said to the idea of a highway that gives one shipper certain rates and makes others for its competitors so high as to virtually exclude them

from the markets; or on the idea that the corporation controlling that highway may order the public to cease producing a certain class of merchandise and to suspend operations for a stated period, or pain of being excluded from the use of the highways; or to sell such products at a stated price under the same penalty. It is rather difficult to conceive the force of the language with which they would have denounced the claim that all the highways of the country might unite to maintain an artificial standard of tolls and that one such highway might practically say to the public that no goods should be transported over its road until another public highway had secured its share of the business for the benefit of the highway interests at large; or that if the merchandise in question had yielded tolls to the corporation controlling other public highways in diverse parts of the land, it should be carried over this stated highway for less toll than if it had not been done so. What the later courts have said on these theories in detail, we shall see in subsequent articles. But how the earlier courts would have passed upon them, we can hardly specify further than that we may be certain that the judicial vocabulary would have been severely taxed in denouncing such perversions and nullifications of the character of the public highways; and that they would have asserted that all such acts are wholly repugnant to Constitutional principles, and a gross infraction of the compact by which the public highways were founded. This would be the necessary deduction from the broad and controlling principles which those courts did enunciate, and which furnished the foundation upon which the railway system has been created.

The binding force and the utter indefeasibility of the public right to obtain impartial, equitable, and unrestricted privileges of transportation upon the railroads was clearly and unmistakably laid down by the court at the inception of the railway system as a condition of their existence and a necessity of their character as public highways.

THE following resolutions were passed by Shelby County (Alabama) Alliance. They are a fair sample of the action of the County Wheels and Alliances throughout the cotton belt:

Whereas, the National Cotton Convention that met at Birmingham, Ala., on the 15th day of May, 1889, to devise means of escaping the iniquitous combine on jute bagging, formed for the purpose of robbing cotton farmers of their hard earnings to satisfy the avaricious greed of that odious trust; and

Whereas, said convention, being composed of the best talent of the cotton States, have unanimously recommended the adoption of cotton bagging: therefore be it

Resolved, That the Shelby County Alliance heartily approves and unanimously ratifies the action of said National Cotton Convention held at Birmingham on the 15th day of May last. Be it further

Resolved, That we recommend that any member of a primary Alliance who fails to use cotton bagging shall be expelled from the order, and the subordinate Alliance that fails to expel such a member shall not be entitled to representation in the County Alliance. Be it further

Resolved, That every member of each primary Alliance be requested to report to the trustee or secretary of the same the number of yards of bagging he will want, and such officers are instructed to report the aggregate number of yards to the next meeting of the County Alliance.

Question Column.

A correspondent asks the following questions:

1. What is the emblematic meaning of the colors of the United States flag?

2. Is it intended to unite the Alliance, Wheel, and Union into one society, using the secret work of one, or is it only a financial union?

3. Is the Alliance of the Northwest the same as that of the South?

4. In how many States is the Alliance organized? How many States in which the work is being pushed not yet organized?

In reply to the first question, it may be well to say that there is such a vast amount of poetic effusion upon the subject that one is likely to become hopelessly bewildered in his endeavors to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions. Taking it for granted that the writer desired to know whether the Government recognized officially any designated emblematic meaning, application was made at the War Office for the desired information. There it was learned there was no official translation of the significance of the colors, and personally the officials of that Department knew as little as the laity. Research was then made in the records and the library of the War Office, with the following result:

Rear Admiral Geo. Henry Preble, U. S. N., has made an exhaustive study and research into the origin and significance of flags, and especially the United States flag. His work entitled

"The History of the Flag of the United States of America" is a voluminous work, the result of the greatest and most thorough research; no labor was spared or source of information neglected. This work is the authority on which the Department depends for all information upon the subject of flags. From this authority it is made plainly evident that there is really very little to be known in regard to

either the origin of the design or the significance of the colors. What there is really that is authentic is this:

On Saturday, June 14, 1777, a resolution was passed by the American Congress to the

effect that the flag of the United States be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation, and thirteen stripes, alternate red and white. In the rough journal of Congress the resolve reads: "Resolved, That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

This is the exact and entire wording of the resolution which created the flag. Nothing is said of significance whatever. No record of the discussion which must have taken place on the resolution at the time of its adoption has been

preserved and no record of any expressed opinion or idea on the subject. It is not known authoritatively to whom we are indebted for the device. It does not appear from the records whether it was the device of a committee or of an individual, or even who presented the resolution. It is, however, supposed by those best qualified to judge that it originated with the Marine Committee. The stripes some have supposed to have been borrowed from the Dutch, as they were used in their flag, or

from the stripes on the coats of the Continental soldiers. Both stars and stripes, others have supposed, were suggested by the arms of Washington, which contained both. A British antiquarian supports this idea, but Admiral Preble does not agree with it. The resolution adopting the flag was printed in the papers in August, 1777, but was not officially promulgated until September 3d of that year. A correspondent of a New York paper about that time ascribes this meaning to the colors: "The red tells of the blood shed by our fathers for their country; the blue of the heavens and their protection; and the stars of the separate States embodied in one nationality." This, of course, is mere fancy.

Alfred B. Street, alluding to our flag as first unfurled at the surrender of Burgoyne, says: "The stars of the new flag represent a constellation of new States rising in the West. This idea was taken from the constellation Lyra, which, in the hands of Orpheus, signifies harmony. The blue of the field was taken from the edges of the Covenanters' banner in Scotland, significant also of the league and covenant of the united colonies against oppression, and involving the virtues of vigilance, perseverance, and justice. The stars were disposed in a circle, symbolizing the perpetuity of the union, the ring, like the circling serpent of the Egyptians, signifying eternity. The thirteen stripes showed, as did the number of the stars, the number of the united colonies, and denoted the subordination of the States to the Union, as well as the equality among themselves. The whole was a blending of the various flags previous to the Union flag—the red flag of the army, the white one of the floating batteries. The red color was, in Roman times, the signal of defiance, and denotes daring; the white, purity. What eloquence do the stars breathe when their full significance is known: a new constellation, union, perpetuity, a covenant against oppression, justice, equality, subordination, courage, and purity."

There is no authority for this translation nor that the stars should be grouped in a circle. Peale's picture of Burgoyne's Surrender, now hanging in the Capitol, so represents it, and as Peale had the identical colors to paint from it is probable they were so arranged. It is probable that this translation of Street's is correct, as it was written just after the adoption, when the subject was fresh and there was means of getting at the intent. He uses the words of the resolution of adoption when he says that the stars represent a new constellation, and his reference to the constellation Lyra also leads us to think that he must have had some authority, as the use of this constellation was suggested in Congress as the emblem of union by John Adams, and afterwards used by John Quincy Adams when Secretary of State, on one of his seals. It may be safely said that the red signifies courage, the blue truth or loyalty, and the white purity.

2. The various organizations adopting the new constitution will be united under one directing head and will use the same secret work.

3. No; it is a distinct organization, but working toward the same end.

4. The Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union has State organizations in fifteen States, viz: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Texas, Indian Territory. Organization is progressing in Maryland, West Virginia, Indiana, Colorado, and New Mexico. The National Farmers Alliance is growing in all the Northern and Western States.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

DISEASE GERMS.

In order to lay a foundation for the correct understanding of subjects that will come up hereafter in connection with animal plagues and measures proper for the prevention of their spread, it is thought best to go into the life history of disease germs in general, so that the manner in which they multiply and are communicated from the sick to the well may be placed before the non-technical reader in as plain a light as possible. This being understood, intelligent opinion of the efficiency of preventive measures will be within the reach of any intelligent person. In the first place, disease germs, so far as at present known, all belong to the lowest order of vegetable organisms. They are, none of them, animalculæ, as is very commonly supposed. They are multiplied by a simple division of parts, or by the formation of a kind of seed called a spore. It is very important to note that the spore is capable of very much greater resistance to destructive agents than the mature organism. The vitality of the spore is also retained under ordinary conditions very much longer than is the case with the germ itself. Inasmuch as the spore, when placed under favorable conditions, produces the mature organism, and it in turn produces the spores with a rapidity so great as to baffle every method of computation—millions being produced in a space of time incredibly short—therefore, it is evident that the spores are more formidable than the germs. Now, let us examine the effect of a germicidal solution upon the germ itself and upon the spore. We shall find that a solution not strong enough to kill the germ will prevent it from producing spores. Yet when removed from the solution and placed under favorable conditions, it regains its power to produce spores. A stronger solution will be required to kill the germ, and this solution, while not yet strong enough to kill the spores, may be strong enough to prevent them from producing mature germs; but when removed from the solution and placed under favorable conditions, the spores regain their power to produce germs. Hence the disinfectant must be sufficiently concentrated to destroy not only the germs but the spores also, and that within a short period of exposure to their action. A trustworthy germicide, or disinfectant as it is commonly styled, should destroy spores effectually after ten minutes' exposure. Plainly, if weak enough to require several days to destroy the spores, reliance should not in any case be placed upon it. The germs themselves do not produce the disease caused by their presence, but they produce a poison which produces the disease, and which is also fatal to the germs themselves, which produce it when sufficiently concentrated. As, for example, the yeast plant produces alcohol in sugar solution, but when the alcohol reaches the amount of 25 per cent. of the solution it is fatal to the yeast plant. The condition of things is now, however, favorable to the acetic ferment, which takes the place of the dead yeast plant and produces vinegar.

From this we are prepared to comprehend the manner in which germ diseases run a defined course, in many cases are self-limiting, and leave behind them a greater or less immunity from a fresh attack for a greater or less length of time, often for life. When the point of concentration in the circulation and the tissues is reached at which the poison produced is fatal to the germ producing it, then, if the powers of the system are sufficient to eliminate and destroy the poison already produced, recovery takes place, otherwise death. Among fermenters we

have two sorts very distinct, one a living organism like the yeast plant, one formless or soluble, as pepsin. Whether in the case of the *materiae morbi* of disease we have a similar distinction is not yet established; nevertheless, it seems very probably true. In the case of disease-germs some form spores, some do not; some live in the absence of oxygen, some do not, but demand a limited supply of that gas. All, however, perish in the presence of free oxygen in full supply. Strong, direct sunlight is also unfavorable to all of them. They demand, also, as life conditions, water and the presence of decomposing organic matter—that is to say, diseases of this type love dampness, darkness, and filth. Cleanliness and purity, light and air are nature's great disinfectants. And, since a rather moderate degree of heat is fatal to all germs and spores which produce disease, we understand that the readiest, most effectual of disinfectants was well known to Moses, who so often commanded concerning infected filth or other materials, "Let it be burned with fire." With all the higher organisms, in whatsoever place oxygen is in full supply, and there is abundance of the blessed light of the sun, there physiological energy is keyed up to the highest pitch, and among such tissues deadly microbes can by no means effect a lodgment and grow. Plenty of exercise in the open air in man or beast stands for vigorous health and ripe old age. Confinement in dark, damp, filthy, ill-ventilated hovels will soon break down the strongest constitution. Now, of all places, let the chamber of the sick man, the stable of the sick animal be a light place, a clean place, a freely-ventilated place, a dry place. If that which can not be burned up after use by the sick be subjected for ten minutes to the action of boiling water it will be disinfected, both germs and spores being destroyed. One of the best disinfectants is a saturated solution of chloride of lime. The poisonous salts of mercury, the corrosive sublimate, bismuthide, etc., are reliable to kill germs and spores in the strength of half a grain to the ounce, but are deadly and dangerous poisons; so of carbolic acid of the strength of 10 per cent. In hydro-naphthal it is hoped we possess an effectual germicide, non-irritant, non-corrosive to metal substances, and non-poisonous to higher organisms. Others, no doubt, are to be discovered.

AGRICULTURAL ENGINEERING.

That view of agricultural education which leaves out the application of mechanics is extremely defective. There ought to be in every agricultural college a chair of agricultural engineering; instead of which, however, there is, so far as we have ever heard, no agricultural college where there is a course of agricultural engineering taught. No reference is here had to the ordinary course of civil engineering as taught in colleges not agricultural, but a course in which the applications of engineering science in farm practice are taught. How many graduates in agriculture receiving the degree of bachelor of science understand the workings of a turbine or a hydraulic ram? Not many of them ever saw either of those machines, nor could for his life put one up or intelligently oversee the putting of it up. It is only true that there are thousands of farms where there is neither a ram nor a turbine, but it is also certain that for every thousand farms where neither is, there are more than five hundred of them where one or both of them ought to be. A thorough knowledge of the principles of mechanical powers as developed in agricultural implements and machines is almost indispensable to the practical farmer. That farmer who uses man-power to do what horse-power ought to do, who uses horse-power to do what wind or water or steam-power ought to do, is in practice a century behind the age.

Strange to tell, these views have been op-

posed on the ground that we already produce more crops than we can sell at a profit. What shall we gain if we raise less at a greater cost, with harder toil and infinitely more exertion and sell at a slightly advanced price? The cheaper a needed article can be produced and put on the market the more of it can be sold at a reasonable profit. It is never wise, it is always wrong, to seek to enhance the cost of life's necessities to the poor, perhaps already unable to buy food sufficient for them and their families. Is that a state of things to be called overproduction? There are two lines along which this difficulty must be met: First, by the application of those scientific principles which have produced results so marvelous in other acts to the art of culture; and, second, by increasing the ability of the poor to consume the products of agriculture, and by those means advancing to the highest attainable point the progress and general prosperity of the human family, in which all individuals will find the greatest attainment of happiness. There is a latent and undeveloped market at our doors, yea, in our very homes, capable under right conditions of taking and consuming every product of the field, the forest, the mine, the factory. That market is to be found in the unsatisfied wants, the urgent necessities of millions of the poor insufficiently clothed, and sheltered, and warmed and fed, strangers to luxury in every form. In the face of such a fact to cry overproduction is to lie against humanity and against God.

THE NUTRITION OF PLANTS.

When some years ago Prof. S. W. Johnson wrote a compilation of all that was then known of the nutrition of plants he performed his task well. His "How Crops Feed," and "How Crops Grow," brought the subject down to that date. They, perhaps, still present existing information in the best and most manageable form to the agricultural student. The subject, nevertheless, needs restudy and rewriting as badly, perhaps, as any which can be named in the whole range of agricultural sciences. Existing knowledge is very superficial and imperfect. Take the question of the function of lime in agriculture. How much lies been written about it and how little is known about it with any degree of certainty. The same is true of gypsum, and, in fact, of every element of so-called plant food. The great error has been that all such questions have been attacked almost exclusively from the chemical side. A plant is a living organism, and all questions of its nutrition, growth, and development have a physiological side. Have all plants the same power to assimilate phosphoric acid, or nitrogen, or potash, or carbon? We know that they have not. The question is not, how do chemical bodies nourish plants, but how do plants assimilate? How do they absorb? How do they select the chemical constituents of their food? No man comprehends, or will ever comprehend, fully these questions, as long as, ignoring their physiological side, he approaches them exclusively from the chemical side. A plant is a living organism, and all questions of its nutrition, growth, and development have a physiological side. Have all plants the same power to assimilate phosphoric acid, or nitrogen, or potash, or carbon?

We know that they have not. The question is not, how do chemical bodies nourish plants, but how do plants assimilate? How do they absorb? How do they select the chemical constituents of their food? No man comprehends, or will ever comprehend, fully these questions, as long as, ignoring their physiological side, he approaches them exclusively from the chemical side. Every such question needs the fullest re-examination from both points of view. No living organism is a mere chemical apparatus, nor a mere passive agent in obtaining, absorbing, assimilating its food.

We all know that these questions have been dealt with as chemical questions. It has been the fashion to teach that physiological force is merely physico-chemical force operating through the structure of a living organism. Distinguished teachers have not hesitated to advance such doctrine when they themselves must know that there are whole classes of facts of leading importance which can not be accounted for by such a theory and are at variance with it. Physiological force is distinct from and antagonistic to chemical and physical force or any combination of them under the name of style of chemico-physical force. Some go even so far as to describe phenomena which are chemico-physico-vital. It is plain that such men are entangled in the maze of their own terminology, and do not reason well.

Two forces may certainly combine to produce a result, as gravitation and elasticity when a ball falls to the earth and rebounds again and again. But is this the effect of gravitatio-elastic force? Do forces blend? Such terms simply treat that they do or may. Physiological force is as distinct from chemical force as gravitation is from elasticity. It is equally distinct from physical force. It is antagonistic to both. Its laws are its own laws. Neither are they

Harry Tracy in North Carolina.

The papers in different parts of North Carolina have commented on the addresses of Harry Tracy in a most flattering manner, and it is safe to predict that great practical benefit will grow out of his labors in behalf of organization in that State. A correspondent of the *Progressive Farmer* thus describes his lectures at Raleigh:

As a mechanic and not a farmer, and therefore not an Alliance man, but with interests closely identified with the farmer, I heard Mr. Harry Tracy, of Texas, a lecturer of the Farmers Alliance, at Metropolitan Hall, in Raleigh, on Wednesday, June 19th, and I regret most deeply that every farmer and workingman, and our people generally of Wake County, did not hear him.

There were not more than one hundred farmers in the hall, whereas I have seen from three to five hundred at a political convention, when not one of them stood any chance for the office in view, and they knew it.

Mr. Tracy knew what he was talking about and did not hesitate about it. For two hours in his first address, and over one in his second, he piled up indisputable facts and figures. Some of them were startling and fresh, but backed up by the strongest evidence.

He told us of the dangers that threatened us as a free people, by the greed of trusts and combinations; of the ease and luxury of the "Colonels," as he styled the men now holding the offices and controlling the people; of the slavery of ignorance and the curse of debt and mortgages.

He showed us that the cry that the farmer did not work enough and was too extravagant was a slander. "No man," he said, "can be an intelligent man that works ten to twelve hours a day on the farm, for he will be too tired at the close of the day for reading and studying."

"No country or people can prosper that pays even 6 per cent. interest, to say nothing of from 8 to 25."

"Your hear it said that if our farmers would make more corn and pork and less cotton they would be more prosperous, and yet in Illinois, where they do that very thing, there is more land under mortgage than any State in the Union. There are also more railroads in Illinois than any other State."

He showed that the farmers of the South were better off to-day than those of any other section of the Union, but unless they looked after their interests instead of leaving them to the "Kernels," they would not be freemen long.

But we did not start out to give remembered things that Mr. Tracy said, but simply say it was the pure gospel of truth that he talked, and if every farmer and workingman in North Carolina had heard him there would be a change in their condition for the better at an early day.

His appeal to the farmers to stand together, inform themselves and be the slave and tool of no man was such as impressed itself on all who heard him, in a way not to be forgotten.

Harry Tracy's Appointments.

During the following week Harry Tracy will fill appointments for the North Carolina State Alliance as follows:

Kenansville, Saturday, July 13; Burgaw, Monday, July 15; Whiteville, Tuesday, July 16; Elizabethtown, Wednesday, July 17; Lumberton, Thursday, July 18; Maxton, Friday, July 19; Rockingham, Saturday, July 20.

A public lecture will be delivered at 11 A.M., and a private lecture to the Alliance at 2:30 P.M. He cordially invites the ladies to come out and hear him.

WASHINGTON.
Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 14.

Leaving the House wing by the north corridor and passing through Statuary Hall, the Rotunda, and past the Supreme-Court rooms, then through the north corridor, the visitor enters the north wing of the Capitol, where is located the Senate chamber. This is one of the grandest legislative halls in the world, and the people of America may well feel proud of it.

The Senate chamber is 112 feet long, 82 feet wide, and 30 feet high. The general appearance and design are similar in every respect to the hall of the House of Representatives, only more elaborate and elegant in every detail and appointment.

The ceiling is an exact reproduction of that in the hall of the House, with the exception that the glass panels are stained with various National emblems instead of the arms of the States.

The walls are formed in the same manner as those of the House, except that the panels and pilasters are more elaborately and elegantly ornamented in gold and buff. The capitals and cornices are richer and much more elaborate.

The walls are great panels of variegated marble, and the cornices are massive and elegant and of pure white. The mantel is a poem in marble, and above it a great mirror of the most perfect plate-glass is let into the marble wall.

The floor is in the most elegant designs of colored tiles and is a study in itself. The furniture is upholstered in Russian leather and is most elaborate and luxurious. The whole effect is grand and stately beyond description.

The president of the Senate (who is the Vice-President of the United States) sits on a small dais, and in front of his chair is a magnificent desk. At his right sits the sergeant-at-arms, and at his left the assistant doorkeeper. The desk of the Senate clerks, and tables of the official reporters, are in front of the president's seat and facing the Senators. The galleries are arranged in the same manner as those of the House, and will seat upward of a thousand people. This chamber was first occupied by the Senate on January 4, 1859.

A lobby extends along the back of the Senate chamber, opening at one end into a grand reception-room, where visitors can wait when calling on Senators and converse in comfort while reclining upon the most luxuriously upholstered divans and easy-chairs. This magnificent waiting-room is a perfect blaze of gold and color. The ceiling is gorgeous in color, gilt, and allegorical designs. The center is a circle, and radiating from it are parallelograms, each space inclosing most elaborate allegorical compositions, the conception of Brumidi, and executed in his most masterly style. The coloring is rich, brilliant, and harmonious; the drawing strong and expressive, and the whole producing a striking and impressive effect.

The walls are paneled in rich carving, and the panels finished in fresco of the most striking designs and pleasing effect. The carving and relief ornamentation is elaborately gilt, which gives a rich and grand appearance to the hall. The floor is of richly-colored tile, laid in elegant designs, and harmonizing perfectly

with the walls and ceiling. The furniture is of solid, heavy wood and upholstered in Russian leather. Everything about this splendid room is of the richest material and in perfect harmony and the most unexceptionable taste.

Opening from the lobby, at the side, is the famous "Marble Room," where consultations are held and special visitors received.

This is the most magnificent room of its dimensions in the world. Every part of the room is of the purest white marble elaborately carved and beautifully polished.

The ceiling is in deep panels, formed by massive blocks backed by polished slabs, which are again subdivided into smaller panels. The angles of all the panels, great and small, are ornamented by a carved finish of classic design.

This massive ceiling, which is thirty feet above the floor, is supported by four Corinthian columns of pure white marble, beautiful in proportion and of the most exquisite workmanship. The shafts are monoliths which rest upon carved pedestals and taper gracefully to the beautiful and classic capitals, which are most exquisitely carved and finished.

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The floor is in the most elegant designs of colored tiles and is a study in itself. The furniture is upholstered in Russian leather and is most elaborate and luxurious. The whole effect is grand and stately beyond description.

One would imagine that such a chamber would look cold and cheerless, but such is not the case. The somber tints of the wall panels, the deep, warm color of the tiles in the floor, the luxurious comfort offered by the upholstering, the rich drapery of the windows, and the soft tone of the Persian rugs give an air of warmth and comfort; while the elegant and massive marble adds a tone of grandeur that makes the whole splendid beyond description.

These two staircases alone are grand monuments to American genius and art.

In the upper corridor of the Senate wing are many valuable works of art, among which are the Recall of Columbus, by A. G. Heaton;

many portraits of distinguished Americans; the First Fight of Iron-Clads, by W. F. Halsell; the Electoral Commission, and two grand Rocky Mountain views, by Thomas Moran, an American artist of whose genius the Nation may well feel proud. These two paintings are colossal in size, and are worth \$50,000. One is the Grand Canon of the Yellowstone and the other the Chasm of the Colorado. These are probably the finest specimens of Moran's peculiar style, and are worthy of careful study.

The ceiling is a perfect gem, a triumph of architecture and art. It is fairly crusted with gold and bathed in a glow of color. The ceiling is in the form of a canopy, elaborate in fresco and gilt. The designs are allegorical and a very triumph of art. The walls are paneled and decorated with fresco portraits of Washington and his Cabinet upon grounds of effective tints. The walls and ceiling are a study in themselves.

The floor is covered with magnificent Persian carpet and the window draperies are of corresponding material and color. The furniture is the richest that can be designed or produced by modern art, and is upholstered in keeping with the surroundings. Two magnificent plate-glass mirrors are let into the wall and extend from floor to ceiling, encased in massive gilt moldings. The table, which occupies the center of the room, is worthy of careful study and is a masterpiece of artistic workmanship. The room is used by the President on the closing day of each session of Congress for the purpose of examining and signing bills that are passed.

The Vice-President's room joins this, and is also splendidly furnished, finished, and fitted. In this room is hung the celebrated painting of Washington by Rembrandt Peale, for which the Government paid in 1832 \$25,000.

The eastern and western grand staircases, which lead to the Senate galleries from the main floor, are very beautiful, and must be seen to be appreciated. They are the same in design as those of the House, but both are of the purest white marble and of the most delicate finish and exquisite workmanship. The columns and balustrades are perfect dreams in marble.

A statue of Benjamin Franklin, by Hiram Powers, America's greatest sculptor, stands at the foot of the Eastern staircase, and the wall space, at the first landing, is occupied by a colossal painting of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, by W. H. Powell. The painting cost \$25,000, and is one of the finest owned by the Government. The painting represents Commodore Perry's heroic act of transferring his flag from the disabled ship Lawrence to the Niagara. Copies of this painting are printed in many school histories, and these prints will give some idea of the design of the picture, but of course no conception of the artistic execution, coloring, and effect.

At the foot of the western staircase stands a statue of John Hancock, by Horatio Stone. On the wall space of the first landing is James Walker's celebrated painting of the Storming of Chapultepec by General Scott's troops. This painting is not so large as the others to which reference has been made, but it is one of the most remarkable battle pieces ever painted by an American artist. It at once commands the attention of the observer and holds him with growing interest by its minutiæ of detail, its effective and harmonious coloring as well as its life and action.

These two staircases alone are grand monuments to American genius and art.

In the upper corridor of the Senate wing are many valuable works of art, among which are the Recall of Columbus, by A. G. Heaton; many portraits of distinguished Americans; the First Fight of Iron-Clads, by W. F. Halsell; the Electoral Commission, and two grand Rocky Mountain views, by Thomas Moran, an American artist of whose genius the Nation may well feel proud. These two paintings are colossal in size, and are worth \$50,000. One is the Grand Canon of the Yellowstone and the other the Chasm of the Colorado. These are probably the finest specimens of Moran's peculiar style, and are worthy of careful study.

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The walls are paneled in rich carving, and the panels finished in fresco of the most striking designs and pleasing effect. The carving and relief ornamentation is elaborately gilt, which gives a rich and grand appearance to the hall. The floor is of richly-colored tile, laid in elegant designs, and harmonizing perfectly

rendering of the harmony of nature, a grand translation of her wondrous beauty. Moran's perspectives, to use a society phrase, are "simply divine," and these two pictures are the embodiment of his genius, the treasure-house of his skill.

THE report of the chief of the Division of Mining Statistics and Technology, United States Geological Survey, for 1888, is shortly to be issued. It will show that the domestic iron ore consumed was about 12,060,000 long tons; value at mines \$28,944,000. This is an increase over 1887 in quantity of 760,000 long tons, but a decrease in value of \$4,956,000. Imported iron ore consumed, 587,470 long tons; total iron ore consumed in 1888, about 12,650,000 long tons, or 150,000 tons more than in 1887. Pig-iron made in 1888, 6,489,738 long tons; value at furnace, \$107,000,000; an increase over 1887 of 72,590 tons, but a decrease in value of \$14,925,000. Steel of all kinds produced in 1888, 2,899,440 long tons; value at works, \$89,000,000; this is a decrease from 1887 of 439,631 tons in quantity, and of \$14,811,000 in value. Total value of all iron and steel made in 1888, in the first stage of manufacture, excluding all duplications, \$145,000,000; an estimated decrease of \$26,103,000 as compared with 1887. The lime-stone used as a flux in the manufacture of pig-iron in 1888 had a value at the quarry of \$2,719,000. The total value of copper produced was \$33,833,954. The product of lead increased from 160,700 tons in 1887 to 180,555 tons in 1888. The total production of all kinds of commercial coal in 1888 was 142,037,735 short tons; increase over 1887, 18,022,480 tons; value at the mines, \$204,221,990; increase, \$30,625,994. The total value of the petroleum produced was about \$24,598,559.

Men with ready money buy simply as a short time investment. Quotations generally show that from November to July, prices range about ½ cent higher toward each later month. This covers insurance, storage, and interest. Were the planter in position to store and insure this legitimate profit would accrue to him, and from this source alone several millions would be added to the proceeds of the crop to the producer. That farmers should hold their cotton from market during the months of harvest is certainly good advice, and if generally followed would be vastly beneficial.

Clubbing Rates.

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

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price. of both

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"Toller," Nashville, Tenn., official organ Agricultural Wheel	1 00	1 65

	1 00	1 25
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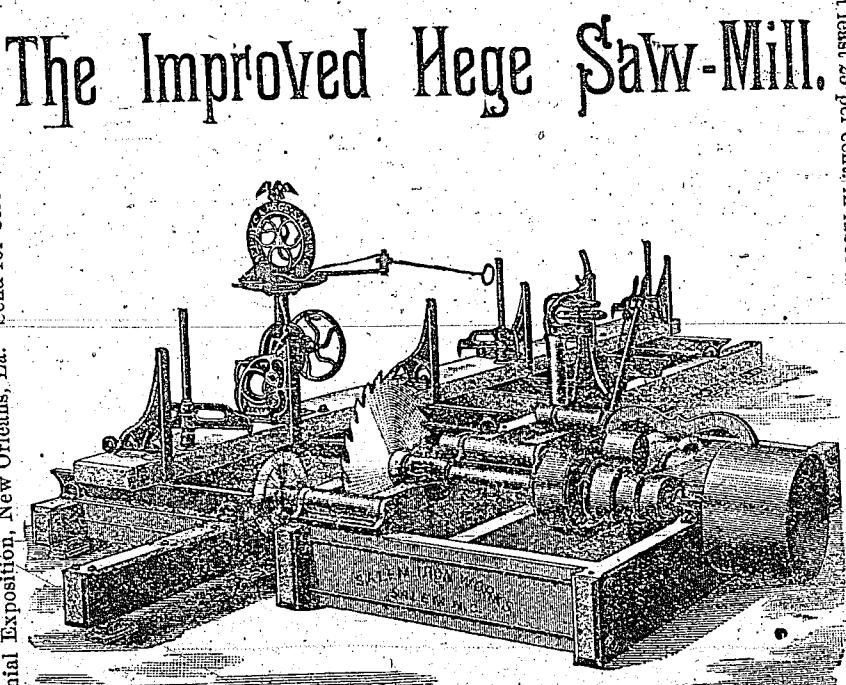
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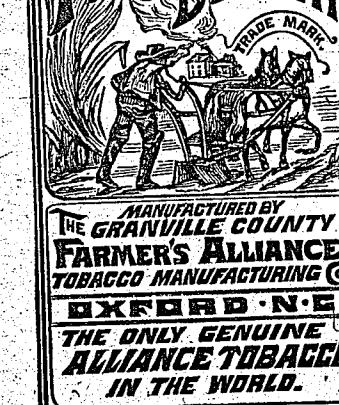
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PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

{ SINGLE COPY, FIVE CENTS.

VOL. I.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1889.

No. 18.

that individual effort, or effort on as small a scale as will barely give the best results from the division of labor, can not cope with the wealthy corporations that manufacture on a large scale. Few men of the competitive school have dared to dissent from this popular notion, and consequently it has become almost a proverb which the Socialists delight to use on all occasions. There are men, however, and wise men, too, who do not believe that the system of great factories can long compete with a system of small establishments under intelligent and interested management and control. On this subject the following is quoted from The South West, of Fort Worth, Texas:

Dr. Albrecht, a writer in a German periodical, comes to the conclusion, contrary to currently accepted opinion and prevailing tendencies of the present, that there will be a return to small shops instead of great factories in the future. He holds that as motive power is more and more perfected and cheapened will this be possible and practicable. And, further, that the admitted evils of massing operatives in large numbers will secure a return to small shops when cheap motive power is secured. He has great faith and hope in this direction from the perfection of electric motors, and contends that the plants now used to furnish light at night might be utilized to furnish power to small manufacturing establishments in the day-time. It must be confessed that the present rapid concentration of the industries into large establishments gives little indication of a coming change in the direction pointed out by the doctor. And in this connection it must be remembered that the motive power is not the main advantage of the large factory. Costly machinery, constantly changing with improvements, must be provided; and this, small capital in small establishments can not command. Hence small capital and small shops can not compete with larger capital and better machinery, no matter how cheap the motive power may be.

National pride.

But in spite of the fact that intelligent, conscientious men, who are friends to humanity and the present form of government, have, in the interest of such noble causes, shown that the profits accruing to a mere handful of capitalists who own the stock of the great factories was in no sense of the word an adequate excuse for the further development and perpetuation of a system that deprives thousands of men who have families dependent upon them of the means whereby they may properly rear and educate such families to a proper conception of the dignity, power, and responsibility of American citizenship; that gradually destroys the skill, intelligence, morality, and patriotism of a very large percentage of the citizens of the Republic; that renders the great army of operatives so completely dependent upon those capitalists that the Government possesses neither charms nor fears for them, and that their fealty to capital must of necessity control their suffrage. It is claimed that, were the returns in productive results a thousand times as great, they could never compensate for such dire results to humanity and to the Government as these. But, in spite of all this, the tendency has steadily progressed, and seems to be still progressing.

This view of the subject suggests another. The fact that large factories involve great investments in machinery, which is being constantly superseded and rendered useless by more improved machines for doing the same work more effectively and cheaper, has been one of the causes that tended to induce manufacturers to combine and form trusts. A number of factories making the same thing would suddenly find themselves confronted with a new factory having a new process of making the same product much cheaper. They perhaps have \$10,000,000 invested in machinery that will soon become under such a state of affairs practically useless and worthless, while the capital of the successful rival may not aggregate over a few hundred thousands. These factories combine and sell for less than cost until they force the owner of the cheaper process to join their combination or sell out to them. They then put up prices,

If it be true that the profitable period for manufacturing on a large scale by means of expensive plants has passed, because the period has arrived in which the risk and expense of having obsolete machinery to dispose of, and having been reached will always continue, and will more than counter-balance the pecuniary advantages of producing on a large scale, it must follow that the manufacturing energy and the inventive genius, as well as the capital seeking investment, will all gravitate toward the shop and the small manufacturing plant. It is in accord with all history of effort that the very

elements—immense plants of expensive machinery—which gave the factory system its prestige, when carried to excess should prove the cause of its decay.

In conclusion, it may be accepted as an established fact that any line of effort that is not by its very nature a monopoly may with confidence be submitted to the influence of the competitive system, and that capital can not long assert an advantage over labor, but all lines of business that are essentially a monopoly should be conducted by society at large through the Government.

Political Economy.

An important part in all the standard works upon political economy has been devoted to rent. All prominent writers have substantially agreed as to the definition of rent and its effect upon the distribution of wealth. Even the most modern production on this subject, including such as tend to the socialistic school of economics, have made no material change from the doctrines taught by Adam Smith, Jean Baptiste Say, and John Stuart Mill. Smith says:

Rent considered as the price paid for the use of land is naturally the highest which the tenant can afford to pay in the actual circumstances of the land. In adjusting the terms of the lease, the landlord endeavors to leave him no greater share of the produce than what is sufficient to keep up the stock from which he furnishes the seed, pays the labor, and purchases and maintains the cattle and other instruments of husbandry, together with the ordinary profits of farming stock in the neighborhood. This is evidently the smallest share with which the tenant can content himself, without being a loser, and the landlord seldom means to leave him any more. The rent of land, therefore, considered as the price paid for the use of land, is naturally a monopoly price. It is not at all proportioned to what the landlord may have laid out upon the improvements of the land, or to what he can afford to take, but to what the farmer can afford to give.

There are some parts of the produce of land for which the demand must always be such as to afford a greater price than what is sufficient to bring them to market; and there are others for which either may or may not be such as to afford this greater price. The former must always afford a rent to the landlord. The latter sometimes may and sometimes may not, according to different circumstances.

Rent, it is to be observed, therefore, enters into the composition of the price of commodities in a different way from wages and profits. High or low wages and profit are the causes of high or low price; high or low rent is the effect of it. It is because high or low wages and profit must be paid, in order to bring a particular commodity to market, that its price is high or low. But it is because its price is high or low, a great deal more, or very little more, or no more, than what is sufficient to pay those wages and profit, that it affords a high rent, or a low rent, or no rent at all.

In next to the last paragraph above quoted, reference is made to the doctrine of the margin of cultivation, about which so much has since been written. Much of the modern teachings upon the subject of rent depends upon this doctrine, which is based on the theories of rent entertained by Smith, Say, Mills, McCulloch, and others, all of whom wrote at a time when it was a settled principle of government that lands were practically inalienable. This fea-

ture of rent will be fully considered after quoting from other authors.

In the last paragraph above quoted, the learned author, no doubt, accurately described conditions as they existed prior to the development of the modern era of commercial supremacy over everything and the crowning of capitalism as the regent supreme of commerce. Prior to the beginning of American institutions it had always been the policy of Great Britain and other powerful nations to discourage by every possible means the alienation of real estate. The lands were to be preserved in the families of the nobility by means of laws of primogeniture and entailment, and a landed aristocracy would always be a solid foundation on which the reigning sovereign could depend for support. But by the establishment of the Government of the United States upon true democratic principles, and consequently the interdiction of all titles of nobility, and all laws of primogeniture and entailment, together with organic and statutory regulations that so facilitated the alienation of realty that title in fee-simple always vested in a written deed and required neither lineage, condition, nor the actual possession on the land itself, by passing from hand to hand a clod in the presence of witnesses, titles to realty were opened to everybody, and the transfers as easily made as of any other commodity, which the land practically and for all purposes became when the title was vested in a negotiable instrument of writing that as completely involved possession by law as any other commodity that could be purchased and placed in the coat pocket. If the reader has any doubt on this point let him consider which has the possession of a certain hundred-acre field, the man who lives on it and supports his family there, or the man who has a deed in *fee-simple* to same in his vest pocket. The vest-pocket possession of the hundred acres is supreme in usage and in law, and can, at will, be fully enforced. The conclusion, then, inevitably follows that, since the United States Government has abolished all laws restricting alienation and neutralized all conditions tending to perpetuate the titles to realty in certain lines of succession, and has provided a system whereby alienation is as easy, certain, and satisfactory as any kind of chattel property, and absolutely vests the title and possession in an instrument of writing that may be transferred without restriction or limitation, it has practically made the land a commodity. This doctrine is further sustained by the laws governing the hypothecation of lands. Therefore, under modern conditions, in the United States at least, it seems that the above teachings of Adam Smith must be considerably modified. The modification necessary to make them conform to the actual facts in this country would be about as follows: The term profits, as used by Adam Smith to designate the interest that should legitimately accrue to capital in any given act of production, has become more powerful, because, by the capitalization of land, which resulted from its conversion into a commodity, rent has merged into what was called profits. Since that consolidation has taken place the results of production have sim-

ply to reward labor with wages and capital with profits. While this has simplified the division very materially, it has in no sense of the word benefited labor. In fact, labor finds it harder to command its share; since its two colleagues in the act of production have combined it is now universally the case that they must be served first, and the residue, if any, fall to labor. It would be absurd for a man nowadays to claim that he should pay no rent because his business had yielded nothing with which to pay it. Rent and profits must first be paid, and the shortage must be made up by labor, either

from the store and accumulation of past efforts or from that of greater exertions in the future. The above quotation might more correctly describe modern conditions by saying: Wages, it is to be observed; therefore, enters into the composition of the price of commodities in a different way from profits (which under capitalistic rule includes old-fashioned rent). High or low profits are the cause of high or low price; high or low wages is the effect of it.

It is because high or low profits (modern) must be paid, in order to bring a particular commodity to market, that its price is high or low; But it is because its price is high or low—a great deal more, or very little more, or no more—than what is sufficient to pay those profits—modern, including rent and transportation—that it affords high wages, low wages, or no wages at all.

This modification of the teaching of that grand old Scotchman must strike every modern observer as an accurate statement of fact, no matter how deplorable it is and how humiliating it is to admit that our wonderful commercial progress has been attended with such dire concomitants. It would be well for the American people if this definition were written in the azure sky in letters of fire as a warning worthy of immediate attention. Labor is the progenitor of capital. Capital has swallowed rent and proposes to enslave its parent. Will the parent submit? Time alone will decide.

THE modern capitalistic system has developed a class of men whose moral natures are utterly perverted, or as it were, paralyzed. They think of the people as ignorant, vicious, easily duped, and more easily corrupted, fit only to be used as instruments and agents for the benefit and exaltation of those who can manipulate them successfully for their own selfish ends. Such men have no confidence in the people; as a rule they have no faith in anything. They sneer at virtue, and flout the idea of men being governed by principle. They always align themselves with the strongest political party, and profess and proclaim their devotion to it upon the streets, and in public gatherings, and through the public press, wherever they may be seen and heard of men. This class of men push themselves into places of trust and honor only to betray, only for profit. Let the people beware of them. The tenor of the times inclines to the development of this cast of character, and it is a menace to the perpetuity of our institutions.

Wise and just legislation is a surer protection against riot, discord, and revolution than a standing army of Gatling-guns.

History and Government.

No. 18.

The theory upon which Leonidas based his plan of action was one which it would have been impossible to prove, except by the aid of a people reared and educated, as the Spartans had been, under free and liberal institutions; and especially such a system as taught the superiority of virtue above all other attainments, and inculcated lessons of patriotism which inspired the citizen to make the most heroic sacrifices for the common good.

No people, not most unreservedly devoted to their country and its institutions by the most powerful ties of duty and affection, would have thus willingly sacrificed themselves upon the altar of patriotism. No hope of gain or promise of pecuniary reward, no anticipation of extended power or increase of imperial grandeur could accomplish such results.

The death of these heroic and devoted men had a double effect, more far-reaching and lasting than they themselves had hoped or imagined. In the first place, it was the seed that ripened in the victories which followed after; which made the Persians lay aside forever any further attempt at the subjugation of this grand people, and left them free to cultivate and spread those liberal institutions and generous systems which have borne such rich returns in the character of the civilization which grew from them. On the other hand, it inspired the Greeks with an exalted estimate of their character and valor, gave them reliance in themselves and a pride in their institutions which no opposition could quench, and led them to believe that by their invincible valor they were able, not only to oppose Persian oppression, but even to overthrow their empire; which they afterward actually accomplished under the leadership of Alexander.

The achievements of the Greeks, in their various conflicts with the power of Persia, is a subject of the greatest interest, but it is foreign to our purpose to follow the various details; reference is only made to the most striking instances to illustrate the character of the people as developed under the institutions already described, and show the strong contrast brought out between the results of the two extremes of governmental policy upon the characters of the people affected by them. No higher evidence of the superiority of Greek institutions need be asked than those already given; yet these were only the beginning, and there are yet others too striking to be neglected.

Leonidas, knowing that Xerxes was marching at the head of all the power of the East in order to overwhelm and crush a comparatively insignificant country by force of numbers, recognized that if they attempted to oppose force to force and numbers to numbers, all the Greek people combined would make not a fraction of the Persian's numbers, and could never sustain a conflict with them.

It was necessary, therefore, to point out to the Greeks another means of resistance and safety. He determined to show to them, and to the civilized world which was witness to the conflict, what true courage, patriotism, and devotion could do when opposed to brute force, the love of liberty against tyranny, a few determined and devoted patriots against the forces of oppression, no matter how numerous. These brave Spartans agreed with their leader that it was their duty, because they were the choicest soldiers of the chief people of Greece, to devote themselves to certain death, in order to teach the Persians how difficult it is to reduce a free peo-

ple to slavery, and set before the rest of Greece an example of the highest devotion to duty and the common cause, and that it was for them only to conquer or die.

That this was the conception of Leonidas is evident from the reply he made to certain Lacedemonians who spoke to him on his departure from Sparta, saying: "Is it possible that you can think of marching with a handful of men against such a mighty and innumerable army?" Leonidas replied: "If we are to depend upon numbers, all the people of Greece together would not be sufficient; since a small part of the Persian army is equal to all of the inhabitants of our country; but if we are to reckon upon valor, then my little troop is more than sufficient."

The glorious example of courage and devotion given by the Spartans not only excited the wonder of the Persians, but gave new spirit and vigor to the Greeks.

The death of these heroic and devoted men had a double effect, more far-reaching and lasting than they themselves had hoped or imagined.

In the first place, it was the seed that ripened in the victories which followed after; which made the Persians lay aside forever any further attempt at the subjugation of this grand people, and left them free to cultivate and spread those liberal institutions and generous systems which have borne such rich returns in the character of the civilization which grew from them. On the other hand, it inspired the Greeks with an exalted estimate of their character and valor, gave them reliance in themselves and a pride in their institutions which no opposition could quench, and led them to believe that by their invincible valor they were able, not only to oppose Persian oppression, but even to overthrow their empire; which they afterward actually accomplished under the leadership of Alexander.

The achievements of the Greeks, in their various conflicts with the power of Persia, is a subject of the greatest interest, but it is foreign to our purpose to follow the various details; reference is only made to the most striking instances to illustrate the character of the people as developed under the institutions already described, and show the strong contrast brought out between the results of the two extremes of governmental policy upon the characters of the people affected by them. No higher evidence of the superiority of Greek institutions need be asked than those already given; yet these were only the beginning, and there are yet others too striking to be neglected.

The people of Athens, now homeless and destitute indeed, depended entirely upon their wooden walls for their defense. Having been forced from their lands they betook themselves to the sea, but never for an instant wavered in their devotion to the cause of liberty and the institutions which had grown up under it. Only one man in Athens had dared to propose submission to the invader when the proposal to evacuate the city was made, and this proposal so incensed the people that they stoned the author to death. The entire population was thoroughly devoted to the common cause heart and soul, and this unity of sentiment was the salvation of Greece.

While Xerxes was advancing on Attica he was told by some of the people with whom he

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conversed that the Grecians were engaged in celebrating the games at Olympia, and was still more surprised when he learned that the only reward of the victors in those games was a wreath of olive. One of the Persian noblemen exclaimed, in great wonder and astonishment, "What men must they be who are influenced only by honor and not by money." Character so utterly free from mercenary influence, so elevated above sordid gain was beyond his corrupted understanding; yet it was the one great attainment which made a handful of Greeks superior to the combined power of the East. Xerxes plundered the renowned temple of Delphi on his march toward Athens, and left behind him only desolation upon the route he traversed. He finally arrived before Athens with his army.

The city, although abandoned except by a few devoted patriots who could not gain their own consent to desert their homes without striking a blow, had been fortified around the citadel with wooden ramparts, and here these determined few faced the entire Persian army until they were cut down and the last man killed, refusing to hear any proposals of surrender. These men deserve equal glory with the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae, and whose noble example they followed. Thus Athens as well as Sparta made her sacrifice of heroes in the cause of liberty.

Xerxes plundered the city, and sent vast treasures gathered there, as well as pictures and statues, to Susa. He burned the citadel and flattered himself that his undertaking was practically accomplished.

Little did he know the Greek people, or the grand inspiration of liberty, which teaches its children that so long as it abides with them they are rich beyond the power of gold to increase; that where it abides, there is their home; that where it leads, there is glory and honor; and that only when it dies does life lose its brightness, beauty, and joy.

The Athenians were homeless, destitute, without a country; their wives and children pensioners upon the bounty of their friends, but they still possessed their liberty; they still retained the pride and manhood that liberty inspires, and so long as these remained the light of hope never waned, the spirit of determined resistance never flagged, their courage never grew faint. Cheerfully they bore their afflictions, confident that in the end justice would triumph, and so long as they were true to virtue and themselves all would be right; that they would finally triumph and rebuild the waste places and again erect their homes amid the blessings that virtue and liberty always bring.

The Greek fleet now gathered about Salamis, and the land forces were placed under Cleombrotus, the brother of Leonidas, and were to defend the passage into Peloponnesus with the aid of the wall before referred to.

Euribyades, a Spartan, was given command of the combined fleet.

Considerable discussion grew up in the council which was called to decide upon the plan of operations, and Themistocles, who commanded the Athenians, disagreed with Euribyades. The discussion grew warm, and

finally Euribyades became excited and threatened to strike the Athenian. "Strike me," replied Themistocles, "strike me, but hear me!"

Here was a lesson in unselfish devotion, in patriotic submission to the common welfare that should not be without its effect throughout all time. This grand patriot, never forgetful of his country's welfare, set aside all thought of self, all personal pride, all dignity of place, and, by his reply, implied that personal indig- nity to himself was of no consequence, but that it was the common welfare of the country which should be first considered. This little circumstance is one of the finest instances of perfect devotion upon record; even the instantaneous flash of passion was curbed and controlled, personal dignity ignored and set aside for the common good; and this splendid control of passion was not without its result.

Themistocles was heard, and his counsel prevailed, resulting in a glorious triumph for the cause of Greece.

The mighty fleet of the Persians now bore down upon the small force of the Greeks, which numbered only 380 vessels all told, and soon these were completely surrounded and all the passes between the islands completely closed against them.

Aristides, who was in command of a small land force at Egina, learning of the situation, ventured in a small boat, at night, through the fleet of the Persians; and, having found Themistocles, between whom and himself considerable rivalry existed, said to him: "If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall henceforth lay aside those vain and puerile dissensions which have hitherto separated us. One strife, and a noble emulation it is, now remains for us—

which of us shall be most serviceable to our country. It is yours to command as a general, it is mine to obey as a soldier, and happy shall I be if my advice can any way contribute to the welfare of our country's glory." He then gave him the information in regard to the Persian fleet.

Here is another instance, exhibited by a man high in honor among the Greeks, of a willing sacrifice of all personal and selfish aims and aspirations for the good of the country, and it was to this spirit, so common among the Greeks, that their final success may be ascribed. What could contribute more fully to the development of this characteristic than the peculiar cast of their national institutions?

The details of the battle between the fleets, which took place at Salamis, are too voluminous to be given here. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that the fleet of the Persians was almost destroyed. Xerxes sat upon a throne erected upon an eminence overlooking the sea and saw his mighty array of power wiped from the face of the water by the invincible Greeks, who wrought prodigies of valor throughout the conflict and gained a victory that is even to this day the wonder of the world.

Themistocles contrived to get the report to Xerxes that the Greeks were pushing to destroy the bridge across the Hellespont. This thoroughly frightened him. He began to fear that his grand undertaking was not only an abject failure but that he himself was in danger

of capture. He had entered Greece at the deviation to a common cause.

head of the mightiest army ever marshalled upon the earth. He felt that he held the scepter of the world, and that victory itself was the creature of his will; now this mighty array was dissipated like chaff before the wind, like dew beneath the fervor of the sun, and he himself, the autocrat of all the East, a fugitive, fleeing before the wrath of a handful of the children of liberty, whose valor had not only defied his majesty and power but blasted his aspirations, decimated his armies, and wiped his fleets from the face of the waters. Was there ever a more complete humbling of arrogance, a more glorious resistance to tyranny?

The remnant of the Persian fleet made its way to the coast of Asia, and Xerxes, leaving 300,000 men under Mardonius to continue the war in Greece, set out with the remainder of his army to gain the bridge across the Hellespont before it could be destroyed by the Greek fleet and his retreat into Asia cut off.

As no provision had been made for the supply of this force on its march, and the fleet that had fed it was destroyed, they underwent terrible suffering during the retreat, which lasted forty-five days. The army was reduced almost to the point of starvation; after they had consumed all the fruits and provisions in their way, they were compelled to subsist on herbs and even the bark and leaves of trees. This caused great sickness, and thousands died of disease.

The King, fearing more for his own safety than the preservation of his army, left it behind and pushed on ahead with a small escort in order to reach the bridge and escape into Asia. When he reached the Hellespont he found the bridge broken down by a storm and was compelled to pass the strait in a fishing boat.

Here was a scene well calculated to illustrate the instability of human greatness, and the folly of the pride of power and place. But a short time before, this monarch had witnessed the passage of his mighty hosts advancing upon their march to conquest. The land and sea were swarming with his minions, and his myriads of banners fluttered defiantly as they advanced to fix his power upon the Western world.

His heart swelled with pride at the sight, and his arrogance rose as he dreamed of his unparalleled grandeur and power when the entire world should bow in submission to his will, and Oriental despotism should fix its hold upon the millions of Europe. Never once did a shadow of failure darken the brilliancy of his anticipations. Not once did he doubt the certainty of his success. Not for an instant did he dream that a handful of people, poor and insignificant in numbers, without wealth or organized armies, would dare to face in combat the millions he led against them, and now this same monarch was stealing away in a wretched little boat to escape the vengeance of these same people and save his miserable life; his mighty army almost destroyed, his fleets scattered and annihilated, his glory and majesty a dream, and he a fugitive.

Little did this monarch know of the inspiration of liberty, of the valor that is born of it, of the devotion patriotism begets, of the power that comes of unity, of harmony and earnest

Popular government and liberal institutions had proved their vast superiority over the might of despotism, the arrogance of tyranny, the colossal power of centralization. It was the triumph of mind over matter, of spirit over the grosser attributes of our natures, of virtue over vice, of justice over oppression, of the higher qualities of our nature over the animal, subjected to a slavery more abject, more degrading, and more exacting than that from which they emerged by their rebellion against the King of England. This is not a creature of fancy, but a stern reality. This class have been wielding this power over us for the last quarter of a century, and have grown so powerful and insolent that they openly defy us, curl the lip of scorn at our righteous protestations, and openly proclaim that they have but to command, and we dare not disobey.

They claim that they have the power to enforce their demands, and so far they have made good their claims. The question that in thunder tones suggests itself to us is, Shall this state of affairs continue to exist, or shall we, ignoring party ties, strike for deliverance from this many-headed monster? We all know something of the history of the various trusts, but perhaps we are not so familiar with the process by which they form and execute these trusts, or, in other words, by what power, and where obtained, they enabled so to do. An honest answer to this inquiry would bring upon us the anathemas of this favored class, and of those who thus favored them, and would, perhaps, be a scarecrow to some of our own order, who are afraid to open their mouths in vindication of their rights and their interests for fear they may trample upon the sacred precincts of the professional politician. For the insidious plunger and his willful abettors I entertain no feeling but that of scorn and contempt; for our timid brother I have the most profound pity, and would counsel him to look squarely at the situation, view the chains that have been, and are yet being, forged for himself and for those who should be dearer to him than even life itself. Then if he can not buckle on his armor and strike boldly and at once for the emancipation of his loved ones, I know of no language that would better apply to him than that spoken to his followers by Robert Bruce, of Scotland, on the occasion of the invasion of his country by Edward, King of England:

BRETHREN: The vital issues that confront us as an Alliance of farmers and laborers we can not afford to ignore, to pass idly by, or merely to give to them a casual notice. To have a name as an Alliance man is not enough. We must be on the alert, be up and doing. We must educate ourselves not alone in the principles of the Alliance, but also in the plan of action whereby we may be enabled to establish those principles. To say that we are opposed to such and such measures or acts, and take no action to ward off or defeat their accomplishment, is, to express it in mild terms, the climax of foolishness, and will make us a laughing-stock for the parties who seek to plunder us by making us tributary to the consummation of their nefarious schemes; schemes which are intended to rob us of the greater portion of our hard earnings, and which are not to stop there, but ultimately to make of us serfs; to protect them in the enjoyment of that which they have already plundered us of, and to enable them to yet further plunder us at their supreme pleasure. It is high time, my brethren, that we should awake from our stupor, look around us, and endeavor to discover by what power, and from whence derived, that they are enabled to thus lord it over us. We as a class labor hard; we feed, and I believe I will add, we clothe, the world; and yet we have meted out to us a bare sufficiency to keep soul and body together. How is this? It is estimated that each producer makes eight times as much as he consumes. Then what becomes of the seven-eighths? This question is a momentous one; one that gives the solution to our degradation, social and financially; one that if not met with intelligent, prompt, and speedy action upon the part of the laboring classes, will sub-

vert our Government, and make us and our loved ones slaves to this heartless class—the moneyed oligarchy of our own and of other countries who have or may hereafter make investments among us. What a spectacle! The offspring of a generation who have but recently passed away, who gave life, blood, and treasure that we might be free and enjoy the blessings of freedom as equals of any class or country, subjected to a slavery more abject, more degrading, and more exacting than that from which they emerged by their rebellion against the King of England. This is not a creature of fancy, but a stern reality. This class have been wielding this power over us for the last quarter of a century, and have grown so powerful and insolent that they openly defy us, curl the lip of scorn at our righteous protestations, and openly proclaim that they have but to command, and we dare not disobey. They are enabled by protective-tariff laws (which operate to cut off competition) to monopolize the market for the sale of their wares and merchandise, and to add thereto a percentage equal to, and sometimes to exceed, the import duty levied upon such goods. These laws also enable the moneyed class to form combines for the purpose of purchasing all or the greater portion of commodities, and competition being cut off they have the undisputed power to exact and to obtain from consumers whatever their sordid conscience may prompt them to levy in addition to the real value of the commodity. This tax so levied and obtained goes directly into the pockets of this favored class, thereby building up a moneyed oligarchy, who use their ill-gotten gains to corrupt the ballot and to control legislation to yet more increase their power. Who can doubt that the enormous grants of the public domain to corporate companies was the result of the money power brought to bear upon the National Legislature? Thus you see by what power, and where obtained, these favored classes are enabled to dictate terms to the already overburdened and most numerous class, and also to shape the course of legislation so that they not only hold to their unrighteous gains already obtained, but to add thereto to any extent that their safety and imaginary interest may dictate. How, then, is this state of affairs to be remedied? We find many who can tell us of our burdened condition, but none, so far as I am informed, have suggested a remedy for the evil, except Mr. George's single-tax theory, which, in my humble judgment, if consummated will make the tillers of the soil the hewers of wood and drawers of water for every branch of business conducted in our country. I believe there is a way to get out of the trouble, and my theory may be tenable or not, wise or unwise, but I give it for what it is worth. In the first place, I advocate the repeal of all laws at present of force for the raising of revenue for the support of the National Government. Whatever amount may be necessary to defray the expenses of the Government for the succeeding fiscal year apportion among the States in proportion to the wealth therein; let it be assessed and collected by State officials as we do for the support of State governments and paid over to the National authorities. We will thereby curtail the expenses incident to the present system of collecting the revenues. We will also know how much we pay and what for. We will also be rid of a swarm of Federal tax-gatherers, who have no interest in common with us, and who, taking advantage of the situation, fail to give us that consideration due the citizen from the officials of his Government. By this means we will be relieved of the unjust burdens imposed upon us for the support of Government, and also the advantages offered for the building up of a moneyed oligarchy, whose financial interest is to keep us in servitude. The public domains should be for actual settlers, thereby enabling some of the homeless to obtain homes, and with God's blessing, "under their own vine and fig-tree," enjoy the blessings of freedom from foes without and from mercenary oppressors within. Finally, brethren, let us abide the action of the National Alliance at Birmingham. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder with those who are battling so nobly for our deliverance from the toils of our would-be masters, and not use jute bagging no, not at all.

Let us hope that there are none such in our ranks, but that every man is made of grit to prosecute and back-bone to sustain him in the conflict now being waged for his deliverance from the avaricious greed of the money-power, for—

*Now's the day and now's the hour,
The battle-front of trusts do lower;
Against us fight the money-power,
Chains and slavery.*

But if any of our members are content to stink their wives and little ones for the inglorious privilege of bearing the burdens of Government, while that Government or our National Legislature by law gives to a class the power, and protects them in wielding such power over us, I want to say to him, "Brother, you are in the wrong pew; get out of the way, and let those of purer motives and braver hearts work out this great salvation for you." The Constitution of the United States gives to the Congress the right to raise a revenue for the support of Government, but it does not give the right, either directly or indirectly, to levy that tax upon one class of its citizens while exempting others. 'Tis of this we complain. The benefits to some of the favored class do not stop

here. Our country has already passed many of the dangers which have overthrown less stable republics, but we have now to face the most deadly enemy to the existence of such a form of government, and that is the acquisition of too great power by a class, or the too ready submission of the masses to the dictation of a few.

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THE SINGLE TAX AND SOMETHING ELSE.

Answer to John Watters.

BY T. D. HINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILLS.

If the single-tax theory trenches upon the ridiculous it is no fault of mine. It is the fault of the theory itself. I had never thought of it exactly in that way, but some of the claims of the single-tax theory do seem to border upon the absurd sure enough.

It claims that our Government has in its taxing power the means of National prosperity; that it will assure to labor its full reward; that rent under private ownership is a curse, while the same rent under public ownership is a blessing. It proposes to make land free, not by absolving all land users from the payment of the fine which private ownership exacts, but simply by turning the amount of the fine into the public treasury. It professes to see in rent the prolific source of all the pauperism and misery of the world's laboring masses, and then proposes as a cure not the extirpation of rent, but simply the different use of the results of rent. It proposes to bring an untold amount of good out of the public exercise of a right the private exercise of which it regards as the sum total of all insufferable evils. Because the right of private ownership has been abused; because human hogs have been permitted to appropriate as their own great blocks of the earth's surface, from the use of which they exclude everybody except themselves, it denies the right of the humble cottager to claim his home as his own. It denies the right of all men to even a rood of land upon which they may erect a home sacred to themselves. A parity of reasoning would condemn all fish ponds because of the Johnstown fish pond horror. It treats rent under public ownership as though it were a product of nature, just as land is. It declares that the appropriation of rent by the public is not the appropriation of any part of the fruits of labor, but that its appropriation by the citizen is the one great first cause of the poverty of the masses. Under public ownership it regards rent as a spontaneous production, a veritable Alladin's lamp, which only needs proper rubbing to be the means of flooding labor with everything it needs or wants. Its premises are an argument against unlimited ownership, its conclusion is against all ownership. It condemns, in its premises, the abuse of a certain thing—private ownership. It proposes, in its conclusion, as a cure, not the abolition of the abuse of the thing, but the abolition of the thing itself. As well condemn the noble art of printing because the exercise of that grand invention has been abused in doing the work of obscurity. As well condemn the business of corn-growing because corn is made into whisky. As well condemn private ownership of personal property because the superior development of the hoggish faculty of acquisitiveness in some men enables them to take to themselves a too large share of the wealth created. If the claims of the single-tax theory are ridiculous, they are so not because of any "insinuations" of mine, Brother Watters, but because of the possession of an inherent stock of absurdity peculiarly its own property. It may be ridiculous for me to suppose that Mr. George really meant what he said when, in discussing in his rapt way, the manifold blessings certain to follow upon the adoption of his single tax. He says it will "extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, assure to labor its full reward," etc., but it is some consolation to know that even as shrewd men as Brother Watters have fallen into the same absurd (?) position. The difference between Brother Watters and myself is that I put a literal construction upon the words of Mr. George, and take the liberty to doubt his conclusions, while Brother Watters puts a metaphorical con-

struction upon his words but renders to his conclusions the homage of an unquestioning faith. He says:

"The single tax will not prevent cold winters nor will it change the habits of chinch-bugs. But it will prevent everybody from unwilling suffering during cold winters by leaving them their wages with which to buy coal, and it will materially alter the habits of land speculators." Does he really mean that "it will prevent everybody from suffering during cold winters by leaving them their wages with which to buy coal?" Then I insist that he must class our eight million farmers as "nobodies," or else that he must show how the single tax would be easier and more comfortable for it. Read it in the tired, despondent, overworked look which marks a farmer in a crowd of a thousand. Read it in the care-laden brow of her who, in the bright and happy time now so long gone as to seem but a dream, plighted to him the faith so loyally and lovingly kept. Read it in the pinched features, uneducated minds, and half-clad bodies of his little children, into whose budding lives but few joys come and they each burdened with the phantom of unfinished tasks. Read it in all this, Brother McCready, Brother Watters, Brother men, all! Read it in the distressed condition of our farmers, the utter fatuity of any project which proposes to relieve labor's distress simply by giving it "freedom to go to work, only that and nothing more." Then read the true cause of labor's distress in the devil's magic, which has transferred the fruits of their toil from their possession to the pockets of those who now claim it as their own. Devil's magic! What but that enables Vanderbilt to pay a \$10,000 cook to devise new dishes with which to tickle his debauched palate, while hundreds of thousands of those whose labor created the wealth he so lavishly squanders are unable to provide even necessary food for their tired wives to cook! Devil's magic! What but that enables George Gould to rock his baby in a \$15,000 cradle, while thousands of other babies, equally as good, equally as precious and equally as innocent, are deprived of even a pine-box cradle in which to be lulled to sleep! Devil's magic! What but that enables your hypocritical Wanamakers to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars to further the ends of a campaign, lyingly fought in the interest of labor, while thousands of Braidwood, Spring Valley and other laborers are obliged to subsist on charity or starve! Devil's magic! If such a condition was not generated in hell and begotten of the devil, it is because hell is not as black as it is painted and the devil not the chief instigator of the world's iniquity.

Brother Watters quotes the law of rent, and then says: "I call Mr. Hinckley's attention particularly to the words 'in use.' Valuable land withheld from use forces labor and capital to land of less value." Granted. What then? The land monopolist is of no earthly use to society; he is a drone in the hive of nature, living off the wealth created by the toil of the industrious workers. The land user is a benefit to the world; he is constantly daily, and hourly employed at something that will be of advantage to others. The world is better because he lives in it. Is it possible that justice can see no difference between the two? Is it not possible for intelligent men to devise a plan to strike the one without hitting the other with the same club? If you really want to be rid of the land monopolist, what is the use of going about the bush to accomplish your purpose? Why kill him with a pill-sugar-coated bullet? And if you want to benefit the land user, the laborer, why tax him for the privilege of using what God evidently intended for his use? Where is the consistency, the sense, or the justice in declaring in one breath that the land is God's gift to man, and in the next denying his right to use

the gift unless he first pays Government for the privilege? And now, as to your imaginary two farms, one up close to a city, the other 500 miles distant. It is not your intention to even things up between the two imagined farmers by bringing the far-off one closer to the city; this you say you can not do, because the intervening land is all taken. But being determined that things shall be equalized between them in some way, you propose to make the near one's burden of taxation about equal to the burden of discomforts borne by the far-off one because of his situation. And when both farmers are made alike uncomfortable, what will you do with the men in the city who are engaged in getting a living by buying from and selling to the farmers? There is a pleasant fiction attached to the single-tax doctrine representing merchants and storekeepers as wealth producers, "as much so as the farmers are." But it is a fiction, and you are perfectly aware of it. You know that however necessary some of these gentry may be under present social or commercial conditions, they do not and can not add to the intrinsic value of the produce they handle. Thus a bushel of wheat grown in this beautiful Hoyleton prairie will sustain as much life here where it is grown as it will in New Orleans, and a pound of sugar refined in the Crescent City will sweeten as much coffee there as it will here. The enhanced cost of the wheat at New Orleans and of the sugar here do not represent their increased ability to sustain life or sweeten coffee, but simply the extent to which a host of middlemen who generally live in cities deemed it necessary to inflate prices in order to get a profit after the payment of all expenses, including taxes. My question is, what are you going to do about taxing merchants, middle men, transporters, bankers, etc.? Of course you will tax them on the land they use, and of course they will simply charge their land taxes to the farmers and other wealth producers with whom they deal, just as they do their other taxes now. My objection to the single tax is not that it will increase the burden of farmers and laborers, but that it will not decrease it. I am perfectly well aware that all taxes collected since the formation of our Government have been borne by those whose toil creates wealth. I am perfectly well aware that wealth producers have not only paid all taxes, but that in addition to this and to the making of their own living, they have produced the hundreds of millions of wealth now claimed by conscienceless millionaires who have fully developed the swinish talent of acquisitiveness at the expense of all other attributes. I am perfectly well aware of all this, and am entirely ready for a change. But I want a change that will benefit labor. It is an absolute, indisputable fact, that as long as governments collect taxes labor will have to pay them. As well try to refute the law of gravitation or try to prove that something can be made of nothing as to dispute this. Sugar coat the phrase as you will, hide it under ambiguous terms like "economic rent," "unearned increment," or any other that may be invented, the hard, bitter fact remains that labor must pay every dollar of tax collected. But the hardship labor is compelled to endure in the payment of necessary taxes to support government is as nothing—is but a drop in the bucket—compared to the tremendous load it has carried and is carrying in the profits which soulless corporations exact of it.

Banking corporations, railway corporations, and manufacturing corporations annually rob labor of hundreds of millions of dollars in usurious profits. How to check the power of these moneyed corporations is a question a thousand times more important than the question of how to restrain land monopolists. We have as yet millions of acres of free land, and hundreds of farms here in this, the finest farming State in

BOOK NOTICE.

Advance sheets have been received of *A HISTORY OF THE AGRICULTURAL WHEEL and FARMERS' ALLIANCE*, by W. S. Morgan, of Hardy, Ark. This is an elaborate work in two volumes with forty illustrations—portraits of distinguished members of the Wheel and Alliance. The book will contain 500 pages, be full cloth-bound, lettered in gilt, and printed on fine book paper. The work opens with a chapter on labor; referring to the present distressed condition of the laboring classes, the author sets out what he considers the principal causes, and makes a rapid but comprehensive review of the developments from the earliest times. The next chapter is entitled "Labor's Wrongs." Here the subject is handled in a masterly manner, and an array of facts gathered that are calculated to startle the most stolid and cause the blood of every just man to tingle and his face to burn at the barbarous cruelty and injustice put upon the helpless and dependent by the heartless speculators who have them at their mercy. No humane man can read this record, retain his former pride in the honor and justice of his race, and not be incited to lend his aid toward the righting of the heinous wrongs which are to-day disgracing the history of the nineteenth century. This work is undoubtedly destined to do grand service in the cause of labor and human rights. The historical part gives a review of the origin of the Wheel and Alliance, and their wonderful and unprecedented growth and development. It discusses the objects of both orders in their financial, social, intellectual, political, and moral relations to organized labor. It shows how, with an increase of the products of the farm, the industrial application of labor, and the most rigid economy, the farmer is not as prosperous as he was twenty years ago. It tells how the wealth of the country has been doubled since the civil war, while the condition of those who produce it is growing worse. It illustrates the necessity of organized labor. It tells of the trusts that have grown up all over the country and the effect they have on the producers of wealth. It proves how the burdens of the farmers have been doubled by fixing a new standard of value to what they have to sell. It shows how the producers are robbed by excessive rates of transportation and unjust discriminations. It treats of labor in all its relations to production and distribution, and points out the only true remedy for a peaceable solution of the labor problem. The book should be in the hands of every farmer and laboring man in America. It fills a long-felt want and will do great good, not only in educating the masses upon the vital questions of the day, but will be a great benefit to the Alliance by placing it in a true light before the farmers of America, showing them their duty in the support and development of it. All inquiries should be addressed to W. S. Morgan, Hardy, Ark.

A CONCERT of action among the industrial masses of the country, urban and rural, is a sure guarantee of protection against the tyranny and oppression of vice and avarice, which are the deadly foes of liberty and justice.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT
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of America.

C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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and space furnished on application, stating character of
advertisements desired.

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

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

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SUBSCRIBERS to THE ECONOMIST can have
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Clubs of Five.

THE ECONOMIST has arranged with Hon.
Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutocracy, or
American White Slavery," to distribute that
book as a premium to persons sending in clubs
of five annual paid subscriptions at \$1 each.
Can Americans remain content while such
facts exist?

IN these latter days we hear much of anarchy,
communism, socialism and various other forms
of opposition to established conditions, but
although there are so many forms of opposition
we never see either of them develop, unless we
first see the advance of the cormorant monop-
oly, class legislation, class oppression.

THE general prejudice against republican
forms of government existing in the monarchies
of Europe, and exhibited in their refusal to
recognize the French Exposition, is perfectly
natural but the puerile exhibition of temper in
perfect keeping with the character of monarchy.
The sentiment of the people of the Continental
nations is the result of Roman imperialism and
ages of feudal oppression. It is the effect of
heredity, and generations of ignorance and sub-
mission to one unvarying political system and a
stolid endurance of evils that has finally become
a natural trait. The minds of the masses have
so long been confined by power within a pre-
scribed limit that they have lost their elasticity,
and there is no longer a desire to pass the bar-
rier, but the tendency is to submit quietly to
any and all demands rather than suffer the incon-
venience that change in any direction is
likely to cause. This apathy is the invariable
result of long submission to oppression and is
shown in the various peoples of Asia. When
this apathy once seizes a people there is little
hope of further progress, and had the people

THE steady flow of wealth into the hands of
a class carries on the bosom of the stream the
seeds of demoralization and corruption as
dangerous as the red hand of civil strife, and to
be guarded against as carefully.

CLASS and personal interest, pecuniary as
well as political, is the father of partisan trick-
ery and unequal legislation, the end of which
is the aggrandizement of the few, and the vas-
salage of the many.

WM. HUNT, in a late number of THE ECON-
OMIST, made a forcible hit when he summed
up the reforms necessary as:

First. Abolition of land monopoly.

Second. Money at cost.

Third. Transportation at cost.

The great question of the hour is, by what
method shall the great mass of the common
people be induced to agree on a system of
action?

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE people are the power of the Nation; they are the Nation. In the people rests the power of the Nation, and not in wealth or class.

WHEN the policy of government becomes antagonistic to the best interests of the people, then do the people become antagonistic to the government. It is a jealous interest in the common welfare that develops and sustains the patriotism and hearty support of the people.

It is stated that in Wisconsin there will be no tax levy for State purposes this year, and that for several years no direct tax has been ordered for State expenses. The State revenue exceeds a million dollars a year from railroads, telegraphs, and telephone companies, and these cover the expenses of the State government. This does not, of course, apply to county and municipal revenues.

of Europe not had our own land from which to draw inspiration and encouragement it is probable that before this they would have sunk into the condition of indifference which afflicts Asia. Indeed the isolated condition of our own country has been the salvation of the cause of popular government. Its comparatively inaccessible situation and primitive desolation was its protection, and the necessity by which they were surrounded the incentive which excited the energy and spirit of our forefathers and made our Republic a possibility. Had we been surrounded by monarchies, as the nations of Europe are, it is doubtful if free government ever could have been established. For this reason France is entitled to the highest honor for her achievements, as it was no small matter to throw off the influences of ages of oppression and ignorance and in the face of surrounding enemies establish a republic.

A Social Duty.

Commerce is but the exchange of commodities between nations. Coin, in this exchange, ceases to have arbitrary value on account of the conception stamped upon it, and its value is estimated by its weight just as the value of corn or meat or any other farm product is estimated and fixed.

This being the case, it does seem that those who produce most of these exchangeable commodities should get the greater proportion of the profits arising from this exchange, and, consequently, should be prosperous if not independent; and yet what is the truth in this case? The farmers, the producers of by far the greater portion of these commodities (for statistics prove that farm products constitute over four-fifths of our exports), should be by far the most independent. Our foreign exports amounted at the last report to \$776,700,000. This would show, according to statistics, \$621,360,000 to the credit of agricultural products. Is the greater portion of the wealth of the Nation in the hands of these farmers? Why, although these farmers produce four-fifths of all the exports, and the entire amount of food for home consumption, besides the clothing we wear, they are, year by year, growing poorer, while the speculators who manipulate the money and gather interest revel in wealth and luxury.

Is it the operation of natural causes that produces this result? Hardly so, since nature always responds generously to the hand of labor. If these results are not natural, then they must be brought about by causes put in operation by some power to which the farmer is not a party, or he is deceived and betrayed by those who profit by his losses; for there could be no other than a selfish motive that would induce one man or class to so take advantage of another. If the farmer has unwittingly been a party to this wrong against himself and his family there is no reason why he should continue to encourage it. If customs and laws have been established by his consent which put a hardship upon him, there is no reason why these hardships should not be removed, even if it be at the cost of those who have so long prospered by them. The cry of vested rights, of immemorial custom, should fall upon deaf ears.

these rights were acquired, or these customs established, by deceit and the taking advantage of ignorance, or by betrayal of confidence, the wrong should not only be remedied, but the perpetrators punished.

The original perpetrator of a wrong is no more despicable than one who profits by it and continues it, nor is the fact that custom recognizes it any excuse morally. To take such advantage is criminal, and to remove such wrong is the duty of those who recognize it.

There is no question but that the speculative element has for generations been prospering at the expense of industry, and especially of agricultural industry. It is, then, no more than just that industry should demand a reckoning, and that this exploiting of its profits should cease. Of course this readjustment of conditions and relations will be at an immense apparent loss to the speculative class, but it will be merely the returning of the master to his own. Speculation never gave or gives a just return for its gains, therefore there is no title; for a man can not have something for nothing and be just to his fellows.

This class are not creators of value, they are merely financial highwaymen whose hands are against every man's. Is it not due to society and coming generations that this dangerous banditti be suppressed? Let the agriculturist, like Theseus, lift the huge stone of immemorial custom, seize the sword of justice bequeathed to them by their fathers, fasten on the sandals of right left to them through the ages, and go forth to clear the Attic forests of finance of the Periphetes and Scirons and Sminni that infest them and prey upon the unwary travelers who must pass their fastnesses.

WHAT paragons of virtue the people are when a man wants office! What a dangerous lot of communists they become when he wants to operate a big capitalistic scheme of the trust order!

WHAT is the chief end of man? According to the capitalistic catechism it is to make money for financial speculators to gobble by legislative trickery.

THE United States now loans, free of interest, \$49,311,770 of the Treasury funds to the National banks, and the farmers who need the money are compelled to pay the banks usury for the use of it.

CAPITALISM says: "Fill the land with cheap workers. Let them come until wages are merely nominal. Money will become dearer; a thousand dollars will buy five thousand dollars' worth of luxury. Just as wages decrease so does the power of money multiply."

THE Monongahela River coal operators are about to consolidate and form one great company to control the output of the Monongahela River mines, and a large proportion of that of the Kanawha. The Standard Oil Company is to be largely interested in the scheme. This is but another indication of the tendency of the times to concentrate and centralize capital and the power that goes with it.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

RAILWAYS;

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

BY JAS. F. HUDSON,
Author of "The Railways and the Republic."
No. 11.

DISCRIMINATIONS IN COMMON LAW.

The interstate commerce law, the most distinctive feature of which is its necessary prohibition of all discrimination between shippers, and its announcement of the principle that public and stated rates must be charged to all patrons of the road alike, has been widely represented as introducing a new era in the principles of railway operations. Supposing the law to be enforced, which is as yet a very doubtful supposition, it is true that the total abolition of all preferential rates will commence a new era in the practical workings of the railroads. But it is vital to the understanding of the problem, and pertinent as to the probable efficiency of this law, that the principles which it enacted were inherent in the very character of the obligations which the railroads assume as a condition of their existence, and that the practices of discrimination which this law prohibits were prohibited by the very nature of their charter from the inception of the railroad system. Indeed, the interstate commerce law does not go to the full length of imposing upon the railroads all the obligations which arise out of their accepting the character and duties of public highways. Taking them merely in their secondary—and in this connection, less important—function of common carriers, it fails to enforce upon them the principles which are essential to their greater and broader character.

Bro. W. A. Bowen placed in my hands the other day a copy of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. I liked the name at once. It signified something. I was hungry, for I read it consecutively from beginning to end. It was true to its name in every paragraph. Its avowed purpose and aim has immense but definite scope. Its matter from first to last, in some way or other, seemed looking to one all-comprehensive object. THE ECONOMIST seems to have the social, political, commercial, and financial situation of the United States full in hand. Especially does it show plainly the relation of cause and effect in the present financial situation. I decided that at this juncture it is the best paper in the United States. I made judgment that it is the most competent pioneer of the anxious thought that is now agitating the heart of the Nation I have seen.

Bro. C. T. Parker, writing from Douglasville, Ga., is no less appreciative:

I have just finished reading No. 15 of the ECONOMIST, and when I say reading it I mean exactly what I say, for I have read every article, from the "Fall in Values" (to which I became a victim in 1873, and from which I became a Greenbacker in 1876) to the "W. M. R. R." and so impressed am I with the value of this paper that I feel constrained to do something that will manifest my appreciation of the great good that must result from the promulgation of such sound and pure doctrine of political economy. Every article in this number of the ECONOMIST should be read at least three times in every Sub-Alliance and Wheel in America.

After which the balance of the Alliance year should be devoted to digesting the food for thought therein contained; and then till 1892 to perfecting ways and means of "overturning the tables of the money-changers," which are the chief barrier now in the way to prevent the "bringing in a better paradise than Adam and Eve ever lost."

If the ECONOMIST, or if a copy of each number that has already been published, could be placed in the hands of every intelligent laboring man in the United States, I would have no fears for the future of our naturally glorious country. Without this or other equally potent means of reaching and impressing truths upon the minds of our people, the prospect is alarming indeed.

BRO. JOSIAH M. ANTHONY, of Fredericktown, Mo., writes:

If we had one copy in the hands of every toiler, we could defy opposition.

competition. The assertion that they must be uniform is adequate authority for the detailed enactments of the statute with civil and criminal penalties that no man must be charged by the railroads a greater or lower rate than is afforded to another for the same service under the same circumstances. In this view it may be seen how completely the ground of the interstate commerce law is shown to include nothing more than the principles which formed the very foundation for the existence of the railroad system. The interstate commerce law enacted no new principles for the government of the railway. It simply reasserted the principles which were law by the very conditions of the railway charter, and which had been ignored and nullified by the corporate powers that obtained their very life through those conditions.

But judicial assertions of the duty of impartiality on the part of the railroad are not by any means confined to the declaration of this fundamental principle.

It is interesting and important to observe how thoroughly every abuse which the interstate commerce law was intended to reform was adjudged illegal by authoritative courts long before that act had assumed any definite shape. When it is understood that the courts have declared almost every form by which the railroads secure preferences to favored shippers to be illegal and violative of constitutional principles under the common law, we are able to perceive how completely corporate practices have ignored and nullified their legal obligations, and to judge whether the repetition of the same principles by the interstate commerce law is likely to be more effective.

About as simple a way as any in which to review the declaration of these principles is to take up the cases in their chronological order; and accordingly we will refer to a case which is not only remarkable as declaring the illegality of one of the most common railway practices, but is also singular as having, by some unknown mishap, been left entirely out of the regularly published reports. No practice is more universal among the railways than that of giving more favorable rates to freight coming off of a connecting line in which the main line is interested than to that which comes from opposition lines, or which originates at the point of connection. Thus, the New York Central will charge less upon freight coming between Buffalo and New York city if it come over the Lake Shore Railroad than if the freight comes from lake steamers or is shipped originally from Buffalo. This is justified in this and a hundred similar instances, especially on account of the financial interests which the owners of the main line have in the connecting road. But this is just exactly what was declared to be illegal in the case of *Twells vs. The Pennsylvania Railroad*, decided by Justice Strong, who, upon the Supreme Court of the United States, has been regarded as anything but inimical to corporation interests, when he held a position on the supreme bench of Pennsylvania, more than twenty years ago. That case involved the right of the railroad to give the shipper a lower rate upon oil shipped

from Western Pennsylvania to Philadelphia, when the freight passed beyond Philadelphia over the connecting lines of the Pennsylvania Railroad to New York, than if stopped at Philadelphia and shipped from that port by water. Judge Strong declared that a railroad could not make that discrimination even for its own benefit as owner and lessee of the connecting road, and asserted: "It is not consistent with the public interests or with common right that they (the railways) should be permitted so to use it (their power of making rates for merchandise shipped on their lines) as to secure for themselves peculiar and exclusive advantages on other lines of transportation beyond the end of their own road." When quite a universal form of discrimination has been declared illegal and yet has continued without check, the contrast between what the law requires and what the railways actually do is put in its strongest form.

Hardly any contention is more general in justification of discrimination as between shippers than the plea that the shipper which affords the largest business to the railway, and therefore secures it the greatest profit on the volume of the business so given, is entitled in fairness to the lower rates. This of course necessarily ignores the public character and obligation of the railway; and a case involving exactly that idea was tried and decided in the United States circuit court several years before the passage of the interstate commerce law. In *Hays vs. The Pennsylvania Company*, the decision of Judge Baxter affords a comprehensive and conclusive denunciation of that practice. The managers of the railway, the judge said, "would be quick to appreciate the power with which such a holding would invest them;" could favor their friends, to the detriment of their personal or political opponents, "or might demand a division of the profits in the interests to be affected by such discrimination," or, finally, might "extinguish competition, monopolize business, or dictate the price of coal or every other commodity to consumers." The judge said that "these results might follow" the abuse of such a power. At the time that the decision was rendered such results were actually following the use of that power; and the subsequent history established in the cases of the Standard Oil Company, the anthracite coal combination, and the other less prominent case of discrimination in favor of large shippers raised to that agreeable position by the favor of the railways, shows that these results have followed. "Capital needs no such extraneous aid," said the judge. It has many inherent advantages, but it "has no just right by reason of its accumulated strength to demand the use of the public highways on more favorable terms than are accorded to the humblest of the land." And to give it such favors "is a discrimination in favor of capital and is contrary to sound public policy, violative of that equality of right guaranteed to every citizen in the land, and a wrong to the disfavored party for which the courts are compelled to give redress."

When we add to this sweeping condemnation of special rebates to favored shippers the de-

cision that all contracts agreeing to carry for one shipper at a cheaper rate than for others are illegal, the practices of individual preferences seem to have little standing under the common law. The latter declaration was made in the case of *Messenger vs. The Pennsylvania Railroad*, in which the supreme court of New Jersey asserted that such a contract was "void as creating an illegal preference, and inconsistent with the duties of the railway corporation to observe to all men perfect impartiality."

Another very common form of individual discrimination has been the practice on the part of the railways to dictate what warehouses, stock-yards, or grain elevators shall be used by the freight requiring the services of such warehouses and traffic over their line. In the matter of stock-yards and grain elevators this practice has been, and is yet, so universal as to be almost one of the unwritten laws of railway policy; yet any discrimination between such competing establishments has been decided by the supreme court of Illinois and the circuit court of the United States to be utterly illegal. In two Illinois cases, *Vincent vs. Chicago and Alton Railroad*, and *Chicago and North Western Railroad vs. Illinois*, the supreme court of that State held that for a railroad to attempt to divert shipments from one elevator to another, either by a difference in charges or by refusing to deliver the grain consigned to one elevator, upon any pretext, either of a contract to do otherwise, or of its own interest and practice, was "peculiarly defiant of its obligations as a common carrier." The practice, as Chief Justice Lawrence put it, "might result in the creation of a system of organized monopoly in the most important articles of commerce, claiming existence under the perpetual charters of the State, and by the sacredness of such charter claiming also to set the legislative rule itself at defiance." The same principle was no less plainly affirmed by the circuit court of the United States in the case of *Coe & Milson vs. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad*. That railroad had agreed in connection with another local road to deliver all the live stock to the yards of the favored company. Judge Baxter's decision, as usual, was forcible and uncompromising in his declaration that the railways "possess no such power to kill and make alive, and those injured by such action need not await the slow progress of a suit for damages, but can obtain a prompt relief by an injunction from the court."

Closely related with the first case cited, but differing from it in some details of the principles, was the decision of Judges McCrary and Halleck in the United States circuit court, in the case of *Denver and New Orleans Railroad vs. Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad*, that one railroad can not even exclude the freight of a connecting line or give advantages to one connecting line over another, in the rates at which freight is exchanged. This is an almost universal practice of the railroad—*i.e.*, to make rates so as to cause all through freight of the railroad to go over the line at its terminus which it desires to favor, and practically to exclude the intermediate lines from any exchange or prorating of freight. But these

judges declared that every railroad is bound to receive freight from all lines connecting with it, and to deliver freight to all as ordered by the shippers on equal terms.

A review of this subject is hardly complete unless it takes up that famous list of cases in which the duty of the railroad to afford impartial services to the entire public was carried so far as to assert that they can not even exclude competitors from the business in the expresses that traffic over their line, which extreme application of the principle has been recently overruled by the United States Supreme Court. The circuit court decisions were founded upon the original English case of *Braxendale*, in which it was held that a railway can not even discriminate against its own competitors, when the latter desires to obtain transportation over the line of the railroad. The express cases, as decided in the circuit court of the United States, followed this principle to the extent of declaring that the railroads could not either contract with an express company to perform all the transportation of express traffic over its line, but that it even can not establish its own express department and give it the exclusive privilege of that business along the line of the given railroad. The court held that the railroads could not "insist upon the exclusive right to do such business themselves, nor grant such to one express company to the exclusion of others, but are bound to carry for every one offering to do the same sort of business upon the same terms." This principle was overruled by the United States Supreme Court, mainly upon minor considerations, but the final decision shows the departure from the practice of considering the railroads in their function as public highways to that of considering them solely as common carriers.

The railroads do not hold themselves out to these "common carriers for common carriers," says the Supreme Court opinion, and for that reason is to collate facts, to give to each fact its proper place and bearing, and to candidly accept the result. The anomalous spectacle our country presents to-day is a curious problem for the philosophic mind, an astounding fact to the common sense of mankind. Under a Government professedly the best in the world, and the freest, nominally an elective representative Republic, other governments have suddenly sprung into being based upon the simplest ideas of a pure democracy, and substantially representing nineteen-twentieths of the people. It is the province of reason to inquire into the same, in order to fix a result worthy of beings claiming the high prerogative of proprietors and rulers of the earth. This duty belongs, in a special manner to those representative men chosen by so large a majority of their fellow-citizens to guard their rights and liberties from dangers, real or imaginary. The first duty of these men is to inquire in council seriously, deliberately, and candidly into the causes of this wide-spread disaffection. In that inquiry they ought to respect every witness who gives proof of intelligent research and creditable information founded on facts. If the croaking of demagogues, the complaints of the weak and thrifless, the murmuring of disappointed ambition, the dreams of visionists and cranks—if any of these classes, if all of them combined have operated to deceive the people, to excite vain expectations, then it is the duty of these representative men in convention assembled to make a candid statement to this effect to their constituents. It is their further duty to disabuse their minds of false impressions, of vain hopes created by the fallacious reasoning of cranks and demagogues; to advise and enjoin that just subordination to existing government, that devoted patriotism which every good citizen is in duty bound to cherish for free institutions. If, on the contrary, facts shall disclose that the nominal government has betrayed its sovereign, the people; or, more and worse, if it has sim-

ply become the overseer of unscrupulous gamblers whose audacious insolence and boundless greed have devoured the wealth of the country, corrupted its morals, debased its franchise, and enslaved its citizens, then it becomes the solemn duty of these representative men so to declare; to state, for the information of the people, in a plain and unequivocal manner, the facts, to advise such remedies as their wisdom may suggest, and to maintain such advice by all the authority vested in men whose birthright is freedom. If we are already overwhelmed with ponderous governmental machinery, if we are already taxed into poverty by its numberless and pitiless overseers, in the name of some decent respect for the good sense of mankind, we implore these gentlemen not to affect to release us by imposing upon us other and additional governments, with their pains and penalties, having themselves laws enough, officials enough, and costs enough to do wisely and justly the necessary public business of a free people. As citizens who have been deceived by the fallacious arguments of cranks and demagogues, or by the fraudulent acts, pretended representatives. We beg leave to submit for your consideration the facts which have fixed our opinions and governed our conduct. We claim that the official records will show:

That it takes about the whole corn crop of this vast young country, extensively as that grain is grown and prolific as its yield, it being a native plant, to pay the tariff tax.

It requires about the whole of the wheat crop to pay the money tax.

It requires about the whole of the cotton crop to pay the railroad tax.

Telegraph, telephone, and life and fire insurance about consume the other cereals.

Hundreds of thousands of worthless officials, appointed and reappointed by the reckless gamblers to keep the people in ignorance and slavery, about eat up the beef and mutton.

To the producers is left as a source of subsistence and revenue the pork and potatoes.

Surely we must be bad men to complain.

Considering the fact that the other three million make out by dint of extra good sense and management to subsist, the fifty-five millions of workers must be Socialists or Agrarians if they do not do well on the part of production left to them in the division. While for twenty-odd years an annual crop of a score or more of millionaires has been set up for the idle gaze of fools, in the meantime a million of worthy but misguided citizens has been annually relegated to the jungles of serfdom. The people are sick, and no wonder, for hope is faint and the outlook dismal.

Gentlemen, we are in the midst of a revolution. Let a man shut his eyes, stop his ears, and the dumb earth, tremulous beneath his feet, will warn him of the coming shock. The question for prudent men is, Shall the wisdom of a Cato win or the sword of Caesar compel us? Shall the counsels of a Hampden, a Mirabeau, a Washington (may the gods lend a potency to that virtuous name!) preserve us, or shall the guillotine of a Robespierre destroy us? Shall the Republic utterly perish by a *coup d'état* at the Capital through the agency of the hundreds of millions garnered there, maybe designed, and a million tramps, fit material for a mercenary soldiery, or shall the spirit of the Fourth of July, consecrated to freedom by heroic sacrifices, call to the rescue men of wisdom and probity equal to the illustrious heroes who made that day the anniversary of great deeds?

In conclusion, gentlemen, we beg you to consider the difference between an ephemeral fame, built upon the plaudits of fools, and the perpetual memorials of wisdom founded upon the practice of virtue.

YOUR FELLOW-CITIZEN.

MOOREFIELD, W. VA.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

EXPERIMENTAL WORK.

We have before us the proceedings of the Aberdeenshire Agricultural Association, a volume which we can recommend to our experimental stations as a model of scientific research and practical, intelligible report of results obtained. Mr. Jamieson, the chemist of the association, charged with the conduct of the experiments, is evidently one of the few scientific men found on trial capable of original research, conducted on a comprehensible plan and yielding definite results. Results are reported in simple and lucid form, unincumbered with excessive detail, and not smothered beyond recognition under the rubbish of technical terminology. One of the objects of this association is stated to be "to conduct experiments in agricultural science." "The experiments are to begin with a turnip crop." The subjects of inquiry are defined to be—

1. In what form can phosphates be most economically applied?

2. What is the best season of the year to apply them?

3. What is the value of nitrogen in the production of crops?

4. In what form does it give the best results?

5. Do the same manures produce the same results in swedes as in yellow turnips?

Each of these questions is important, simple, definite—three things in scientific work most admirable. In order to obtain answers, five stations for experiment were selected, one by the sea, two near the sea, and one inland, differing in climate and soil.

The report contains an admirably simple and, at the same time, comprehensive physical description of each station as to soil, sub-soil, exposure, inclosure, previous crop, etc., accompanied by a soil analysis in each case. Differently different characters are thus shown to be possessed by each of the stations. It is ordered that each station shall be 228 feet by 163 feet, and shall be inclosed by a fence of pickets, not above one and one-half inches apart and five feet high. Each station is divided into two equal parts; one-half for experiments, the first season, one-half reserved for future experiments. Each half is divided into two groups of eighteen plots, each separated by a six-foot walk, so that the experiments are carried out in duplicate at each station. To obviate risk of the crops failing for lack of necessary minerals other than those applied for experiment, all the plots were dressed at the rate per acre of—

1 cwt. magnesic sulphate.
½ cwt. soda chloride.
3 cwt. potassium chloride.

The experimental applications of the manures were now carried out with the same simplicity and accuracy of detail admirable in every respect. "Realizing," says Mr. Jamieson, "that the results of agricultural experiments are often vitiated by inaccuracy of details, and knowing how errors will creep in by insufficiently guarding against them in working, I permitted none of the operations to be performed except in my own presence. I considered this absolutely necessary to an accurate report."

In summing up the general results of the first year's experiments, we find the most satisfactory candor and simplicity of statement. The results obtained are, moreover, very interesting:

1. Plots unassisted by phosphates or nitrogen averaged for the five stations 10 tons per acre.

2. Application of sulphate of ammonia increased the result as 58 to 48.

3. That application of nitrate of soda, alone in several cases diminished the yield, the total being as 48 to 48.

4. That a decided improvement is given in every case by phosphates; in some cases three times; in most others twice the yield.

5. Insoluble mineral phosphates gave nearly the same results as insoluble animal phosphates.

6. That soluble mineral phosphates gave nearly the same results as soluble animal phosphates.

7. That with yellow turnips soluble phosphates gave 7 per cent. average higher increase than insoluble phosphates, but when considered individually this superiority is rendered doubtful. In two cases there is an increase in favor of the soluble; in two cases identical; in one case in favor of the insoluble.

8. With swedes soluble phosphates gave for all the stations 4½ per cent. higher results than insoluble phosphates, but at three of the five stations soluble and insoluble phosphates gave identical results.

9. That nitrogenous manure alone gave no increase of crops, but a decided increase if added to phosphates.

10. Bone powder, although it contained nitrogen, did not yield as high results as mineral phosphates or bone ash, but it was less finely divided. Bone in general yielded identical results with mineral phosphates (South Carolina).

11. That fine division gave an increase in every case, generally very substantial, being from 5 to 7 tons per acre.

12. Sulphate of ammonia used along with soluble phosphates gave nearly the same results as fine division.

13. That sulphate of ammonia gave nearly as good results with insoluble as with soluble phosphates.

14. That nitrate of soda gave decidedly better results with soluble than with insoluble phosphates.

15. Swedes confirm statements 9 and 12, but that in case of soluble phosphates nearly the same results are given by nitrate of soda and sulphate of ammonia.

16. That spring manuring is better than autumn or winter in every case.

Such results obtained in Scotland with their soils, their seasons, their rainfall, their crops, and their modes of culture can not be assumed to be correct for American agriculture, American soils, seasons, rainfalls, crops, and modes of culture. But these reports are modes of research in experimental culture, and as such worthy of careful study by our stations. There is no question of greater practical importance in American agriculture than the most economical methods of preparing for use and using phosphates. If Mr. Jamieson's results are approximately true for us, our theory and practice are wrong in important particulars. Our margins of profit are too narrow for us to neglect anything which promises the smallest reduction of the cost of manuring our crops. The whole matter and manner of these reports throws into disadvantageous contrast much of the work of our stations, not a little of which has been trivial, unskilled, unscientific, and, in some cases, downright foolish. The thought is, moreover, suggested that our fertilizer control and inspection laws are not above criticism nor incapable of improvement by amendment, based, as some of them are, on methods of analysis, which methods are obsolete or known to be unsatisfactory. It is highly important that the researches in agricultural science provided for in the Hatch bill should be promptly organized on some co-operative plan, centralized in a National station, that there may be no waste of the funds, fumbling with

stale questions by obsolete methods of inquiry. The Hatch bill failed to provide practical methods of co-operation, its recommendations upon this point being insufficient and inoperative. It may as well be amended in several important particulars, including a provision that all State directors shall meet once a year at the National station, and shall, upon mutual conference and consultation, map out the general line of work, and adopt, as far as possible, uniform methods of research. In the absence of such a requirement it would be competent for the Agricultural Department to invite the directors to conference at Washington, with a view to voluntary organization for the purpose of systematizing the whole work. It is understood that such questions fall within the province of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and to him properly belongs the initiative in this behalf. Many of our directors of State stations lack experience in original research, which is a thing wholly apart from mere university work, and some who stand highest in university circles are not successful in experimental work or in dealing with practical questions. Such a deficiency on the part of individuals would be in part corrected by conference and consultation, and the vast advantage of co-operation would thus be gained. In a future number further reference will be made to the Aberdeenshire experiments and some of their interesting results.

ECONOMIC ORNITHOLOGY.

The Department of Economic Ornithology in the National Department of Agriculture is an interesting and important feature, showing how numerous are the ways and means whereby the light of science may be shed upon the path of productive industries. Recently this division had before it the case of the common crow, the question for adjudication being, Does the crow do the farmer more harm than good?

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roost near Relay, on the wooded hills bordering the Patapsco. There is, or was, a great roost on Bushy Ridge, along the Shenandoah, above Harper's Ferry, to which nearly all the crows spreading eastward as far as the Bay for feeding by day made resort. Probably the Arlington and Patapsco roosts, both recently established, are, as it were, overflow meetings from the great Bushy Ridge roost. We believe it would be well worth while to try the plan of attacking these roosts, and if found successful the Government could well afford to spend some money in reducing the number of these birds. Shooting amounts to nothing. Wholesale poisonings are much to dangerous to be attempted. No kind of net or trap will avail. Scalp bounties have never produced any valuable results. Crows are not fit to eat, though some are said to have "eaten crow," but they "hain't no hankin' after it." As matters stand it seems very likely the species is making rapid increase, and if anything is to be done it ought to be done without delay. In the matter of distributing noxious plants, the English sparrow is another guilty rascal, as well as the crow; and worse than both, the common dove, the emblem of innocence. How Casius M. Clay recommends that we eat up the sparrow nuisance, and the Kentucky idea, not a bad one for the sparrow, would be capital for the dove, which is one of the best birds for the table. But we can not eat the crow; therefore we put the question to the Economical Ornithological Division of the Department of Agriculture, What shall we do about the crow? All attempts to thin him out heretofore have turned out like the celebrated expedition of the bull-frog.

"Bull-frog, dressed in soldier clothes,
Went to field to shoot some crows;
Crow smell powder and fly away.
Bull-frog mighty mad dat day."

IMPURE WATER.

Agricultural sciences should manifestly include the hygiene of the country home. Everything which increases the sick rate reduces the producing capacity of any agricultural community, and in so far tends to increase the cost of food supply and diminish the comforts of life. It is taken for granted that the water supply of the country home as received at the hands of nature needs no especial care to preserve its purity. This is a great and fatal error. "The old oaken bucket that hangs in the well," the said well being contaminated with surface drainage, has a stain in their last cloth. Even the spring, that sparkling fountain from which the family for generations have drunk sweet and cool and pure, life-giving draughts, by injudicious location of pig-sty or privy becomes poisoned, and the children of the household are borne untimely to the family-graveyard. This is but a page from many a chapter of real life. First and foremost and above all other things, let the head of the country home realize that he is responsible for the purity of the water he gives his family to drink. If it be pure he must keep it so, if it be not pure he must make it so. No duty laid upon him is or can be more imperative. He can see to this, however hard the times, or narrow the income; he must see to it at whatever cost of personal convenience. However imperative, nevertheless, it is a duty of which most farmers are utterly unconscious or ignorant. Few of them are capable of an intelligent opinion as to the security or insecurity of the water supply from the contamination of dangerous surface drainage. Cholera, typhoid fever, dysentery, diphtheria, malarial fever, are all liable to propagation through contaminated water. And if the specific contagion be lodged in a filth-reeking soil, to ooze thence into a filth-saturated water, the peril becomes imminent, deadly, and continuous. But besides this, an immense amount of chronic suffering is entailed by the habitual use of unclean

Fidelity.

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

Nearly every man or woman who has become a member of the Alliance, Union, or Wheel wishes to see prosperity come back to the farmer, and to see the enterprises of these orders succeed. If asked if they carry out the principles of the order nearly every one will tell you they do. This is the idea most of them have of their duty: "If I attend the meetings pretty regularly, visit the sick of my lodge, pay up my dues regularly, and do not expose the secret work, I have done my whole duty." Let us investigate a little, and compare this with the idea of the water supply from the contamination of dangerous surface drainage. Cholera, typhoid fever, dysentery, diphtheria, malarial fever, are all liable to propagation through contaminated water. And if the specific contagion be lodged in a filth-reeking soil, to ooze thence into a filth-saturated water, the peril becomes imminent, deadly, and continuous. But besides this, an immense amount of chronic suffering is entailed by the habitual use of unclean

water. Indigestion (but another name for good-for-nothingness); malaria, jaundice, diarrhoea, head-ache, neuralgia, back-ache (whence come irritability, quarreling), weariness of life—all these ultimate in habitual use of unclean water for drinking, cooking, and washing. Even toddy or julip mixed with filth-saturated water does no good. As old Burton hath it, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," such drinks can not expel those "black humors" which produce those jars and frictions of the household, as between a man and his mother-in-law, and every inconvenience of modern life. Shooting amounts to nothing. Wholesale poisonings are much to dangerous to be attempted. No kind of net or trap will avail. Scalp bounties have never produced any valuable results. Crows are not fit to eat, though some are said to have "eaten crow," but they "hain't no hankin' after it." As matters stand it seems very likely the species is making rapid increase, and if anything is to be done it ought to be done without delay. In the matter of distributing noxious plants, the English sparrow is another guilty rascal, as well as the crow; and worse than both, the common dove, the emblem of innocence. How Casius M. Clay recommends that we eat up the sparrow nuisance, and the Kentucky idea, not a bad one for the sparrow, would be capital for the dove, which is one of the best birds for the table. But we can not eat the crow; therefore we put the question to the Economical Ornithological Division of the Department of Agriculture, What shall we do about the crow? All attempts to thin him out heretofore have turned out like the celebrated expedition of the bull-frog.

"Bull-frog, dressed in soldier clothes,
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Some persons express horror and aversion to incestuous matings, even among animals. They believe that nature abhors, and God curses, such meetings, with a "curse of consanguinity." They believe this curse is stamped upon the offspring; surely the offspring is innocent and ought not to be abhorred by nature, nor cursed of God. So believing, doubtless, the solons of the Missouri legislature have recently passed an act forbidding cousins to marry; declaring such unions illegal, and the offspring illegitimate. This is cursing consanguinity with a vengeance. Captain F. A. Dangerfield, owner of the celebrated trotting stallion Sam Purdy, states that in a number of cases the daughters of that great horse have been bred back to their sire, and that he has never seen a stouter, more promising lot of colts than those so bred. Such cases where this curse fails are so numerous, both in the human family and among brutes, that they occasion no remark among the well-informed. Abraham's wife was his half-sister. Their son Isaac married his first cousin, and became the progenitor of God's chosen people—a race which produced Moses, and Isaiah, and David, and Solomon, and Paul, and has to this day been represented by some of the most remarkable men of every age. Doing foolishness is however a peculiar province of the legislature.

Fidelity.

First and foremost and above all other things, let the head of the country home realize that he is responsible for the purity of the water he gives his family to drink. If it be pure he must keep it so, if it be not pure he must make it so. No duty laid upon him is or can be more imperative. He can see to this, however hard the times, or narrow the income; he must see to it at whatever cost of personal convenience. However imperative, nevertheless, it is a duty of which most farmers are utterly unconscious or ignorant. Few of them are capable of an intelligent opinion as to the security or insecurity of the water supply from the contamination of dangerous surface drainage. Cholera, typhoid fever, dysentery, diphtheria, malarial fever, are all liable to propagation through contaminated water. And if the specific contagion be lodged in a filth-reeking soil, to ooze thence into a filth-saturated water, the peril becomes imminent, deadly, and continuous. Let us investigate a little, and compare this with the idea of the water supply from the contamination of dangerous surface drainage. A soldier answers roll-call, goes on dress parade, goes on guard, and wears the uniform. Is this the whole duty of the soldier? We think not. If when the enemy comes in sight he runs away, or secretes himself in some safe place you would say he was a poor soldier. If an Alliance man, or Union man, or Wheel man do all his duty

he will not only do what is above enumerated, but he will fight the enemies of the Alliance, Union, and Wheel. He will not evade the contest and secrete himself behind some plausible excuse, and when asked, say, "I have done my duty the best I could." Whenever the order undertakes a piece of work after due consideration it is the duty of every member to help carry out the plans set on foot. No man can be a good member of the order while he antagonizes any of the work laid out for him to do. It is the duty of every man when in any meeting of his order to express his opinion for or against any question before the body, and before the vote is taken (unless it has been fully expressed by some one else), giving his reasons in full, and then it is his duty to vote. After that it is his sworn duty to abide by the action of the body and put himself in line (in working to carry out the expressed voice of the body) with the majority, and any man who becomes a "grumbler and a kicker" is a sower of the seeds of dissension, and an anti-Alliance man. I am aware that there are some who do this who really have the cause at heart, and honestly believe that the work is wrong, but if they will think over the principles of the order they will see that there can be no unity while there is dissension, no harmony while there is discord, and further, no success while there is insubordination to the will of the majority. In our order there should be no minority men. When the decision has been declared the body should be a unit. It is useless for men to expect a unity of opinion among men on any subject (there is only one point the world is something more than a unit on, and that is in the pursuit of happiness), and when the idea of organizing for our benefit was set in practice it was recognized that a part of the body would have to sacrifice opinion for the good of the whole. We give that we may receive. We sacrifice our will to that of the majority, that we may get the effect of our combined strength. Any man who says he is an Alliance man, and who will not abide by the will of the body governing him, is mistaken, or wants to deceive. No man who once joins can refuse to submit to the will of the body and remain true to his obligations. The intention of the organization was to unify men on questions affecting us, and get the united action of the members to carry out the direction of the wisdom of the majority. Without this unification in practice the organization would be useless, for there would be a division of strength, and neither party would be able to carry its will into effect, for it would have the other party as an antagonist, as well as the declared antagonist from the outside. What we need first is a thorough understanding of the duties of an Alliance man; then we need more thorough organization; next, wise direction, and success is ours. Fidelity to our obligations, to our constitution, and to manhood are what each member should practice. We ought never to let our selfishness stand in the way, for we promised to make sacrifices for the purpose of unity. A poor plan well executed is better than the best plan never put in operation. So if we differ on which is best before the decision is made, let us be a unit in working to put the plan into execution when we are called on. There are many of our enterprises languishing now, because the members do not feel it their duty to support them at an apparent financial loss to themselves, salving their consciences with the idea that the Union has no right to dictate a financial loss to a member. These are only half-breed members, who are willing to swim with the current, but unwilling to take an up-stream voyage. These are those who look upon the farmers' movement as a sort of cross between a temperance society and a Sunday-school. These are loudest in brotherly love until the brother needs something more

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tangible than good wishes, then they "pass by on the other side," leaving the brother for some "good Samaritan" to feed and nurse. A true Alliance man is willing to spend a little of his money in sustaining Alliance enterprises, and his Union principles teach him that he can not desert his friends and support his foes. Every man who understands the situation knows that the opposition will use all their powers of persuasion, ridicule, and sophistry to induce dissension and discouragement in our ranks. For instance, if we start a co-operative enterprise they can combine and make it appear that co-operation is more costly than the old way. Before the speculative class and the parasitic class will have the channels of trade turned from them into the hands of the workingmen, they would furnish goods at less than cost until they can destroy confidence in the weak members. If we would succeed we must expect to sacrifice. No good comes to man without his exertion, which is another name for sacrifice. If we love our cause and wish our children well we will work for it, will sacrifice for it, and it is only by this we may hope for it. Each man must feel that its success depends on him. "I am only one brick in the wall, but a part of the weight of the building rests on me, and if I am not solid I will be crushed and the wall will be weakened." Let us all be solid bricks, and let us make a strong wall for ourselves and our children. Let us be faithful to the end!

Who Lives Down in Sleepy Hollow?

BY HARRY HINTON.

Jack Allday lives down in Sleepy Hollow. From early morn till dewy eve Jack works and toils on his little farm and never rests from his labor till completely broken down or Sunday comes.

Jack does not work on Sunday, for he is a good man. When Harry Hinton and

Jack were young together there was no livelier spark in all these surroundings than Jack Allday. As merry as a holiday when the face of the sun banishes all clouds was he. His step was light, now it is plodding; his face was a smile, now it is a care; his talk was animation, now it is a nod. Do you remember Alice Morgan? Harry Hinton remembers her. Ah, too well! Let memories die which bring only pain.

Jack married Alice Morgan and carried her home and doubled the sunshine there. He has now four children, robust and hale. These, with Alice and Jack, make up the family for which he is toiling so unreasonably; for he is looking forward to the time when he must send his children to school and give them a start.

He got sick last week, and I went over to see how he was getting along, and found him much better, but completely discouraged, for his loss of time had thrown his crop in the grass. After awhile I got him cheered up by the remembrance of old times and was willing to talk.

Do you know, Jack (for I see you want to make money), that one dollar—one single dollar—placed at compound interest at 6 per cent. the day old Christopher Columbus discovered Cat Island and waved his sword over America in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella and continued at compound interest semi-annually till this day, would be a sum larger than the worth of all the taxable property in these United States?

Come, Harry Hinton, you are always blowing and working up problems and conundrums. Why, these United States are worth billions on billions. Why did not old Columbus scratch up one dollar and put it in bank—put it in the Bank of Newfoundland, and we all could live then on the interest? Who told you all this unreasonable stuff?

I saw it in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, a paper printed in Washington.

Well, what of it? If it is true, what good

will it do to know it? If not so, what difference does it make? I like to talk business. This is business with a vengeance, Jack. Money. Interest. Piles of money and piles of interest. This is the business that brings the money. That is the point. If you had put your money in bank-stock—your \$2,000—instead of buying this farm, you could have whittled dry pine goods boxes and made more than you are making.

Banks break, Harry, but land never does. Then what would have become of Alice and the children with all my money gone?

The same thing in the course of time—slavery, poverty, sickness, and heartache. Let me show you, and I can make it as plain as daylight. If \$1 in four hundred years at compound interest comes to all the value of the property of the United States, how long will it take \$1,000,000,000, or even half that amount, to come to the like sum? Do you begin to take on?

Things seem somewhat misty, Harry. I have worked the horseshoe sum in old Pike's and know there is something miraculous in the amount that comes out. But I did not know that compound interest was arithmetical progression.

Just so, Jack. So you see that the dollars on interest are bound to win on the home-stretch. There may be a few or there may be many, which makes it simply a question of time. But what I want to bring to your knowledge more distinctly is that the steam is being shut off and the valves are being closed already.

Not so bad, Harry; I've sense enough to know better. Besides, men who lend money live on a part at least of the interest, and they die like other men and there is a wind-up and the jig stops.

True enough. These things being so, only lengthens the race, but does not alter the final outcome. There are several National banks

which never die. There are several corporations which never die. Several men who do not use one-half of the interest in living, and in dying their heirs continue to lend their capital. There are State and Government debts that never die. So by taking the money which is continued incessantly at interest we can see the day of absorption is close at hand.

Are there no remedies, Harry Hinton?

No known remedies which the men who hold the advantage would be likely to assent to, and these are they who rule the people, who rule the parties, who rule the country.

That sounds like the game of the crooked crabtree. This is the crooked gun that shot the crooked man who killed the crooked crow which ate the crooked grass that grew under the crooked crabtree.

I see, Jack, you are only half convinced.

You can not deny the result of compound interest. You see there is enough money incessantly at compound interest in this country to finally take all the property in it to pay it. You can not and do not pretend to deny these facts, still you lean on the side of hope.

Yes, there must be some mistake somewhere, Harry; things seem to me to be like they always have been, only I see it is much more difficult to make both ends meet than formerly.

Jack, the day of absorption is at hand. Were the farmers forced to pay their debts and mortgages half of them would come out landless. The remainder who are clear of debt are no more than tenants-at-will. The thumb-screws will be put upon them soon, and then all is lost—home, people, and happy country swallowed up by the cormorant money kings.

You tell a dark tale, Harry.

But, Jack, I have not told you all yet. This is a very extensive country, and in discussing the tide of affairs it requires big figures. It is estimated that a man of a family pays \$50 on an average more than he should on what he

buys on account of combines and trusts; that he sells his produce for \$50 less than it is worth from like causes. This makes a loss to every head of a family of \$100. There are 10,000,000 heads of families. This will give one billion loss to the people annually. Then, to be on the safe side, put it half in all, and you will plainly see that not only compound interest, but the speculator is hastening the day of absorption.

This is enough, Harry; this is enough. Tell us no more.

But hear it all, Jack. There is no use in taking two bites at a cherry. You are paying a blind tax to support the Government of the United States. This can not be known; but say \$40. State and school tax, \$20. Then an enormous per cent. on the goods you buy. Now, tell me, I pray, where is the money for foreign missions and charitable purposes, much less to follow the fashions? You laugh at this. Why do you laugh?

You mistake, Harry. No laugh in me. If you see anything like a laugh, it is the grin of despair.

Why? What now?

Do you know, Harry, that when I built my house that I gave a mortgage of \$500 upon my land, and have been working like a beaver ever since to lift that mortgage, and it gets larger every year, notwithstanding all my efforts. This sounds to me like there is some truth in what you have been saying. One dollar now is as hard to get as five was when I made the mortgage. But I read in the Bugle of Freedom the other day about the immense increase in wealth of the United States, and General Cloghorn in his trip down South wrote of the great recuperation in business and the stupendous increase of capital being invested there. This rather contradicts your story.

Ah, my old-time friend, you have not touched bottom yet. This money question is a curious question. It has as many causes and effects as the play of the "Crooked Crabtree," or the game, "Who rules the country," which I have already told you.

Let us have them again.

All right, Jack; it will impress your memory. Here is the crooked gun which shot the crooked man who killed the crooked crow which ate the crooked grass which grew under the crooked crabtree.

Are there no remedies, Harry Hinton?

No known remedies which the men who hold the advantage would be likely to assent to, and these are they who rule the people, who rule the parties, who rule the country.

That is the way that goes, Harry; now, let us have the game of "Who rules the country."

Well, that goes thus; avarice rules the man

who rules the money which rules the press that

rules the people who rule the parties which

rule the country. Now, you have it; and I say that the money question has as many causes

and effects as the play of "Crooked Crabtree,"

or "Who rules the country."

Give us an explanation, Harry.

All right. The first thing I wish to impress on your mind is that your loss is somebody's gain. That because one-half of the people are getting poorer, the other half must be getting poorer too, is all wrong. About three-fourths of the people are losing and the other fourth gaining, and their gains are placed conspicuously in cities, factories, banks and railroads, where General Cloghorn and the Bugle of Freedom could not only see it but estimate it.

That is as much as to say, Harry, that the cities, factories, and other grand improvements are going up at the expense of the toiling millions who are by this to be counted the losers.

To a vast extent, and the faster these things increase the harder the times on the producer, for the money must come from some source, and the only source of a valuable consideration is labor.

It is somewhat like gambling, then, I suppose, Harry. What one man gains above fair dealing another loses.

Now, you have struck it, Jack. The next

point which I wish to impress on your mind is that the farmer finally bears all the burden of loss and very little of the gain. The manufacturer sells his goods to the wholesale dealer, the wholesale dealer to the jobber, the jobber to the retailer, the retailer to the farmer. All rents, all taxes, hiring of clerks, insurance, loss by fire or otherwise, is charged to the last purveyor (if possible) of course, and that is the consumer, which is the farmer in most instances. In the same way take the interest on money, and it will hunt for the bottom like quicksilver in a millpond. If the manufacturer borrows money he charges it on his goods, first to the wholesaler, then to the jobber, then to the retailer, and finally it reaches the consumer, and he can not shift his burden and must bear the loss. Thus you see that the whole weight of the fence rests on the bottom rail.

When there is opposition to a law or a system of laws there is evidently some injustice worked to those who oppose.

SUPERINTENDENT PORTER, of the Census Bureau, has authorized Mr. William C. Hunt, formerly of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics and Labor, and now a statistical expert employed in the Census Office, to prepare a series of questions which will fairly test the capacity and general knowledge of applicants for the various positions on the census. All applicants for employment in the Census Office must pass these tests, which will be mainly a test of the exact work to be performed, such as indexing, stenography, type-writing, calculating, copying, classifying, etc. Mr. Hunt has been connected for the past six years with the Massachusetts bureau and is thoroughly informed as to the kind of ability that is needed for the prosecution of the census.

What will be the result, Harry?

The result will be that the little fish will be gobbled up first and be made dependent on some wealthy individual for a living, and after all that is done the big fish will commence gobbling each other.

I think, Harry, that little thing is going on now by trusts, corners and combinations, and the contraction of the currency to enhance interest and to be more able to measure the produce of labor.

Enough said, Jack, on this subject. Two things rule the world, brains and money. Among a virtuous and Christian people brains more often rule, but among an avaricious and adulterous generation money has the power. So I would say, in parting, work your brains more and your hands less.

As Harry Hinton went away he fell into meditation. What a curious animal is man! He walks the earth on two legs, without hair, feathers or wool to shield his skin from heat or cold, rain or snow; but wrapped in a little warm wool, sheep hair or cotton down, he starts straight out to master something or somebody, and woe be to the one he meets weaker than he. I met this animal the other day coming along the path of history all covered in blood. Thereafter I met him and he was a Christian worth much money and goods stored at Washington, which is loaned to the bankers of Wall street at 1 per cent., something might be done for South Dakota, such as arrears, says two to four in each township, so that the dry creeks and lake-beds would fill up with water and we would have more rains and good crops.

He must mortgage his team and his stock and pay the rich man 25 to 40 per cent. for his money. If crops fail next year, the farmer is cleaned out of all. If the Government would lend money direct to the farmer at 3 per cent. on real estate, using some of the surplus money stored at Washington, which is loaned to the bankers of Wall street at 1 per cent., something might be done for South Dakota, such as arrears, says two to four in each township, so that the dry creeks and lake-beds would fill up with water and we would have more rains and good crops.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

tangible than good wishes, then they "pass by on the other side," leaving the brother for some "good Samaritan" to feed and nurse. A true Alliance man is willing to spend a little of his money in sustaining Alliance enterprises, and his Union principles teach him that he can not desert his friends and support his foes. Every man who understands the situation knows that the opposition will use all their powers of persuasion, ridicule, and sophistry to induce dissension and discouragement in our ranks. For instance, if we start a co-operative enterprise they can combine and make it appear that co-operation is more costly than the old way. Before the speculative class and the parasitic class will have the channels of trade turned from them into the hands of the workingmen, they would furnish goods at less than cost until they can destroy confidence in the weak members. If we would succeed we must expect to sacrifice. No good comes to man without his exertion, which is another name for sacrifice. If we love our cause and wish our children well we will work for it, will sacrifice for it, and it is only by this we may hope for it. Each man must feel that its success depends on him. "I am only one brick in the wall, but a part of the weight of the building rests on me, and if I am not solid I will be crushed and the wall will be weakened." Let us all be solid bricks, and let us make a strong wall for ourselves and our children. Let us be faithful to the end.

Who Lives Down in Sleepy Hollow?

BY HARRY HINTON.

Jack Allday lives down in Sleepy Hollow. From early morn till dewy eve Jack works and toils on his little farm and never rests from his labor till completely broken down or Sunday comes. Jack does not work on Sunday, for he is a good man. When Harry Hinton and

Jack were young together there was no livelier spark in all these surroundings than Jack All-day.

As merry as a holiday when the face of the sun banishes all clouds was he. His step was light, now it is plodding; his face was a smile, now it is a care; his talk was animation, now it is a nod. Do you remember Alice Morgan? Harry Hinton remembers her. Ah, too well! Let memories die which bring only pain.

Jack married Alice Morgan and carried her home and doubled the sunshine there. He has now four children, robust and hale. These with Alice and Jack, make up the family for which he is toiling so unreasonably; for he is looking forward to the time when he must send his children to school and give them a start. He got sick last week, and I went over to see how he was getting along, and found him much better, but completely discouraged, for his loss of time had thrown his crop in the grass. After awhile I got him cheered up by the remembrance of old times and was willing to talk.

Do you know, Jack (for I see you want to make money), that one dollar—one single dollar—placed at compound interest at 6 per cent. the day old Christopher Columbus discovered Cat Island and waved his sword over America in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella and continued at compound interest semi-annually till this day, would be a sum larger than the worth of all the taxable property in these United States?

Come, Harry Hinton, you are always blowing and working up problems and conundrums. Why, these United States are worth billions on billions. Why did not old Columbus scratch up one dollar and put it in bank—put it in the Bank of Newfoundland, and we all could live then on the interest? Who told you all this unreasonable stuff?

I saw it in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, a paper printed in Washington.

Well, what of it? If it is true, what good

will it do to know it? If not so, what difference does it make? I like to talk business.

This is business with a vengeance, Jack Money. Interest. Piles of money and piles of interest. This is the business that brings the money. That is the point. If you had put your money in bank-stock—your \$2,000 instead of buying this farm, you could have whittled dry pine goods boxes and made more than you are making.

Banks break, Harry, but land never does. Then what would have become of Alice and the children with all my money gone?

The same thing in the course of time—slavery, poverty, sickness, and heartache. Let me show you, and I can make it as plain as daylight. If \$1 in four hundred years at compound interest comes to all the value of the property of the United States, how long will it take \$1,000,000,000, or even half that amount, to come to the like sum? Do you begin to take on?

Things seem somewhat misty, Harry. I have worked the horseshoe sum in old Pike's and know there is something miraculous in the amount that comes out. But I did not know that compound interest was arithmetical progression.

Just so, Jack. So you see that the dollars on interest are bound to win on the home-stretch. There may be a few or there may be many, which makes it simply a question of time. But what I want to bring to your knowledge more distinctly that the steam is being shut off and the valves are being closed already.

Not so bad, Harry; I've sense enough to know better. Besides men who lend money live on a part at least of the interest, and they die like other men and there is a wind-up and the jig stops.

True enough. These things being so, only lengthens the race, but does not alter the final outcome. There are several National banks which never die. There are several corporations which never die. Several men who do not use one-half of the interest in living, and in dying their heirs continue to lend their capital. There are State and Government debts that never die. So by taking the money which is continued incessantly at interest we can see the day of absorption is close at hand.

Are there no remedies, Harry Hinton?

No known remedies which the men who hold the advantage would be likely to assent to, and these are they who rule the people, who rule the parties, who rule the country.

That sounds like the game of the crooked crabtree. This is the crooked gun that shot the crooked man who killed the crooked crow which ate the crooked grass which grew under the crooked crabtree.

I see, Jack, you are only half convinced.

You can not deny the result of compound interest. You see there is enough money incessantly at compound interest in this country to finally take all the property in it to pay it. You can not and do not pretend to deny these facts, still you lean on the side of hope.

Yes, there must be some mistake somewhere, Harry; things seem to me to be like they always have been, only I see it is much more difficult to make both ends meet than formerly.

Jack, the day of absorption is at hand. Were the farmers forced to pay their debts and mortgages half of them would come out landless.

The remainder who are clear of debt are no more than tenants-at-will. The thumb-screws will be put upon them soon, and then all is lost—home, people, and happy country swallowed up by the cormorant money kings.

You tell a dark tale, Harry.

But, Jack, I have not told you all yet. This is a very extensive country, and in discussing the tide of affairs it requires big figures. It is estimated that a man of a family pays \$50 on an average more than he should on what he

buys on account of combines and trusts; that he sells his produce for \$50 less than it is worth from like causes. This makes a loss to every head of a family of \$100. There are 10,000,000 heads of families. This will give one billion loss to the people annually. Then, to be on the safe side, put it half in all, and you will plainly see that not only compound interest, but the speculator is hastening the day of absorption.

This is enough, Harry; this is enough. Tell us no more.

But hear it all, Jack. There is no use in taking two bites at a cherry. You are paying a blind tax to support the Government of the United States. This can not be known; but say \$40. State and school tax, \$20. Then an enormous per cent. on the goods you buy. Now, tell me, I pray, where is the money for foreign missions and charitable purposes, much less to follow the fashions? You laugh at this. Why do you laugh?

You mistake, Harry. No laugh in me. If you see anything like a laugh, it is the grin of despair.

Why? What now?

Do you know, Harry, that when I built my house that I gave a mortgage of \$500 upon my land, and have been working like a beaver ever since to lift that mortgage, and it gets larger every year, notwithstanding all my efforts. This sounds to me like there is some truth in what you have been saying. One dollar now is as hard to get as five was when I made the mortgage. But I read in the Bugle of Freedom the other day about the immense increase in wealth of the United States, and General Cloghorn in his trip down South wrote of the great recuperation in business and the stupendous increase of capital being invested there. This rather contradicts your story.

Ah, my old-time friend, you have not touched bottom yet. This money question is a curious question. It has as many causes and effects as the play of the "Crooked Crabtree," or the game, "Who rules the country," which I have already told you.

Let us have them again.

All right, Jack; it will impress your memory. Here is the crooked gun which shot the crooked man who killed the crooked crow which ate the crooked grass which grew under the crooked crabtree.

That is the way that goes, Harry; now, let us have the game of "Who rules the country."

Well, that goes thus; avarice rules the man who rules the money which rules the press that rules the people who rule the parties which rule the country. Now, you have it; and I say that the money question has as many causes and effects as the play of "Crooked Crabtree," or "Who rules the country."

Give us an explanation, Harry.

All right. The first thing I wish to impress on your mind is that your loss is somebody's gain. That because one-half of the people are getting poorer, the other half must be getting poorer too, is all wrong. About three-fourths of the people are losing and the other fourth gaining, and their gains are placed conspicuously in cities, factories, banks and railroads, where General Cloghorn and the Bugle of Freedom could not only see it but estimate it.

That is as much as to say, Harry, that the cities, factories, and other grand improvements are going up at the expense of the toiling millions who are by this to be counted the losers.

To a vast extent; and the faster these things increase the harder the times on the producer, for the money must come from some source, and the only source of a valuable consideration is labor.

It is somewhat like gambling, then, I suppose, Harry. What one man gains above fair dealing another loses.

Now, you have struck it, Jack. The next

point which I wish to impress on your mind is that the farmer finally bears all the burden of loss and very little of the gain. The manufacturer sells his goods to the wholesale dealer, the wholesale dealer to the jobber, the jobber to the retailer, the retailer to the farmer. All rents, all taxes, hiring of clerks, insurance, loss by fire or otherwise, is charged to the last purveyor (if possible) of course, and that is the consumer, which is the farmer in most instances. In the same way take the interest on money, and it will hunt for the bottom like quicksilver in a millpond. If the manufacturer borrows money he charges it on his goods, first to the wholesaler, then to the jobber, then to the retailer, and finally it reaches the consumer, and he can not shift his burden and must bear the loss. Thus you see that the whole weight of the fence rests on the bottom rail.

WHEN there is opposition to a law or a system of laws there is evidently some injustice worked to those who oppose.

SUPERINTENDENT PORTER, of the Census Bureau, has authorized Mr. William C. Hunt, formerly of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics and Labor, and now a statistical expert employed in the Census Office, to prepare a series of questions which will fairly test the capacity and general knowledge of applicants for the various positions on the census. All applicants for employment in the Census Office must pass these tests, which will be mainly a test of the exact work to be performed, such as indexing, stenography, type-writing, calculating, copying, classifying, etc. Mr. Hunt has been connected for the past six years with the Massachusetts bureau and is thoroughly informed as to the kind of ability that is needed for the prosecution of the census.

What will be the result, Harry?

The result will be that the little fish will be gobbled up first and be made dependent on some wealthy individual for a living, and after all that is done the big fish will commence gobbling each other.

I think, Harry, that little thing is going on now by trusts, corners and combinations, and the contraction of the currency to enhance produce, indexing, stenography, type-writing, calculating, copying, classifying, etc. Mr. Hunt has been connected for the past six years with the Massachusetts bureau and is thoroughly informed as to the kind of ability that is needed for the prosecution of the census.

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He must mortgage his team and his stock and pay the rich man 25 to 40 per cent. for his money. If crops fail next year, the farmer is cleaned out of all. If the Government would lend money direct to the farmer at 3 per cent. on real estate, using some of the surplus money stored at Washington, which is loaned to the bankers of Wall street at 1 per cent., something might be done for South Dakota, such as artesian wells, say two to four in each township, so that the dry creeks and lake beds would fill up with water and we would have more rains and good crops.

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SINGLE COPY,
FIVE CENTS

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

VOL. I. WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1889.

No. 19.

Investment Versus Hoarding.

No question is of greater interest or importance to the American citizen than the money question. The pecuniary interest of that class of citizens who possess commodities and not money is, that money should be more plentiful and therefore cheaper, and as a consequence commodities of all kinds dearer; while the pecuniary interest of that class who possess money and not commodities is, that money should be made more scarce, to the end that the purchasing power of a dollar be increased. Besides these two classes there is another very large class in this country who are deeply interested in the volume of money. Those who are in debt find every increase in the power or relative value of a dollar makes it that much harder for them to pay their debts, and every decrease in the relative value and purchasing power of a dollar makes it just that much easier for them to pay their debts. All this is universally admitted as unavoidable effects of contraction or expansion of the volume of the money of the country. It has been the policy of both the great political parties of the country, when in power, to pursue a steady but effective system of contraction. This being an undisputable fact, there is no possible way to avoid the conclusion that the effect and tendency of the Government has been to favor those who hoard money and lend it, and to oppress those whose wealth is invested in commodities or who are in debt. This is an inevitable effect of contraction.

It is claimed that with the purchasing power of a dollar increased as it is by contraction, the power and remuneration attending the use of a dollar as augmented by the increased demand will be so great that the temptation to circulate and invest instead of hoarding will be irresistible. The refutation of this claim is easy and depends on a very peculiar property of money; and that is, its power to oppress, not its power or ability to earn. Fortunately, facts are plentiful to sustain the argument against the above claim. It is known that when money becomes scarce those who possess it hoard it, and when it becomes plentiful the tendency is to invest it; also that when it becomes scarce by contraction interest is low, and when it is plentiful interest is high, but the reason for this is not generally understood. The reason is simple and plain, and is, that when money possesses increased relative value as a result of contraction, it possesses that increased value, not on account of its ability to earn, but on account of its power to oppress, which is many times more effective as a means of accumulating wealth from humanity than the mere ability of capital to earn; and since the source of this power is contraction, the greater reward follows greater contraction, and hoarding inevitably follows. The decrease in interest is from this cause; the earnings of money have ceased to be an object to its fortunate possessor during a period of contraction; its power to oppress being so much more effective and potent as a means of profit, he cares not to lend at all, and is only induced to lend when the security is of the highest character, such as none can give

of wealth whose interests correspond with those who hoard. Little attention then attaches to the earnings of the money; the security is the only inducement to lend, and the great object of money is to wield the power to oppress by means of a large relative proportion of a limited volume at a season when the demands for money on the part of a large class is imperative, when they must have it or lose the farm and be cast upon the highways with a helpless family to tramp and starve. It is the most potent power on earth, not because it drives men, but because it induces them to drive themselves, and they dig and drive willingly for sixteen or eighteen hours a day during the whole year in a vain effort to contend against such odds.

The conditions attending a policy of expansion are fully as well marked and important, equally as certain, and tend as much to prosperity as those of contraction to general depression of the masses and undue prosperity of a class. A just and wise system of gradually expanding the volume of money in the country for a term of years, till the volume should be equal to the aggregate amount of the accumulated wealth produced by labor, of which money is the representative, and therefore should be equal in amount, would soon rob money of its power to oppress. It would make it easier for those who are in debt to liquidate. It would destroy the premium on hoarding, and make money anxious to find an investment in commodities, because there would of a certainty be a gradual advance in the relative value of all commodities and a corresponding decline in the relative value of money. Interest would go up temporarily, because money, in competing with money for investment and for a chance to earn something, since its power to oppress is gone, would be willing to take the greatest risks as to security for a sufficient remuneration; and since the greatest demand to borrow comes from those having the least security to offer, when money became anxious enough for investment to compete with money for such chances to earn most of the transactions would be on a lower order of security to borrowers willing to pay a higher interest. With expansion in progress everything would be preferable to money as an investment, and everybody who was compelled to receive money would immediately seek an investment for it where it would be gaining, since if they hoarded the money it would be constantly losing.

As we have seen, then, the policy of contraction offers the greatest possible incentive to the citizen who possesses money to hoard, and therefore tends to depress all kinds of industry

and commerce, while the policy of expansion would be the greatest possible incentive in the opposite direction, since it would stimulate investments of all kinds and make hoarding unprofitable.

These are absolute and unavoidable truths, and every farmer in this country who does not live by hoarding his money and extorting wealth from others by means of the power to oppress possessed by such money, should think over this matter until he realizes that it is impossible for any class of producers to inaugurate any season of prosperity under a system of contraction. It is an absolute impossibility for any productive effort to earn a surplus so long as speculative effort is allowed to wield an absolute power to appropriate at will. When the farmer realizes this it is time for him to do something in behalf of the wife and children who depend on him for present happiness and future prosperity by pledging himself by all that he holds true and dear to never vote for another man as member of Congress who is not firmly pledged to fight for an expansion of the volume of money.

Tactics of the Jute Men.

Two leading journals of the South, the *Augusta Chronicle* and the *Galveston News*, have recently published an article that is calculated to assist the cause of the jute men in the bagging war with the farmers. They do not offer it as an expression of their own sentiments, but as a news item. It is a very ingeniously constructed article purporting to have been read at the Birmingham convention, and calculated to impress the reader with an idea that the farmers in that convention agreed that jute was the cheapest, but pronounced in favor of cotton; and as no excuse is given, one is left to conclude it was purely a vindictive war regardless of expenses. This is all utterly false, and has no foundation in fact. There are nearly two thousand county Alliances and Wheels in the cotton belt, and in only one of all that number of county Alliances was the cause of jute presented in so attractive a form that the resolutions in question were adopted and sent to the Birmingham meeting for consideration. Every aspect of the move was carefully considered and weighed at Birmingham, and if the document published by these papers was presented at that meeting it was proved to be such utter fallacy as to be unworthy of further attention. The action of the meeting was unanimous. Evidently the publication of the article is inspired by the jute men and shows the inherent weakness of their cause, when sophistry and misrepresentation are resorted to as their weapons. The matter of surprise is, however, that such staunch and able journals as above mentioned should allow their columns to be prostituted by such stuff. They are too wise to blunder, and too good to err, which leaves the reader to conclude that the article was a paid advertisement of the jute men.

AS AN evidence of the wrong that is done the farmer it is only necessary to note that the men who simply handle the product of his labor get rich from the profits while he grows poorer.

Political Economy.

No. 10.

Continuing the subject of rent, the definition of Say is found in exact harmony with that of Smith, and is as follows:

When a farmer takes a lease of land he pays to the proprietor the profit accruing from its productive agency, and reserves to himself, besides the wages of his own industry, the profits upon the capital he embarks in the concern, which capital consists in implements of husbandry, carts, cattle, etc. He is an adventurer in the business of agricultural industry; and, amongst the means he has to work with, there is one that does not belong to him for which he pays rent—*i.e.*, the land.

Agricultural adventure requires on the average a smaller capital in proportion than other classes of industry, reckoning the land itself as no part of the capital of the adventurer. Wherefore there is a greater number of persons able, from their pecuniary circumstances, to embark in agricultural than in any other speculations; consequently a greater competition of bidders for land upon lease. On the other hand the quantity of land fit for cultivation is limited in all countries, whereas the quantity of capital and the number of cultivators have no assignable limitation. Landed proprietors, therefore, at least in those countries which have been long peopled and cultivated, are enabled to enforce a kind of monopoly against the farmers. The demand for their commodity, land, may go on continually increasing, but the quantity of it can never be extended.

Say made a distinction between rent and profits, and insisted on a modification of the doctrine of Ricardo that rents depend upon the degree of productiveness of the soil. He also, with Smith, held that when the yield in return for productive effort exhibited no surplus after paying labor and capital, land could receive no rent. Therefore the position already taken in these papers, in favor of modifying the position of Smith applies equally to that of Say.

The important feature of rent—why land should yield it—has been the subject of much discussion. As we have seen, Adam Smith regarded it as the result of a demand contending with a practical monopoly, and therefore that high rents represented monopoly prices for the use of the lands. Say confirmed in part this doctrine, modifying it so far as to admit that the power of production was at least as great in demanding rent as the monopoly of ownership. Ricardo was the author of the doctrine that has been the most universally discussed and accepted. He made rent an abstract concomitant of land, that depended entirely upon the degree of productiveness, either on account of inherent qualities, favorable location, or other natural advantage. This doctrine derives strong support from John Stuart Mill, whose articles upon the subject are perhaps the fullest and clearest of any. He says:

All natural agents which are limited in quantity are not only limited in their ultimate productive power, but, long before that power is stretched to the utmost, they yield to any additional demands on progressively harder terms. This law may, however, be suspended, or temporarily controlled, by whatever adds to the general power of mankind over nature, and especially by any extension of their knowledge, and their consequent command, of the properties and powers of natural agents.

From the application of this law may be demonstrated the now universally received principles governing the addition of area to the lands, devoted to productive purposes, the gist of which is: when the consumptive demand of a given country, for the products of the soil, is equal to what can be produced from only the very best quality of land, that is located convenient to market, by an ordinary degree of cultivation, no poorer land nor any that is less favored in location will be cultivated, neither will any higher system of cultivation be demanded; but should the consumptive demand be augmented, it would produce an increase of price which, as soon as it reached a point that would justify the cultivation of second-class lands, or of the best lands farther from market than by paying extra freights were placed on an equality with the second-class lands, or the outlay of a higher state of cultivation, would secure the extra supply from either or all of these methods. The same author says:

The worst land which can be cultivated as a means of subsistence is that which will just replace the seed and the food of the laborers employed on it, together with what Dr. Chalmers calls their secondaries; that is, the laborers required for supplying them with tools, and with the remaining necessities of life. Whether any given land is capable of doing more than this, is not a question of political economy, but of physical fact. The supposition leaves nothing for profits, nor anything for the laborers except necessities; the land, therefore, can only be cultivated by the laborers themselves, or else at a pecuniary loss; and *a fortiori*, can not in any contingency afford rent.

The worst land which can be cultivated as an investment for capital is that which, after replacing the seed, not only feeds the agricultural laborers and their secondaries, but affords them the current rate of wages, which may extend to much more than mere necessities; and leaves for those who have advanced the wages for these two classes of laborers a surplus equal to the profit they could have expected from any other employment of their capital. Whether any given land can do more than this is not merely a physical question, but depends partly on the market value of agricultural produce. What the land can do for the laborers and for the capitalist, beyond feeding all whom it directly or indirectly employs, of course depends on what the remainder of the produce can be sold for. The higher the market value of produce, the lower are the soils to which cultivation can descend consistently with affording to the capitalist employed the ordinary rate of profit.

If, then, of the land in cultivation, the part which yields least return to the labor and capital employed on it gives only the ordinary profit of capital, without leaving anything for rent, a standard is afforded for estimating the amount of rent which will be yielded by all other lands. Any land yields just as much more than the ordinary profits of stock as it yields more than what is returned by the worst land in cultivation. The surplus is what the farmer can afford to pay as rent to the landlord; and since if he did not so pay it he would receive more than the ordinary rate of profit, the competition of other capitalists, that competition which equalizes the profits of different capitals, will enable the landlord to appropriate it. The rent, therefore, which any land will yield is the excess of its produce beyond what would be returned to the same capital if employed on the worst land in cultivation.

This is substantially the position of Ricardo and Malthus, and is designated by Mill as "one

of the cardinal doctrines of political economy." It has been accepted by most modern writers and is a prominent feature of the single-tax system. It is claimed, when the land yields a surplus after having paid labor for its efforts and capital its interest, the user of the land loses nothing by parting with that surplus as rent, because he derived same from the land on account of its extra productiveness or superior location; that it is in no way the result of his ingenuity, skill, or foresight; it is the productive result of certain inherent properties of the land and therefore should be paid to the owner of the land; whether an individual or the State, seems purely a matter of policy. It would seem that much confusion of thought and expression could be avoided by acknowledging the fact that since the complete capitalization of land, which has rendered it a commodity in every sense of the word, there is no longer any necessity of maintaining a distinction which has thereby been so modified as to neutralize any difference. Capital, when borrowed, if allowed to be idle will produce nothing, and its interest will be a net loss, but when put in use it may be made to pay its interest and yield an actual product in excess; so land, when rented, if allowed to be idle, will produce nothing and its rent will be a net loss, but when put in use it may be made to pay interest on the investment and yield an actual product in excess thereof. What is the difference if the gains of one be in money or the products of manufacture and the other in the products of the soil that are estimated and valued alone for their power of exchange for money? Is it not misleading and useless to longer keep up a fine spun distinction between rent and interest since the complete capitalization of lands? Is not the possession of lands as truly the result of the accumulation of the product of labor as any other existing commodity under present conditions? Surely every foot of land represents so much money which, in turn, represents the accumulation of labor. After all, the land is no more a factor in the production than the air and water, because without either no results would have been achieved. The same is true of the capital and labor, and, since lands in this country at least have become completely capitalized so as always to represent a certain amount of capital, and capital is accumulated or stored up labor, why is there any necessity of keeping up distinctions and encouraging partiality and favoritism between the reward—as a result of productive effort—that shall accrue to present labor, to past labor, and to the fruits of past labor invested in land? In short, there seems no excuse for longer making a distinction between the remuneration that the fruits of labor shall receive when invested in different kinds of commodities by calling one rents and the others profits, when both are gains to capital.

Here is the very foundation of modern depression in the United States. Land having become merged in capital, the two great factors of production are labor and capital. Commerce, improvement, and invention having developed the facilities of rapid transit and exchanges, have created a vital necessity for

money as the representative of all value, because, under this system, the value of all capital and all utility is expressed in money. The increased productiveness has been augmented by the rapid increase in population and by the invention of labor-saving machinery, and by the discovery of useful facts and the dissemination of valuable information and practical knowledge, and every single increase in productiveness on the part of labor has been attended with an increased demand for capital. If all the expedients for increased production are analyzed they simply mean processes whereby a given product can be secured by the use of less labor and more capital. When this demand for capital on the part of labor in order that it may produce is imperfectly supplied, labor is placed at a disadvantage and its co-factor in production enjoys an unjust advantage. This is evidently the case in the United States, and the reason is that all commodities under the modern system are valued in money; everything possesses a quantum of utility that is expressed by means of its now universal representative—money, and yet the gross amount of such wealth is fifty times in excess of the money in actual circulation. This is the lever that gives capital the power it possesses in modern times.

Nothing can represent a thing to its full capacity and at the same time represent another thing to its full capacity; yet under this pernicious system every dollar in circulation is made king over \$50 worth of value it represents, and \$49 of capital ha to each wait its turn for this busy dollar to get around to it. It would seem that since money is the representative of capital (which is wealth used for productive purposes), every dollar of capital should be represented by a dollar in money. This would free labor from a disadvantage in that particular, and place it in a position to better secure its rights.

GREAT BRITAIN is the greatest commercial power in the world. Her government has bent every energy to the advancement of commercial interests, and there seems to be a better understanding and closer union between her political and commercial affairs than in any other country. Therefore, the political influence of the United States Government with that of Great Britain is the most powerful factor that could be utilized to induce the Englishman to remodel his scale of estimating tare on American cotton, so as to be just when a lighter wrapping is used.

EVERY cotton planter in America should place his order for cotton bagging at once, and refuse to use jute if presented as a free gift. Never mind the tare in England, leave that to "Uncle Jerry," he and Uncle Sam will attend to the tare.

COMMON sense and equity say that railroads should be common benefactors, and not tools in the hands of a class for forcing profit from the producer to swell already plethoric purses.

Who gets the bulk of the profits on farming? Seeking the solution of this puzzle may serve to occupy some of the idle time of the "independent farmers" of America.

No. 19.

Mardonius wintered his troops in Thessaly, and in the spring led them into Boeotia.

He sent Alexander, King of Macedonia, with several Persian noblemen, to Athens, and by them, in the name of his master, made proposals to the Athenian people to abandon their allies. In case they would agree to do this he promised to rebuild their city, which had been burnt; to supply them with a large amount of money, to allow them to make their own laws and live according to their customs, and to give them the command of all Greece.

Alexander exhorted them in his own name as their ancient friend to take advantage of so favorable an opportunity for recovering their losses, alleging that they were not in condition to withstand a power so formidable as that of Persia.

On the first intelligence of this embassy the Spartans sent deputies to Athens in order to oppose their acceptance of the proposition, and these Spartan ambassadors were present when those from Mardonius made their proposal. When the Persian envoys had finished the Spartans addressed themselves to the Athenians and exhorted them not to desert the common cause and the interests of their country, telling them that in perfect union and harmony their strength lay, and that these would render Greece invincible. They added, farther, that Sparta deeply sympathized with the unfortunate people of Athens, who had been rendered utterly destitute and shelterless, and said that Sparta was willing to divide her all with her suffering fellow-countrymen, and would engage herself to maintain and support their wives and children, and their old men, and furnish a plentiful supply for all their wants. They were very severe on Alexander, and said that his advice was just such as might be expected from one tyrant who spoke in favor of another, but that he seemed to have forgotten that the people whom he addressed had shown themselves on all occasions the most zealous defenders of the common liberty of their country.

Aristides was at this time principal archon, and it devolved on him to reply, and the reply of this grand patriot was the most magnificent exhibition of manly scorn of temptation, of unflinching devotion to his country's cause, and triumph of virtue over selfish aggrandizement that could be given by man. It was a most glorious exhibit of the effect of virtuous training under liberal institutions that could be conceived, and it alone goes far to prove that institutions under which such character could be formed must have conformed the noblest conception of which the mind of man was capable.

Aristides replied that, as to the barbarians, who made silver and gold the chief object of their esteem, he forgave them for thinking that they could corrupt the fidelity of a nation by large promises, but that he could not help being surprised, and affected with some sort of indignation, to see that the Lacedemonians, regarding only the present distress and neces-

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

sity of the Athenians, and forgetting their courage and magnanimity, should come to persuade them to persist in fighting nobly for the common safety of Greece from motives of gain and by proposing to give them food and provisions. He desired them to acquaint their republic that all the gold in the world was not capable of tempting the Athenians or of making them desert the defense of their common liberty; that they were duly sensible of the kind offers which Sparta had made them, but that they would endeavor to manage their affairs so as not to be a burden to their allies. Then turning himself toward the ambassadors of Mardonius, and pointing to the sun, he said: "Be assured that as long as that luminary shall continue his course the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the Persians and will not cease to take vengeance of them for ravaging their lands and burning their houses and temples." He then desired the King of Macedonia, if he was inclined to be truly their friend, not to make himself any more the bearer of such proposals, which would only serve to reflect dishonor upon him without producing any other effect.

Not satisfied with this, and that he might excite still greater horror for such proposals and prevent all intercourse with the enemy through religious principle, he ordered that the priests should pronounce curses and execrations upon any person who should presume to propose making an alliance with the Persians or the breaking of their alliance with the rest of the Greeks.

Such was the spirit shown by the champions of human rights in this their first contest with tyranny; and such defiant endurance of the most severe misfortune, such willing sacrifice of all to the cause of liberty, was the most unquestionable evidence of the fitness of the people for that independence for which they fought, and a proof of the power of liberty to inspire in the hearts of her votaries an enthusiasm no other sentiment or cause can inspire.

When Mardonius had learned, from the reply they had made to his attempts to corrupt them, that the Greeks prized their liberty above all wealth, and that they were utterly incorruptible, he began his march toward Attica, wasting and destroying all that came in his way.

The Athenians, not being able to withstand the numbers he led, retired to Salamis and again abandoned their city. Mardonius, who could not conceive of such unselfish patriotism and determined defiance, sent ambassadors again to the Athenians to try and prevail on them to accept his proposals. These ambassadors were received with the same haughty defiance their predecessors had met with. The Persians now convinced that there was no hope of ever corrupting the Greeks, or inducing them, through any proposals he could offer, to submit, entered Athens and burned it, demolishing everything that had escaped the Persian fury on the occasion of their occupying the city the year previous.

During this time the Spartans were busy in completing their defenses of the Peloponnesus—that is, the wall before alluded to—and their delay in coming to the aid of the Athenians

was the cause of some suspicion on the part of the Athenians, as some feared that the Spartans intended to abandon them and give their whole energy to the defense of their own country. They, therefore, sent to them to ask their intention. The Spartans delayed the envoys a few days while making their preparations, and at the end of ten days sent 5,000 Spartan soldiers and 35,000 Helots or slaves, seven to each Spartan, to the aid of the Athenians. The Helots were equipped as light-armed troops and were to fight with the Spartans and under their direction, this fact giving them great advantage.

Mardonius retired before the Greeks into Boeotia, which was a level country, and would give him the advantage in maneuvering his large army. The Greeks followed him, Pausanias commanding the Spartans and Aristides the Athenians.

According to Herodotus, the Persian army consisted of 300,000 men, and according to Diodorus, of 500,000. That of the Greeks did not amount to 70,000, of which there were 5,000 Spartans, 35,000 Helots, 8,000 Athenians, and the balance made up of allies. The Spartans formed the right wing and the Athenians the left.

While the armies thus confronted each other, and all Greece was in suspense, Persian gold was at work to betray the devoted band of Greeks that stood as the only barrier for the preservation of liberty and the grand civilization which grew from its establishment. Treason was discovered in the camp of Aristides, and fortunately in time to be crushed before the cause of Greece and of humanity had been betrayed.

The armies lay thus confronting each other for ten days. The Greeks waiting patiently to make a desperate defense, and the Persians cautious from their former experiences in conflict with Greek valor and desperation.

At last Mardonius called a council of war, when it became evident that his leaders had

more faith in treachery and the corrupting of some of the Greeks to induce them to betray their fellow-countrymen than in the valor of the Persians, and this plan was proposed and insisted on rather than an engagement, but Mardonius decided to attack, and the next day moved his lines against the Greeks. Then followed one of the fiercest and bloodiest battles of which history gives an account, but it is not necessary for us to enter into the details, although they are strikingly interesting, and brought the highest honor to the Greek arms.

The Spartans fought as none but Spartans could fight, and strewed the plain with Persian dead. In the heat of the conflict Mardonius was killed, and soon the rout became general. Artabazus, with 40,000 Persians, fled to the Hellespont, while the rest fortified themselves in their camp. Here they were attacked by the Spartans and Athenians, and the slaughter was indiscriminate and terrible. Of all the Persians who took refuge here not four thousand escaped. Above a hundred thousand were slain, and the victorious Greeks, determined to relieve their country of the terrible invader, refused to give quarter, and so the Persian army was literally exterminated, and thus in

The Greeks were a roving people, and immediately upon the return of peace many restless

death and ruin ended the Persian invasion of Greece, nor ever again did a Persian army cross the Hellespont. The loss of the Greeks was about ten thousand men.

This was the glorious battle of Plataea, than which none more important was ever recorded in the history of the world, as it crushed forever any hope Oriental despotism might entertain of a conquest of Europe, and was the means of establishing permanently and practically the new civilization which has gone on developing until mankind have reached the exalted plane along which society now progresses.

Marathon made Plataea possible, and Plataea was the development of the enthusiasm and high aspirations born at Marathon.

But there still remained an army of sixty thousand Persians, under Tigranes, which had manned the Persian ships and were at the time of the battle of Plataea at Mycale, a promontory of Ionia. Here they were attacked on land in the evening of the day on which the battle of Plataea was fought, and cut to pieces by the Spartans and Athenians of the Greek fleet. Tigranes, the Persian general, and forty thousand men were killed and the Persian fleet destroyed.

Thus perished utterly the grand army brought into Greece by Xerxes, and thus triumphed the little band of heroes who battled so heroically in the cause of progress and human rights.

As to this magnificent defense against the assaults of the established despotism of Asia is due the origin and establishment of our present civilization, and the conception of popular government and free and liberal institutions as we understand them, it has been deemed necessary to thus review the incidents with some degree of minuteness. Besides, it will be found necessary, in pursuing the course laid out, from time to time to refer to the early Greek institutions and their effects, making a knowledge of them a necessity.

Although democratic institutions had been established in Greece for a comparatively great length of time, they did not, until after the Persian war, begin to make their impress upon the nations of western Europe to any appreciable extent; but after the triumph over Persian power Greece immediately rose to a commanding position among the peoples of the western world, and indeed among those of Asia; although the latter were so thoroughly saturated with the destroying poison of Orientalism that they were beyond any influence for their advancement or relief and continued to grovel in the filth of avarice and servile submission to autocratic power, as they do even to this time. However, western Europe was a new and fertile field, ready for the hand of the husbandman; and when the Greek republics rose before their admiring gaze, brilliant in the light of their glorious achievements, their admiration was boundless and the Greek people and Greek institutions became the models upon which were formed the characters and institutions of all the new races just emerging from the night of barbarism.

The vast hoard of Persian wealth that had fallen into their hands at the final victory proved no temptation to their austere virtue and scorn of gold; the triumph of their cause was reward enough. As a lesson to impress upon his people the superiority of homely virtue over enervating luxury, Pausanias, at an entertainment he had given, caused one of the tables to be arranged with all the magnificence and splendor, the delicacies and luxuries that were accustomed to be served on Mardonius' table, and another was arranged in the plain and frugal manner common to the Spartans. Then comparing the two, and calling attention to the difference between them, he observed:

"What madness was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such luxury, to come and attack

spirits, not finding congenial occupation in the peaceful callings to which they were compelled to return, wandered westward in groups and colonies, settling in chosen localities and thus forming the neuclei around which gathered adventurous spirits until, from these various beginnings, grew up states, the people of which were fully imbued with Greek ideas and Greek spirit, and from these the peculiar civilization to which they were devoted invaded even the barbarous peoples about them and sowed the seed that were to blossom later on in the great nations of Europe and bear rich fruit in their experiences that should be the food upon which later institutions should grow and develop.

In this manner were sown in Italy the seed which was to ripen in the wonderful development of Rome, which became in her time the colossus of the world, and left her impress upon every people of Europe, and through them upon their descendants who made the conquest of a new world, and even to-day bear in their characters and laws the impress of Roman influence.

It will thus be seen of what vast consequence was the Greek resistance to Persian oppression, and that the recital of the events of this important contest, although it was waged between peoples who had their existence centuries ago, is not without its value and should be familiar to every citizen of a free government to-day.

From what has been so far said and shown it is evident that the very first conflict in which our civilization engaged to establish its influence was one in defense of human rights, of individual liberty and the independence of the citizen; to relieve the individual from undue and unjust restraint or demands, either from the government or other individual or class of individuals. Thus, the first struggle of modern civilization was the same as the one in which the industrial masses of our country and of the world are to day engaged, the only difference being in the manner in which the assault and defense are conducted.

We have now seen the origin, development, and final establishment of the Greek civilization. It is now required to follow its further growth and development and note the various forms of opposition it had to encounter, and by what means it preserved its influence and existence.

Greece being relieved of all interference from foreign powers, her people now had the opportunity to form their systems and institutions in whatever manner seemed to them to promise the best and most satisfactory results.

The Spartans, content with the prosperity and plenty they enjoyed under the institutions of Lycurgus, which they had preserved in their purity for over five centuries, returned to their homes satisfied with what they had accomplished in preserving their system and institutions in their primitive perfection.

The vast hoard of Persian wealth that had fallen into their hands at the final victory proved no temptation to their austere virtue and scorn of gold; the triumph of their cause was reward enough. As a lesson to impress upon his people the superiority of homely virtue over enervating luxury, Pausanias, at an entertainment he had given, caused one of the tables to be arranged with all the magnificence and splendor, the delicacies and luxuries that were accustomed to be served on Mardonius' table, and another was arranged in the plain and frugal manner common to the Spartans.

Then comparing the two, and calling attention to the difference between them, he observed: "What madness was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such luxury, to come and attack

a people like us, who know how to live without any such superfluities."

It may be of interest here to note that the custom of decorating the graves of those who fell in defense of the country probably had its origin in the custom instituted by the Greeks of paying honors yearly to the dead who fell at Plataea. These ceremonies were very elaborate and performed with the greatest solemnity. None but freemen were allowed to participate in the ceremony, which was performed in honor of men who lost their lives in defense of liberty. These ceremonies were kept up annually even after Greece had fallen under Roman dominion, and the sentiments expressed on such occasions were very similar to those uttered by American orators on decoration days in our own country.

Although the Spartans ignored the vast treasure that made up the spoils taken from the Persians, the Athenians determined to utilize it, and thus, in the very hour of victory, began the departure from the system that had been the salvation of Greece, and Athens became contaminated with that spirit of avarice which was in the future to work such evil and misfortune to this splendid people.

THE coal miners in Indiana are starving, and those in Pennsylvania can exist only by the most rigid economy and confining themselves to the most scant supply of the coarsest food. Andrew Carnegie a few days ago gave a dinner to representatives of the English aristocracy. The meal was served in Louis XVI. style, with a wealth of flowers, ferns, and other decorations. Carnegie and the miners are supported from the same source, and this is said to be a land of equality. As some grow fat and some grow lean, probably the equality comes in the way of a general average.

THE distinction between legitimate trade and gambling is that in the former an equivalent is given in return for value. There is an exchange in which the condition of both parties may be bettered. In the latter the one profits entirely at the expense of and by the loss of the other, giving nothing in return for value received. This being the case, what right has speculation in stocks, grain, and futures to be classed as commercial business?

SWITZERLAND has issued a call for a convention to meet at Berne to try and arrange for more uniformity in the hours of labor throughout the world and better regulation of general factory conditions. It is not probable that much will be accomplished, but a beginning will be made and the agitation in the interest of these great reforms will be carried on with system and a general understanding as to the plan of operation.

THE wealth of all the millionaires in America is but the accumulated labor of millions who have received only a pittance from the values they produced. Both the producer and the gatherer have consumed. The producer has nothing left, while the speculator piles up mountains of value, and this is what is called a just commercial system.

THE SINGLE TAX.
Reply to Mr. McCready.

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

Six full columns of the *Standard* of June 29th are used by T. L. McCready in replying to my answer to him in a late issue of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. In the first column he interprets me as believing "that all taxes will stay just where they are put, anyhow." In the second column he places a diametrically opposite interpretation upon what I think and makes me say that, "knowing perfectly well that all taxes must be paid out of the fruits of labor, and can't possibly be paid out of anything else, you (single-tax men) coolly tell us (farmers) that they ought to be paid out of the fruits of one particular kind of labor, namely, the labor that applies itself directly to the land." That is to say, that I really believe that the earth moves and really believes that it does not. Have I been guilty of writing in so scatter-brained a style as to warrant such interpretation upon what I believe? Have I really said that a thing can't be done and that it can? Did I really say "that all taxes will stay just where they are put, anyhow," and that "all taxes must be paid out of the fruits of labor"? Did I draw from such silly Janus-faced premises as this the conclusion that single-tax men believe that all taxes "ought to be paid out of the fruits of one particular kind of labor, namely, the labor that applies itself directly to the land"? May be so, and may be not. I rather think not. Let us see.

In the article in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, to which Mr. McCready's *Standard* article is a reply, I took the liberty to question the logic of a former article of his in which he made the following assertion: "If shoemakers are taxed they must make fewer shoes or pay the tax themselves. If sugar is taxed, refiners must make less sugar or bear the burden as they may. If farmers are taxed there is no way of escape for them save by raising small crops." Because I questioned the power of any man engaged in a productive enterprise to shift his taxes by restricting the production of the article he was engaged in manufacturing or growing, and because, in my comments I said, "If the rate be $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the shoemaker's production of shoes is worth \$1,000, he will be taxed \$25," Mr. McCready jumps to the conclusion that I believe "that all taxes will stay just where they are put, anyhow." If a man should say that "the average import tax is 47 per cent., and the man who imports \$1,000 worth of goods pays taxes to the amount of \$470," would Mr. McCready conclude that that man believed "that all taxes will stay just where they are put, anyhow"? If so, would he also conclude that that man believed that "all taxes must be paid out of the fruits of labor"? In his last article Mr. McCready asks the question: "Can a taxpayer shift a tax by lessening production of the thing taxed?" and then says: "Mr. Hinckley says he can't. Now I want to ask him a question. Let him suppose himself a wheat-grower—he may really be one for all I know—and then let him say if he would rather see a large wheat crop or a small one? I don't mean on his own farm—of course he wants a large crop there—but on all the other farms in the country? Unless he is very different from any farmer I ever met he will answer that he would rather see a small crop. Why? Because in that case he could sell his wheat at a higher price. What would that do for him? Why, this among other things: it would make it easier for him to pay his taxes. It would enable him to shift part of them, or perhaps the whole of them, on to the men who bought his wheat."

Your readers will notice that he drops the question of the feasibility or practicability of shifting taxes by lessening production of wheat and bases his entire argument upon a suppositional case in which if the crop of wheat of all other farmers should fail and if mine should not, Yes; exactly. "If wishes were horses beggars might ride."

Mr. McCready's argument is a queer one all through. What are taxes, that it is desirable to shift them to the shoulders of others? Why, they constitute an item in the expense account of all who pay them. But they are only one item. The cost of raw material, wages, insurance, rent, etc., are all items in an expense account the same as taxes are. Is it possible to invent a business formula which will enable a man to shift his taxes without shifting all the other items in his expense account? In your imagined case, Mr. McCready, suppose I were a renter and in lieu of all other taxes paid \$2 per acre rent, would not the same circumstances which you say would enable me to shift my tax also enable me to shift my rent? If not, will you kindly explain why not. If it is feasible for all shoemakers and sugar-refiners to shift the tax they pay now by restricting the production of shoes and sugar, why would it not be just as feasible for them to do the same thing with the single tax? If the annual production of wealth by our shoe manufacturers, sugar-refiners, wheat-growers, etc., amounts to \$2,000,000,000, and the annual tax collected for all purposes—National State, and local—amounts to \$500,000,000, and if the producers of sugar, shoes, and wheat, being persuaded by the facile pen of Mr. McCready, should conclude to shift their taxes by lessening production, and if they should succeed in restricting production one-half, what part of their taxes would they have succeeded in shifting to the shoulders of others? To whose shoulders would they have been shifted? To what extent would our wealth-producers be forced to curtail production in order to escape all taxes?

I don't want to laugh at anything Mr. McCready says, but what can I do about his shoemakers, sugar-refiners, wheat-growers, and other wealth-producers who are engaged in a desperate fight to shift their taxes by restricting the production of shoes, sugar, wheat, and other necessities? My mirth is considerably tempered by the anxious reflection as to what would happen if all wealth-producers should quit producing to such an extent as to enable them to shift their taxes. But we have the assurance of Mr. McCready, in the second column of his article, that this can never be. "It is easy to see," he says, "that this process of contracting production and shifting taxes must go on from man to man until it reaches at last the men who are engaged in the simplest form of production, who are applying their labor directly to the soil—and there it will stay. It will stay there because these men are powerless to lessen their production and can't be forced to lessen it. They must produce or starve, and they can't be so easily forced to cease producing, because they have access within limits to the soil."

The closing sentence of this quotation would seem to convey the idea that the principal reason why farmers are not "so easily forced to cease producing" is because they have access to the soil, and not because they must produce or starve. It seems to me that the fact that they would starve if they ceased producing would be a much stronger incentive to their continued production than the mere fact that they have "access within limits to the soil." But Mr. McCready, in seeking to create a different impression, allows his judgment to be swayed by his enthusiasm in the single-tax cause, a cause which he, in common with other single-taxers, argues will make land free, when all it would do would simply be to change the form of the payment of the fine which is now exacted for its use. But let us follow Mr. McCready, and

see how he proposes to relieve the farmers, as well as all other wealth-producers, of the awful burden they are now carrying. He recognizes the fact that we farmers are grievously burdened, and he is big-hearted and sympathetic enough to really want to help us get rid of our load. He likens the enormous burden of taxes wealth-producers are now carrying to the fearful flood of water which devastated the fated Conemaugh Valley, and our wealth-producers to the citizens who occupied the flood-swept region. He does not appear to be very happy in his illustration, however. He compares our business men, shoe manufacturers, sugar-refiners, etc., to the people who lived in the valley above Johnstown, and who, of course, received the full force of the overflow before it reached Johnstown. Our farmers, he thinks, will compare with the citizens of Johnstown. Johnstown was damaged none the less because of the havoc made by the flood before it reached there.

"Just so it is with the devastating flood of taxation. It attacks the upper part of the valley of production first and gives the lower part a brief but all unpitying respite. The secondary industries are first swept away—those in which the workers don't apply their labor directly to natural opportunities, but to materials which have been produced by other workers from the earth itself. The shoemakers and the sugar-refiners and the tailors and other workers of that kind are the first to feel the flood. Why so? Because they are nearest to the torrent's starting point and the farthest from natural opportunities. * * * The vast majority of such producers are constantly fighting for life—trying to save themselves from drowning. They fight together in what is call competition, but is really nothing but a panic struggle for existence. They struggle and lie and cheat—do everything and anything to save themselves. But it isn't any use. Down go wages, away go profits—bubble, bubble—drowned.

The roads are filled with tramps, the cities swarm with men out of work, the market for wheat and corn and bacon is swept away, and all in order that the men who aren't driven out of business may shift their taxes onto Mr. Hinckley and his fellow-farmers.

"The flood sweeps on and strikes the men who live by applying labor directly to the earth. Does it drive them out of business? Well, I should rather say it did. Look at the coal miners, Mr. Hinckley. Do you suppose the coal barons who let those men stand idle don't want to produce more coal? The trouble is, they dare not produce more coal. They know well enough that if they did the price would fall so far that there would be no margin left between the price of coal and the cost of producing it, and so they would have to pay their taxes and all the rest of their expenses out of their own pockets instead of shifting them onto the shoulders of you foolish farmers. So they first gain a little margin by reducing miners' wages (which, of course, is a splendid thing for the farmers who want to sell the miners food), and when that can't be carried any further, they just throw the miners out of work and stop the coal production. Why did the Reading Railroad become bankrupt? Because, although it owned any quantity of coal mines, it didn't dare to work them. It simply couldn't work them. It would have been forced to pay its own taxes if it had worked them, and all the other coal operators would have been forced to pay their own taxes, too, instead of making Mr. Hinckley and the rest of us pay them. Why does Andrew Carnegie cut down the wages of his coke-burners? He isn't an unkindly man. He doesn't enjoy making people suffer. He has to cut them down, or else he couldn't shift his taxes. Now, you know, Mr. Hinckley, the way to cure that state of things is not by putting more taxes on Andrew Carnegie. To do that will only be to take more money out of

your own pocket, and throw a lot of your own customers out of work for the sake of doing it. Take the taxes off Andrew Carnegie, Mr. Hinckley; that's the way to make a market for your wheat, and corn, and bacon."

It seems to me Mr. McCready could hardly have realized what he said when he wrote the above. It is nice reading of the jingling, jangling kind, but the single-tax man who studies it to gain a point in his favor will be disappointed. Consider his assertion that "the secondary industries are first swept away," and then consider how he jingles along until he proves that not a secondary industry gives away until after the farmers and other wealth-producers have been pumped so full of the flood of taxation by the shifting process as to be unable to hold any more. Consider the blow he deals—the single-tax doctrine—that "possession of natural opportunity will prevent poverty," when he says the coal barons "dare not produce more coal," and the Reading Railroad, "although it owned any quantity of coal mines" (natural opportunities, I guess), was forced into bankruptcy. Consider how effectively he proves that a man engaged in a secondary industry, who has amassed the enormous wealth of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, has never paid any taxes, and then consider how innocently he asks the farmers to take the taxes off Andrew Carnegie in order that they may have a market ("home market") for their "wheat, and corn, and bacon." My dear Mr. McCready, will you please tell us grangers how to proceed to take something off Andrew Carnegie which, by your own reasoning, has never been on him? We farmers are a simple, unsophisticated lot. We have gone on just as farmers have from time immemorial, attending strictly to our business, or, at least, we think we have. We have been content to believe that our business was limited strictly to the production of corn, and wheat, and bacon, and other farm productions. We have been content to leave the weighty questions attendant upon the Government of our common country to other men whom we considered as honest and much more intelligent than we. Questions of finance, taxation, and other economic problems have troubled us but little. You may say that we were mentally incapable of wrestling with such questions. Perhaps we were. But in our dull, plodding, stupid way we are at last beginning to realize that something somewhere is not just right. We don't take any special credit to ourselves for the discovery. We realize that even fools will learn in the school of experience. But after all, the true test of wisdom consists in the right application of knowledge once gained. We are rapidly acquiring knowledge. After a failure to properly apply that knowledge, then vote us fools. In the meantime please suspend judgment, lest you might prejudice our case, or yourself have to eat of the humiliating fruit of a judgment too rashly rendered. Yes, we at last realize that there is something the matter with farming—something besides the natural obstacles, something purely artificial in its character. We don't believe that the chinchbug of Illinois, the grasshoppers of Kansas, the hot winds of Dakota, or the droughts of Texas, or all these things combined, compel us to sell for less than cost what we do succeed in producing. We don't believe that because millions of our hogs die with cholera that compels us to sell our hog product for less than cost. We used to lay at nature's door all the blame for our failure to make farming pay, but we don't do it now, not all of us. We are beginning to understand that the effect of nature's pests—chinchbugs, cutworms, hog cholera, and floods and droughts—is to make our crops and production of hogs shorter than they otherwise would be, and the further effect is to give us better prices than we could otherwise have

obtained; and when we see that, in spite of nature's seeming efforts to give us better prices for our produce, we are still forced to sell at a loss, we naturally turn in other directions to seek the cause of our misfortune. And here are some of the things we find. We find that the farmers of Illinois, in the last eighteen years, have produced an aggregate value in their principal crops of more than \$2,000,000,000, at a loss to themselves of more than \$36,000,000. We find that the net profit of our railroads have in the same time aggregated hundreds of millions. We find that in one year (1887), when the farmers lost more than \$26,000,000, the railroads got a net profit of more than \$20,000,000. We find that only this spring, when we of Illinois were forced to throw away thousands of bushels of potatoes for the want of a market, our brother farmers in Nebraska were forced to pay 75 cents per bushel for potatoes. We find that while Nebraska farmers are forced to sell their corn for 15 cents per bushel, the toilers of New York are obliged to pay for it at the rate of a dollar or more. We find that while Dakota farmers are forced to burn twisted hay, corn cobs, and maybe even corn, to keep from freezing, Pennsylvania coal barons "dare not produce coal (?)." We find, with freight charges on wheat from Chicago to New York ranging from 25 to 30 cents per hundred pounds, and our crop selling at from 60 to 70 cents per bushel, that we are paying our railroads fully one-third of what we produce by a year's toil to do us a few hours' service. We find that these things are so, because we allow a few men to own and control in their interests the railroads built and placed in operation by means of the wealth created by our labor.

Turn we in other directions and we find a certain class of men who are financially able to own a certain species of property paid gold interest thereon by our Government and exempted from all taxation. We find that certain of these men, depositing their bonds with our National Treasurer as collateral security, are not only paid their gold interest semi-annually by our Government, but our Government will loan them at 1 per cent. interest of their bonds 90 per cent. of the face loan in National bank notes. We find that if we desire to borrow some of this same money from the bank we are obliged to give undoubted security, take our own risk as to our property yielding us an income, and pay the banker from 8 to 12 per cent. interest, compounded four times a year. We find that even fools will learn in the school of experience. But after all, the true test of wisdom consists in the right application of knowledge once gained. We are rapidly acquiring knowledge. After a failure to properly apply that knowledge, then vote us fools. In the meantime please suspend judgment, lest you might prejudice our case, or yourself have to eat of the humiliating fruit of a judgment too rashly rendered. Yes, we at last realize that there is something the matter with farming—something besides the natural obstacles, something purely artificial in its character. We don't believe that the chinchbug of Illinois, the grasshoppers of Kansas, the hot winds of Dakota, or the droughts of Texas, or all these things combined, compel us to sell for less than cost what we do succeed in producing. We don't believe that because millions of our hogs die with cholera that compels us to sell our hog product for less than cost. We used to lay at nature's door all the blame for our failure to make farming pay, but we don't do it now, not all of us. We are beginning to understand that the effect of nature's pests—chinchbugs, cutworms, hog cholera, and floods and droughts—is to make our crops and production of hogs shorter than they otherwise would be, and the further effect is to give us better prices than we could otherwise have

As an illustration of the number of mortgages placed upon Western farming lands the following is significant: McLean County lies in the richest agricultural district in the State of Illinois. It is considered one of the richest agricultural counties. Railroad facilities are exceptionally good and markets easily accessible. In the year 1887 there were 1,752 mortgages placed on record for a total sum of \$1,542,000, and of these 403 were on farms incumbering 40,763 acres of farming land. There were 708 chattel mortgages, mostly on live stock and farm implements, for a sum of \$213,449. There were 641 mortgages on town lots for \$556,521. This leaves close to a million dollars resting entirely on farms and farm property, and this in what is considered an especially prosperous county. There were more than one-third more mortgages placed on record last year than in 1880.

The reason why so many farms in Illinois are mortgaged is made apparent to some extent by the following statistics, which may be relied on: On the corn crop of 1884 there was a loss of \$11,780,559, and on the total wheat crop a loss of \$8,897,389, making a total on corn and wheat of \$20,677,948. The net profit of the railroads for the same year was \$20,997,554. This shows a loss of nearly \$600,000 more than the railroad companies' net gain. Now taxes never fail, although crops sometimes do, and to meet these the mortgages were planted.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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of America.

C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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rates are fifty cents a line nonpareil. Discounts for time
and space furnished on application, stating character of
advertisements desired.The publishers of this paper have given a bond in the sum
of \$50,000 to the President of the Farmers and Laborers
Union of America that they will faithfully carry out all
subscriptions and other contracts.The Farmers Association, that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST
represents as their national official organ now contains
a membership of over one million, and by means of organiza-
tion and consolidation they expect to number two millions
by January 1, 1890.Address all remittances or communications to—
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remittance, and should be wrapped in paper in
the envelope, ungummed if to be had. Postal
notes or money orders are much better.

Clubs of Five.

THE ECONOMIST has arranged with Hon.
Thos. M. Norwood, author of "Plutocracy, or
American White Slavery," to distribute that
book as a premium to persons sending in clubs
of five annual paid subscriptions at \$1 each.
The book to be mailed in return is bound in
paper, post paid, by the ECONOMIST.THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is one paper that
the public may depend upon never to print any
account of prize fights or base-ball matches.
This announcement is not made to induce every-
body to subscribe at once, as the office force
can not well manage over three thousand new
subscribers each week.THE president of the State Wheel of Ten-
nessee and the president of the State Alliance
of that State have called the annual meeting of
their respective bodies at the same time and
place. This will be the first of the State bodies
to meet, and consequently the first to act on
consolidation. The two orders have been har-
monious and prosperous in Tennessee, and
there is no doubt that the coming meeting will
result in a glorious ratification and consolida-
tion, worthy of emulation by all the States.
Tennessee will be one of the strongest States
in the Farmers and Laborers Union.

Government Support for Cotton Bagging.

The ECONOMIST received a letter from President Stackhouse, of the South Carolina State Alliance, some time since, suggesting that the efforts of the Alliance and Wheel to establish the use of cotton as a permanent covering for cotton bales be explained and laid before the Secretary of Agriculture with a view of securing the indorsement of that Department. Accordingly President C. W. Macune, of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, after consulting with other State officers on the subject, called upon the Hon. J. M. RUSK, Secretary of Agriculture, and explained the conflict now existing between the jute men and the farmers, and the superior nature of cotton as a substitute for jute in the manufacture of bagging, and asked the influence of the United States Government to secure from England regulations governing the assessment of tare on American cotton in the British markets that would be based on the actual weight of the bagging used, and not on an arbitrary estimate of the heaviest jute bagging, this being the only obstacle in the way of a complete victory for cotton over jute.

The reply from the Secretary of Agriculture came without a moment's hesitation and was an unqualified affirmative and a hearty espousal of the cause. He showed himself by his prompt action a true friend to agriculture and the best interests of the country. Valuable assistance in the preparation and presentation of this subject was rendered by L. P. Featherstone, president of the Arkansas State Wheel, and Member of Congress-elect from that State.

In response to a request for a written statement of the business, to be used as a basis by the United States Government for formulating instructions, etc., to its representatives, the following address was prepared and presented to the Secretary of Agriculture:

To the Hon. J. M. Rusk, Secretary of Agriculture of the United States of America, Wash-
ington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: The undersigned, as presi-
dent of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-
operative Union of America, and as editor of
THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, the National official
organ of said association and of the National
Agricultural Wheel, two organizations of far-
mers in the cotton States, and Virginia, Ken-
tucky, Missouri, and Kansas, making fifteen
organized States, and numbering a membership
of about one million, respectfully represents as
follows:

Representative farmers from the entire cot-
ton belt of the United States met in the city of
Birmingham, Ala., on the 15th of May last,
and investigated and weighed evidence as to
the policy of substituting cotton for jute in the
manufacture of bagging with which to wrap
cotton bales in preparing them for transporta-
tion. Representatives from the jute manufac-
turers were in attendance, and presented their
side of the question. It was finally unani-
mously decided to adopt cotton as the perma-
nent and future wrapping, and this action has
now been ratified by all the States. The
planters have agreed to use about thirty million
yards of cotton bagging, and American mills
have agreed to manufacture same. This will
wrap about three-fourths of the coming crop.
The objects in the change are:

1. Substitute a native textile for one im-

ported from Calcutta, a country to which we
export nothing but cash in return.

2.

3.

4.

Create a greater demand for a product in
the production of which we excel the world.

Provide a use for the very inferior grades
of cotton that now, especially in wet years,
depress the markets.

Use a wrapping that by possessing utility
after being removed from the bale will diminish
the loss as tare.

By being 60 per cent. lighter, subject the
whole crop to a less deduction for tare, and
thereby save freights by reducing the total
weight.

The only impediment in the way of making
a perfect present and future financial success of
the venture is that a fixed tare is taken in the
British markets, and, as about two-thirds of our
crop is exported to those markets, they have a
powerful influence over domestic customs. The
cotton exchanges of the cities of New York
and New Orleans have expressed themselves as
in sympathy with the movement, and every-
thing seems to depend on the action of the
English authorities in regard to the question
of tare. Jute used to wrap cotton bales weighs
per bale, from seven and one-half pounds to
eighteen pounds, and probably averages about
ten and one-half pounds. The average tare
taken on jute is about sixteen pounds per bale.
If Liverpool quotations control American
prices, as many claim, this tare is thereby made
to apply to the whole crop. Cotton bagging
will be of a uniform weight (three-fourths of a
pound per yard), and, by using seven yards,
will make the actual weight of bagging five
and one-fourth pounds per bale. It is less in-
flammable, much more impervious to moisture,
will not collect and hold as much sand and
dirt, has less lint cotton adhering to it when
removed from the bale, and possesses much
more utility after having served its purpose as
bagging.

We therefore ask, as a matter of justice and
right, that the tare allowed to be taken in the
British markets on cotton wrapped in cotton
be actual, and not based on an estimate of cot-
ton wrapped in jute. This is a matter of about
ten pounds per bale, which, on an American
crop of 7,000,000 bales, would be 70,000,000
pounds, or 233,333 bales of cotton weighing
300 pounds each, and worth, at 9 cents per
pound, \$6,300,000 to the farmers of America.
It is, therefore, in view of this pecuniary gain,
and the much greater one of stimulating Ameri-
can productive and manufacturing interest and
general prosperity, deemed of sufficient im-
portance to enlist your powerful influence, sup-
ported by the United States Government, to
secure this concession of eminent justice from
Great Britain:

Very respectfully submitted,

C. W. MACUNE,
[SEAL.] President.

Attest:

E. B. WARREN,
Secretary.

The following was received in response:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 17, 1889.

Mr. C. W. Macune, President National Farm-
ers Alliance, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I acknowledge the receipt of
your recent communication, under the seal of
your organization, acquainting me with the
action taken by certain representative farmers
of the cotton belt of this country in reference
to the substitution of cotton for jute in the
manufacture of bagging with which to wrap
cotton bales in the future, and inviting the co-
operation of this Department in securing such
action on the part of the British markets as
will make your venture a success. I desire to
express the sympathy of this Department in the

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The Alliance State Exchanges.

The inquiry made in the letter from Bro. Williamson has been made several times lately, and that the information may be more generally disseminated the ECONOMIST publishes the correspondence:

Very respectfully, J. M. RUSK,
Secretary.

Dovesville, S. C., July 8, 1889.

Mr. C. W. Macune,
Pres't N. F. A. and C. U.

DEAR SIR: I was appointed by our State

president on the "Macune Business System,"

and shall report at our summer meeting.

We will adopt some form of a business system

or agency, and any advice or information that

you can give will be appreciated and will aid

the Alliance cause in our State. South Caro-

line is well organized for the bagging fight, and

in our county, where we have made arrange-

ments giving Alliancemen an opportunity to

pack their cotton in cotton bagging for the

payment of bagging bills, I am sure that the

refusal to use cotton bagging will mean ex-

pulsion.

Yours truly,

E. M. WILLIAMSON,
From Committee on "Macune Business System,"
South Carolina.

July 16, 1889.

E. M. Williamson, Dovesville, S. C.:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your letter of the

8th inst. has been forwarded from Dallas to

me at this place, where I am now making my

headquarters as editor of our National organ,

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. In reply will say

I do not claim the honor of having introduced

any business system. I was acting as State

agent for the Alliance of Texas, and business

manager of the Farmers Alliance Exchange of

Texas, during the development of the business

methods of the Alliance of that State. Such

methods are not the result of my ingenuity of

wisdom, but of the necessities that then beset

the people. The objects sought to be achieved

by a business effort on the part of the Alli-

ance were very important and necessary. It had

been a custom to make the cotton crop by

using supplies purchased from local mer-

chants on credit, and as the merchants were

in the habit of giving promiscuous credit,

their losses from bad debts were frequently

heavy, sometimes amounting to 16% per cent.,

and as such merchants maintained a uniform

degree of prosperity in spite of all losses, it

showed that their prices were high enough to

cover losses and yield a profit besides. These

facts properly understood showed that about

one-seventh of the goods sold on credit were

sold to a worthless set of people who would not

pay their debts, and that the other six-sevenths

had such losses to pay; or, in other words, we

were giving security for our neighbors' debts

without our knowledge or consent. Again, the

importunities of the merchant forced the farmer

to turn loose his cotton as soon as gathered,

regardless of price at that time. The evils of the

credit system, therefore, compelled the farmers

to take action in self-defense. This they did at

first by organizing and selecting in each county

a trade committee, who should notify the mer-

chants that the paying farmers of the country

had banded themselves together and were de-

determined to stop paying other people's debts,

and proposed to concentrate their trade with a

merchant who would eliminate from his expenses

all loss from bad debts and expense of collect-
ing and give them a reduction in prices equal

to the benefit received from a business that was

not attended with such losses. That effort to re-

duce prices was first tried, and had the merchants

co-operated with the farmers to secure the re-

sult, which would have been to their advantage

as well as to that of the farmer, it would have

succeeded, but that effort to reduce price without

reducing their profits they fought. That legiti-

mate and worthy effort to reduce price by elimi-

nating loss and risk the merchant fought so bit-

terly that the effort was not attended with suffi-

cient results to justify so great an effort.

As a consequence that system was gradually

discontinued. But the necessity for a re-

duction in the price of commodities re-

mained, and the same object was sought

by a different means. Instead of elimi-

RAILWAYS;**Their Uses and Abuses,****AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.**BY JAS. F. HUDSON,
Author of "The Railways and the Republic."

No. 12.

DISCRIMINATIONS IN COMMON LAW.

Side by side with the irreconcilability of discrimination or favoritism as between individuals, in charges for transportation upon the public highway, is the still greater impossibility of reconciling the discharge of the duties of such a highway, with combinations to prevent the free action of competition and to limit the liberty of all people to use them, without which the idea of the public highway is a mockery and a fraud. As the practice of railway discrimination may be termed the nullification and violation of their primary conditions, the further practice of forming combinations to maintain an arbitrary standard of rates free from the action of competition is no less justly to be characterized as a usurpation of illegal power by means of the very franchises gained through the conditions which are overridden and ignored.

This branch of the subject is somewhat confused by the fact that the legal principles bearing upon combinations in restraint of trade extend far beyond the obligations which limit and restrict the action of the corporations having in charge the conduct of public highways. At the proper juncture in the development of the general subject of the distribution of wealth I hope to show the utter condemnation which the Constitutional principles, not only of this country, but of all Anglo-Saxon governments, visit upon every combination, whether its members are corporations holding a public position, or merely private traders and manufacturers, which has for its purpose the suppression of competition, and the gaining for its members of a pecuniary advantage over the mass of industry by the suppression of competition in their favor, while its action upon the vast multitude of the people is maintained.

The declarations of the common law that all combinations for the restraint of competition, whether of corporations or of private individuals, are illegal and contrary to public policy, are sufficient to characterize all the pools and trusts as criminal conspiracies. This leaves the deduction, *a fortiori*, that if it is a violation of public policy for private individuals to form a combination to secure for themselves the privilege of exemption from the competition which regulates the rewards and wages of the great mass of industry, by how much greater and stronger an application of the principle it must be illegal for corporations created by special acts of Governmental favor, and charged with the administration of the public channels of commerce and transportation, to use their franchises given them by Government for the same illegal purpose. Beyond this, the judicial declarations on the subject of railway pools are comparatively few, and possess only the authority

that arises from uncompromising and undisputed legal principles.

There is a very good reason for this scarcity of decisions on the railway pools in the simple fact that the railway corporations, while persistently and steadily adhering to the policy of forming these combinations, even against the constant discouragement of their natural tendency for going to pieces, have been very careful to keep the question of their legality from appearing before the courts. It is an open secret in railway circles that the contracts by which the railway pools are formed have no standing in law. It is acknowledged that they would be void if brought before any competent court, either in this country or in England; and that fact has been made the basis of the somewhat unique demand on the part of the railway that National legislation upon the subject of railway regulation should legalize the pooling contracts. It attempts this through the device of an arbitrary division of the traffic, allotting to each member of the combination a stated percentage of the total. This necessarily attacks the freedom of the public to use the highways. One of them may be ordered by the pools to divert its traffic to another line, that, by inferiority of service or through some other reason, for which in the nature of the case it is solely responsible, has fallen below the allotted share that belongs to it, not by the natural laws of trade, but by the decree of the pool. Such an inference is necessarily a complete subversion of the freedom of public use, and the unchecked flow of traffic over the channels which afford the cheapest and best transportation, that arises out of the character of the public highway.

This was sufficiently set forth in the primary decisions upon the legal status of the railway, by the United States Supreme Court, forty-seven years ago. "The true criterion," said Justice Baldwin, "is whether the objects, uses, and purposes of the incorporation are for public convenience or private emolument, and whether the public can participate in them by right or only by permission." In these words the whole question is summed up and decided. The pooling policy amounts to a claim that the incorporation is mainly for private emolument, and that the public welfare must be overridden by that consideration. For that purpose it limits the freedom of use, which is the right of the public, so that traffic can only be transported over the channels designated by the combination of corporations in such quantities as the arbitrary decrees of the pools shall fix. In doing so they place their corporations outside of the definition laid down by Judge Baldwin as the necessary characteristic and criterion of the public highway. Thus they assume the position of violating the primary conditions of their charters, and holding their franchises under circumstances amounting to a usurpation of sovereign powers and a violation of the Constitution of the United States. This is practically acknowledged by the course of the railroads in carefully keeping from the courts a test of the judicial status of the pooling combinations.

If, as is the fact, they can not be, then the radical declaration of Judge Emmons obtains peculiar force as absolutely true, that the public obligation and public services of the railway form its primary and

sole legal and political motive, and that the pecuniary interest of the corporation having it in charge is but an accident, which can not by any construction of laws be held to rise superior to its public obligations.

Taking the abstract character of the obligations of the public highways, it should be plain enough that an agreement between different highways to secure the imposition of enhanced charges upon the public would be illegal by its very character. The illegality would only be exaggerated when such an agreement took the form of an arbitrary division between the highways of the traffic passing over them. The pool necessarily seeks to withdraw from its members the incentive of obtaining the enhanced profits arising out of a large volume of business attracted by comparatively lower rates. It attempts this through the device of an arbitrary division of the traffic, allotting to each member of the combination a stated percentage of the total. This necessarily attacks the freedom of the public to use the highways. One of them may be ordered by the pools to divert its traffic to another line, that, by inferiority of service or through some other reason, for which in the nature of the case it is solely responsible, has fallen below the allotted share that belongs to it, not by the natural laws of trade, but by the decree of the pool. Such an inference is necessarily a complete subversion of the freedom of public use, and the unchecked flow of traffic over the channels which afford the cheapest and best transportation, that arises out of the character of the public highway.

can not afford to submit these pooling agreements to judicial review. Some years ago the essential regulation of the traffic pool of the Northwestern railroads, that of diverting freights from one line which had more than its arbitrary share to another which had less, was brought into the courts by a shipper who claimed the right to have his freight sent over the road which he had designated. The necessity of so diverting freights in order to keep up the division which rescues the railroads from the necessity of competing with each other, to which all the fundamental lines of business are subject, was then asserted by the railroads. It is now proved by the fact that in the last pooling combination devised for the sake of evading the provisions of the interstate commerce law, the demand for diverting the live-stock traffic from one line to another in order to rescue the combination from going to pieces was a recognized and conceded feature of the last development in railway combinations. The outcome of the appeal to the courts against the practice of a few years ago was treated by a recognized organ of the pool, the Railway World, as follows:

A temporary injunction was granted, whereupon some anti-railway enthusiasts went so far as to claim that this complaint would be a death-blow to the pools, confidently expecting the railroads to contest the legality of the injunction, and be conclusively overthrown. Rightly considering, however, that the importance of the case was not such as to warrant any protracted and expensive litigation, the Southwestern pool refrained from any decided opposition, and allowed the Boston concern to continue forwarding its sugar over the lines of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway.

Here is a practical confession of the fact that the pooling practices illustrated in that case would not bear being tested in the higher courts. The course of the railroads plainly showed that their combination was too important to be set aside by an appeal to the court whose decision would be final. While they acquiesced in the decision, so far as it applied to that individual case, they continued the practice uninterruptedly so far as the general public was considered. The individual case may not have been important enough to warrant protracted and expensive litigation; but the principle of pooling was, in their estimation, too important to be subjected to the decision of courts whose action would be governed by the rules of constitutional law, rather than by the edicts of combined corporations. They dropped the case because they expected, as the "anti-railway enthusiasts" did, that the decision of the higher court would be fatal to the pools. And while the principle was important enough for them to adhere to it, irrespective of the decisions of either lower or higher courts, their action showed their real estimate of the relative importance of railway policy and legal principles to be that it was more important to keep up the pools than to obey the law.

This indisposition of the railway pools to submit their contracts to the decision of the courts is justified by the judicial declarations made in the few cases which have been allowed to reach the courts. While the list of those in which the relation of pooling combinations to the character of the railroads as public high-

ways is very short, the judicial decisions are decisive. One case of prominence at least is on the records, bearing upon the relation of pools to another form of the public highway. At a comparatively modern date the question of a pooling combination upon the New York canals was brought before the court of last resort in that State. The question was slightly different from that presented by railway pools in the fact that the members of the pooling combination were not corporations which both operated and performed the service of transportation upon that highway, but were simply the carriers upon it, wholly separate from any of the functions of ownership or control of the highway itself. It is evident that a combination of mere carriers could not have half the danger to public interest that would be possessed by a combination of the corporations which exclusively control and operate a number of the channels of commerce. Yet the decision of the New York court of appeals in the case of Stanton *vs.* Allen was very strongly to the effect that this combination of canal-boat owners could not be recognized or tolerated by the law. The court said:

The members having thus thrown their concern into stock, they derive an income in proportion to the number of shares they hold, and so far as to claim that this complaint would be a death-blow to the pools, confidently expecting the railroads to contest the legality of the injunction, and be conclusively overthrown. Rightly considering, however, that the importance of the case was not such as to warrant any protracted and expensive litigation, the Southwestern pool refrained from any decided opposition, and allowed the Boston concern to continue forwarding its sugar over the lines of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway.

For these reasons the New York court of appeals, the highest judicial body in the State where corporate theories are most in vogue, declared such a combination as the railroads are constantly forming, though not half as important in magnitude and control of public interest, to be against public policy and outside of the law.

With regard to the railway pools themselves, the only cases in which those organizations have been betrayed into submitting themselves to the courts have evoked decisive and uncompromising judicial declarations against their legality. Notwithstanding the frequent citations of English authority for the pools, it is the fact that two leading English cases agree with the authorities of American jurisprudence in declaring them illegal. In the case of Charlton *vs.* The Newcastle Railway Company the English court declared that the pooling agreement was "So clearly and palpably illegal that I do not think the court ought to hesitate in its views in that respect." In the case of the Shrewsbury and Birmingham Railroad Company *vs.* The Northwestern Railroad Company, exactly the same sort of agreement was held to be unlawful, on the grounds that it provided for an alienation by one of these companies of a portion of its traffic to the others, and it was therefore against public policy.

The American decisions, though few in number, are of exactly the same tenor. One of the cases in which the pool was unable to prevent itself from being brought before the court

occurred when the receiver of a bankrupt Ohio corporation, which, by the terms of the pool, was obliged to pay over to a rival corporation a portion of its earnings that legally belonged to the creditors of the road, submitted the matter to Judge Baxter, of the United States court, and asked whether he was authorized to pay over the sum demanded by the pooling contract. The judge's orders, like all of his deliverances on corporation abuses, was uncompromising and imperative. He directed the receiver that he should "not only not pay out this money, but pay out no money whatever for any such purpose while the road was in the custody of this court," adding that "such contracts as these are no more to be respected by the law than any other gambling contract." In the case of the Denver and New Orleans *vs.* The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, the United States district court, with Judges McCrary and Hallett on the bench, declared the character of the pooling combination to be "a conspiracy to grasp commerce and to suppress the building of railroads in two great States," further asserting that "an association of carriers to regulate the price of freight, with provisions prohibiting the members from engaging in similar business out of the association, has a tendency to increase the price of carriage and to suppress competition, and is therefore illegal." If we add to these declarations the practical confession of the railroads by abandoning their cases when decided against them in the lower court already alluded to, and the still more recent decision of the Texas supreme court against a railway association, which, while abjuring the features of a pool, would be well paid.

For these reasons the New York court of appeals, the highest judicial body in the State where corporate theories are most in vogue, declared such a combination as the railroads are constantly forming, though not half as important in magnitude and control of public interest, to be against public policy and outside of the law.

Indeed, as was stated at the start of this article, there could be no doubt of the view which the law will take of such a perversion of the character of a public highway, so long as the Constitutional principles, which form the very basis of our Government and furnish the very foundation of this question, are respected by the court. The essence of the public highway is necessarily that free competition upon it shall give the public all the advantages that are to be secured by its unrestricted use. Every combination to restrain the freedom of its use and to prevent the public from obtaining the full treatment that is to be secured by natural and free competition, is a conspiracy to obtain the advantages of the highway for the benefit of the few, and to nullify the conditions on which the power of Government was exerted for the creation of those highways.

THE walls of sectional prejudice are being rapidly battered down by the power of intelligence, and rapidly a common interest is binding in bonds of brotherly attachment the farmers of the North and those of the South. Let us hope that the December meeting will complete the unification, and that we may announce to the world that again the Union is complete, the Nation inseparable.

APPLIED SCIENCE.

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE SEMI-CENTENNIAL.

On the 4th of July occurred the semi-centennial, or rather terminated the celebration of that event, in the history of Virginia's great school of applied science. Gen. Francis A. Smith, the founder of the institute, has been superintendent, for fifty years, and now at the end of the present year retires as professor emeritus of mathematics on full pay, he having attained the age of seventy-six years. Though none of his powers is in any degree impaired, he prefers to retire before the time of such failure arrives. Certainly he has done a great life-work, for whatever the Virginia Military Institute has been in the past he made it, and whatever it may be in the future, but for him it could not have been. Not only did he first originate and organize the school fifty years ago, but after the war he built it anew from the ashes and guided it safely through the most troublous times this country has ever seen. Few men, we believe, even now appreciate the greatness of this work. If second to the United States' Military School at West Point as a military school, second to no other. As a school of science applied to productive industry, second to no school whatever. As a leading factor in the industrial reconstruction of the new South the importance of its influence it would be difficult to overestimate. The war record of the institute is sufficiently full of glory and splendor. Its record in industrial science is written all over the whole Southern system of internal improvements and public works. At present two of the most important scientific departments of the National Government are under chiefs who are Virginia Military Institute graduates—Colonna of the Coast Survey, and McDonald of the Fisheries Commission. It is understood that the superintendency vacated by General Smith will go to General Fitz Lee, now governor of the State. Not much need be said of that gentleman here, everybody knows him, everybody admires him. Personally, he is doubtless to-day the most popular of living Americans. We think the public have not overestimated his abilities; but if he is to have this place, it ought to be understood that it satisfies his ambition—it may well satisfy any man's ambition—and that he is not merely to take it, awaiting the turning up of some possible political event. Few positions at the South are more important than this if the Virginia Military Institute is to occupy as heretofore a leading position as distinctively, a school of industrial science, in connection with the vast developments everywhere springing up in the progress of the industrial reconstruction now advancing with giant strides. A position of leading influence in connection with these developments is, we think, sufficiently important and honorable for any man. Doubtless there are thousands of good citizens living in every part of Virginia every way worthy and capable of being governor. Every Congressional district can furnish numerous candidates worthy to be Congressman or Senator. But if General Lee is fully capable of filling this place, as General Smith has filled it, and as it ought to be filled, he is one of a very small number who are, if he is not the only man in Virginia who is capable of it.

RANDAL GRASS.

The grass which has come to be known throughout Virginia as Randal grass is an imported species, viz., the Tall Fescue of Europe. Technical botanists name it *Festuca elatior*,

which merely turns the English Tall Fescue into Latin. This is a handsome grass, having abundant dark green leaves and a tall, handsome, dark-green flower-stalk, surmounted by an open, showy panicle and a rather profuse white bloom. It forms a good turf in a short time from the seeding. The hay is rather coarse and woody. This grass does best in low, moist, rich soil, and does not amount to much on any other sort. It took its Virginia name of Randal grass from old Randal Lucas, of Giles County, Virginia, who obtained a bad eminence in local history as the progenitor of a family of murderers. After the commission of several brutal murders they banded together to resist the authorities, and the militia had to be ordered out to drive them out of their mountain hiding-places and capture them. Finally all but one of old Ran's sons were hanged, and many thought he richly deserved the same fate. This old fellow owned a little mountain mill and small plot of land on Doe Creek, near the now celebrated Mountain Lake, then called the Salt Pond. Somewhere along about 1840 some of this grass-seed was imported here by the Government and distributed through the Patent Office. Old Ran wrote to his Representative begging some seeds, and a package of the seeds of this grass being sent him, he sowed a patch of it in a rich alluvial spot along the banks of Doe Creek. From this patch he used to gather the seed and take them to the farms of the Prestons, the Kents, the Cloyds, and other wealthy and prominent graziers and get a piece of bacon in exchange. The grass being a strong grower, and seeding itself well, soon spread everywhere from old Ran's patch, and is now found growing and flourishing among indigenous species all over southwest Virginia and the adjacent parts of West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. It has also overspread the Valley of Virginia and has come through the mountain gaps to the Piedmont counties. We find it similarly distributed here in the central counties of Maryland, and doubtless it will finally extend to our northern and western limits. It will also spread southward until its progress is checked in that direction by reaching a latitude where the dry season will be too long for it. It is not a valuable acquisition to our agriculture. As a hay grass it is third-rate; as a pasture grass and lawn grass, second to June grass, and very inferior to orchard grass in bulk in hay-making qualities, and especially in ability to withstand drought and grow again as often as cut or eaten down, no matter how hot or how dry. In addition to these deficiencies it is the greatest producer of ergot of any known plant. This poison renders it highly dangerous to live stock of all kinds, whether as hay or pasture, and especially so to females of every kind carrying young. The writer has had this grass under personal observation during many seasons in widely-separated localities, and is perfectly sure of the correctness of his conclusions. Whenever a sufficient examination is made of the question by competent authority these observations will be fully confirmed. We have just forwarded badly ergotted samples of grass to the Department of Agriculture at Washington, which were taken at random from the present season's growth in this locality. It is difficult to find a single head free from the fungus. There are some persons who seem disposed to minimize the danger from stock grazing on ergot. They can scarcely be persons having experience with that drug. Some imagine that they have proven that ergot will not cause a gravid animal to abort by administering ordinary doses to an animal supposed to be in that condition without, as they suppose, producing the effect. Therefore they conclude, not that their sample of the medicine was inert, but that an experienced person would never have expected the result to follow the administration of so small

a quantity, but that ergot will not produce abortion in a gravid animal. Such are the opinions of persons not having professional judgment based on personal experience, but having personal opinions based on encyclopedias and text-books. Let no man doubt that active ergot is a very dangerous poison to man or beast, and especially to the gravid female of whatever sort. It is scarcely less certain that uterine contractions will follow efficient doses of active ergot than that purging will follow full doses of croton oil. We have seen fields of Randal grass so badly affected that animals grazing therein could not avoid swallowing a good many pounds of it in a day, and we have seen animals grazing in such fields die with typical symptoms of acute ergotism, and upon opening them have found in the intestinal canal great quantities of the poison, and yet intelligent men would insist that the disease was "murrain."

Technical writers on systematic botany have heretofore busied themselves with technical descriptions of the specific characters of plants, so that thus catalogued and described they could at any time be identified for further study and more complete exposition of the natural history of the important species at least. This species of botanical study and writing has reached such a stage of completeness as that little room is now left for original work. It is now high time that scientific writers of authority should give us the text-books which we so badly need in agricultural science. It is scarcely too much to say that there is not in existence a single good text-book of any one branch of science as applied in agriculture. There are, of course, special subjects upon which a few authors have written well, but even such works are mostly out of date, and require rewriting to bring them down to the times. There is no text-book, in any language, worth anything on the general subject of the theory and practice of scientific agriculture. None on agricultural botany, none on comparative physiology as applied in agriculture, none on agricultural engineering, none even on the chemistry of agriculture, none on hygiene or even the general principles of sanitation as applied on the farm, none on any branch of science whatever, recent in knowledge, lucid in statement, compact in form.

Among the scientific sections of the National Department of Agriculture the section of vegetable pathology is one which is doing a long-neglected and much-needed work. Its investigations of the nature, causes, effects, and remedies of the diseases which so often devastate our crops is a work of great value and should be supported by more liberal appropriations. The plant diseases caused by parasitic fungi are very numerous, very destructive, and in many cases not difficult of prevention or remedial treatment. That it is to the interest of every family in the land that all capable of being known on this subject should be as speedily as possible acquired, there can be no doubt and no difference of opinion. Commendable activity and progress have characterized the work of this section during the short period which has elapsed since its organization, and very important results have already been reached, verified, and announced to the public. In this line of investigation there is promise of much mutual help and benefit from co-operation between the experiment stations of the States and the National Department. Private individuals can also be of much use by sending specimens and facts within the sphere of their operations and observation, either to the State station or the National Department. Even by applying for information as to what is the matter and what to do, they may be helping on the discovery of important truth. It seems strange that the scientific workers [of greatly endowed and rich universities have ignored re-

searches so promising, leaving to such men as Pasteur the discovery which saved the silk industry of France, to say nothing of the control of anthrax, and the masterful work that demonstrated the nature of rabies and the mode whereby it may be in a majority of cases rendered harmless. Why have these seats of learning, some of which have received the benefit of large endowments for the advancement of agriculture, ignored the existence of agricultural science and contemptuously denied the existence of agriculture as a learned profession? They, some of them at least, affect to be occupied with studies in pure science, leaving to inferior persons and half-educated inventors the applications of science to vulgar industries and utilities. No nonsense is more contemptible or more ridiculous. Of what value is any science except in so far as it adds to the purity or to the conveniences of life? In what respect do the scientific investigations at any university deserve precedence over the investigations of the section of vegetable pathology into the nature, causes, and prevention of the diseases of agricultural plants? It is in vain to withhold recognition from the profession of agriculture; a profession it is, most learned and scientific, whether the universities think so or not. It remains for intelligent agriculturists, without regard to the political character of administrations, to give all possible moral and material support to the scientific workers of the National Department, and of the several State experiment stations. Especially is it in the power of agricultural associations, societies, and clubs to do very much to advance their great calling to its rightful position among learned and scientific pursuits. To do this is indeed the very purpose of their existence; certainly they should exert all their influence in behalf of the National Department and all co-operating agencies.

NITROGEN AND PHOSPHATES.

An interesting feature of the results of the Aberdeenshire experiments, quoted in a former number, was the action of nitrogen in connection with soluble and insoluble phosphates. First, it was shown that none of the forms of nitrogen applied without phosphates gave any increase of the turnip crops. Then it was proved that nitrogen applied with soluble phosphates gave in general somewhat higher results than nitrogen with insoluble phosphates. It appeared, however, that ammonium sulphate gave very nearly as high results with insoluble phosphates; and, further, it appeared that sodium nitrate, which, with soluble phosphates, gave results nearly identical with ammonium sulphate, gave much lower results with insoluble phosphates on yellow turnips, but in the case of swedes it gave results almost as high as ammonium sulphate. How is it that the action of sodium nitrate is nearly identical with that of ammonium sulphate in conjunction with soluble phosphates and inferior to it in conjunction with insoluble phosphates?

It was shown that the nitrogen can not act without phosphates to increase the crop, hence when applied together it can not act in advance of the phosphates. Soluble phosphates act promptly, insoluble phosphates slowly. Sodium nitrate, as shown by Lawes, acts at once or sinks rapidly below the rootlets of germinating plants, descends into the subsoil and appears in the drainage water. Now, therefore, before the slow-acting insoluble phosphates have time to stimulate the plants to take up the sodium nitrate it has sunk in the soil out of reach, but the ammonium sulphate does not descend thus rapidly into the drainage, and hence acts when the slow-acting insoluble phosphates act, as it were, in advance of it.

But the swedes grow more promptly and send

their feeding roots deeper, hence even in the presence of slow-acting insoluble phosphates they arrest and assimilate a larger portion of the sinking and escaping sodium nitrate. Probably the swedes have in general greater assimilative power both for nitrogen and phosphates than the yellow turnips. Therefore, in the case of swedes the sodium nitrate acts almost as well in connection with insoluble phosphates as with soluble phosphates. Truly, the science of fertilization, or the feeding of crops, is in itself a great science.

The different assimilative powers of different crops for the different elements of plant food

needs a much more exhaustive study than the subject has yet received. These questions need to be approached from the physiological side as well as from the chemical side. Plants are not chemical apparatus, they are living organisms.

PLANTING TREES.

The grand old trees are an essential part of our country homes. In a thousand vague and mysterious ways they twine themselves about our affections as no other inanimate object does. Under their shade, perhaps, have played the children of many generations. Their mystical shadows on the moonlit grass tell of a thousand things which we wear graven on our hearts. As they float above the cold white snow how they call back:

"The touch of a vanished hand
And the sound of a voice that is still."

There are three things, saith one of old, which every man must do if he would perform his duty well; of these, one is that "he must plant a tree." Where, then, shall he plant it? Not within fifty feet of the walls of any dwelling. Not where it will darken any window. Not where it will shut out any breeze that blows. Not where it will obstruct the view of the finest prospect the situation affords. Elsewhere plant freely. On the back side, toward the cold and stormy north, mass your trees, such as are capable of withstanding all the rage of old Boreas. In this place your evergreens; only a holly slightly advanced to the front, toward the north and east. Facing the Orient, only a few of the most stately specimens, their places selected with the most judicious care. Toward the south a single tree is enough, and further around, toward the west, mass groups of the best shade trees in echelon to open vistas, showing pictures of the distant prospect and breaking the fiery "force" of the afternoon sun in the long summer days. What trees are to be planted? Selections from such as grow in our own native forests. Exotics few and far between. Go to the border of the woodland, select the finest tree of the species you want and which as much as possible stands in the open, and exposed to the sun. Choose a tree four inches in diameter, tall, straight, well proportioned. In the latter part of winter, strike a circle around it, about five feet in diameter, and dig a trench two and a half feet deep all around it, cutting off all roots clean with a sharp instrument, as exposed. Leave the tree to stand until the leaves are down, by which time numerous fibrous roots will have been developed in the disc of earth inclosed by the circular trench. Dig back toward the center, under the roots, from the bottom of the trench, and cut off clean all roots with a sharp blade. Pull the tree over and roll the ball of earth and roots up onto the front of a slide, leaving the top and limbs out behind. Take it to the spot where an ample hole has been dug out to receive the roots, and plant and fill in with great care, ramming the earth down firm; but before putting the tree upright in the hole, cut off all redundant branches and cut back all extra-long-side-branches, bringing the head to a well-rounded and desirable shape. Almost any tree can be successfully moved in this manner. If in the early summer the next year it

Randolph County, Missouri.

Bro. R. F. Beavers, county secretary of County Alliance, writes under date of July roth:

The quarterly meeting of the Farmers Alliance of Randolph County, Missouri, convened at Mount Vernon church July 8th. This order has in the county 24 lodges and 930 members, an increase in the last three months of 418 members.

This meeting was composed of 113 delegates from various points in the county. The following county officers were elected for the ensuing year: W. B. McCreary, president; J. A. Wray, vice-president; Robert Derigna, treasurer; Rev. R. F. Beavers, secretary; Rev. D. R. Evans, chaplain; J. S. Goshwiler, lecturer; Rev. J. L. Routt, assistant lecturer; Josephus Minor, doorkeeper; W. N. Hamilton, assistant doorkeeper; B. F. Horton, sergeant-at-arms.

N. S. Hall was elected delegate to the State meeting, which convenes at Springfield, August 20th.

The secretary was requested to report the above proceedings to the various newspapers for publication.

Adjourned to meet in Moberly the first Wednesday in October next.

THE entire corn crop of 1887 was 1,456,000 bushels, and of wheat 456,000 bushels. Of this vast amount the sixteen Western and Southwestern States produced three-fourths. The cost of transportation to the East consumed one-half, and in some cases three-fourths of the entire value. The railroads fleece the farmer of all they can in the shape of freight extortions, and then turn him over to the speculators in the commercial centers to be finally done for.

SLAVERY has been abolished in Tripoli,

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 15.

The entire basement of the Capitol is a labyrinth of corridors, all lined with committee-rooms, the offices of various officials, and rooms put to a multiplicity of uses. To describe the whole would require a volume.

The corridors of the Senate wing are elaborate in frescoes of the most ingenious design and greatest variety of combination. The walls are in panels, and the panels ornamented with vines, among which are the various birds peculiar to the United States. There are also numerous panel portraits of eminent Americans.

Over the door of the committee-rooms are panels containing appropriate compositions, illustrative of the field to which the committee is devoted. There are many statues and busts in marble.

The main entrance to the basement of the Senate wing is splendid and imposing. The ceiling of the corridors is formed of vaulted arches, splendidly carved and supported by marble monoliths.

The basement is in keeping with the other portions of this magnificent structure. In this basement is located the Congressional post-office, where the members receive their mail; the restaurant, the barber-shop, and all the conveniences that civilization has devised. There are splendid staircases of marble, with elaborately designed and wrought balustrades of bronze; some for the use of the public, others confined to the use of Senators and members, but all equally elegant and massive. In the sub-basement are located the enormous engines used in heating and ventilating the building, etc. An account of the operation of these machines would be of interest, but space forbids entering into such description.

Congress, as now constituted, has four hundred and nine members. The Senate is composed of seventy-six Senators, two from each State. The House of Representatives is composed of three hundred and twenty-five Representatives, and eight Delegates who represent the eight Territories are allowed seats, but can not vote. They receive the same pay as the other members of Congress.

The Senators are elected by the State legislatures for a term of six years, and the Representatives and Delegates are elected by the people for a term of two years.

Each Congress is designated by a number, and has a legislative existence of two years, during which time there are two sessions, termed "the long session," and "the short session." The long session is held the first year of each Congress, and usually continues six months or more, as may appear necessary. The short session is held the second year, and, by the law, the session expires at noon on the 4th of March. Congress meets annually on the first Monday in December. There have been fifty Congresses since March 4, 1789, when the First Congress of the United States met at New York, to March 4, 1880. The present Congress is the

The States are entitled to representation in Congress according to their population. At present the ratio of representation, under the tenth census, is one Representative for each 154,325 people. Until the eleventh census is taken, in 1890, the apportionment of Representatives remains as it is. That census will determine what the ratio of representation will be for the next ten years. The last Congress admitted four new States, which adds five Representatives and eight Senators to the present number.

The expenses of Congress and the Capitol amount to an enormous sum annually. Each member of Congress has a salary of \$5,000 per annum, payable monthly. The President *pro tempore* of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives have extra salaries of \$3,000, or \$8,000 in all. The members are allowed mileage of twenty cents per mile to and from Washington each annual session, and also have an allowance of \$125 per year for papers and stationery. The amount expended yearly for salaries of Senators is \$380,000; for Representatives and Delegates, \$1,665,000. The amount expended for mileage is \$143,624, and for newspapers and stationery about \$70,000.

There are many high-salaried officials connected with Congress, and the miscellaneous expenses are large. The cost of an annual session is about \$3,000,000.

The Vice-President is *ex-officio* the President of the Senate, but has no vote unless the Senators are equally divided. The Senate is empowered to choose a president *pro tempore* in the absence of or when there is a vacancy caused by the death of the Vice-President. The other principal officers of the Senate are as follows: chaplain, with a salary of \$900; secretary, \$4,896; chief clerk and financial clerk, each \$3,000; executive clerk, principal clerk, minute and journal clerk and enrolling clerk with \$2,592 each; sergeant-at-arms and door-keeper with \$4,320 each, and two assistant door-keepers with \$2,592 each. Principal book-keeper with \$4,320, and two assistant book-keepers with \$2,592 each; postmaster with \$2,250; librarian, \$2,220; keeper of stationery, \$2,102; and superintendents of folding room and document room with \$2,160 each.

These are only the principal officers. There are besides them the private secretary to the President of the Senate and the messenger to the Vice-President.

In the office of the secretary there are principal legislative clerk and principal executive clerk, assistant financial clerk, eleven clerks subordinate, an assistant keeper of stationery and assistant in stationery room, two messengers, one page and five laborers.

In the office of the sergeant-at-arms there are besides those-mentioned a clerk to the sergeant-at-arms, three messengers and acting assistant door-keepers, an assistant messenger on the floor of the Senate and an upholsterer and locksmith. In the post-office a postmaster of the Senate and an assistant and clerk; five mail messengers; there are also four riding pages. In the document room there are a superintendent, first assistant, second assistant, clerk and laborer.

In the folding-room, a superintendent, an

assistant, a clerk and foreman. There are twenty-seven Senate messengers. In the heating and ventilating department there are a chief engineer, three assistants, and two conductors of elevators. There are forty-nine clerks of committees and two assistant clerks.

The House of Representatives elects its Speaker at the beginning of each Congress, and he holds his office during the legislative period of the Congress. The Speaker is provided with a private secretary with a salary of \$1,800 per year, and there are also a Speaker's clerk and a clerk to the Speaker's table, whose salaries are \$1,600 each; also a messenger to the Speaker. The chaplain of the House receives a salary of \$900. The clerk of the House receives a salary of \$4,500, and nine other clerks with salaries ranging from \$3,000 to \$2,240. There are also ten assistant clerks with from \$2,000 to \$1,440. The sergeant-at-arms and his deputy have salaries of \$4,000 and \$2,000 respectively; there are also in the office of the sergeant-at-arms a cashier, a teller, a book-keeper, a messenger, and a page. The principal doorkeeper has a salary of \$2,500, and there are fourteen other doorkeepers with salaries of from \$2,000 to \$1,200 each. In this department there are the clerk to the door-keeper, a special employe, two pages, eighteen messengers, and a janitor. In the folding-room there are a superintendent, chief clerk, two clerks, a foreman, and a department messenger. In the document room there are a superintendent, an assistant, a file clerk, and an assistant. In the post-office of the House there are the postmaster, the assistant postmaster, and twenty messengers. In the heating and ventilating department there are a chaplain, with a salary of \$900; secretary, \$4,896; chief clerk and financial clerk, each \$3,000; executive clerk, principal clerk, minute and journal clerk and enrolling clerk with \$2,592 each; sergeant-at-arms and door-keeper with \$4,320 each, and two assistant door-keepers with \$2,592 each. Principal book-keeper with \$4,320, and two assistant book-keepers with \$2,592 each; postmaster with \$2,250; librarian, \$2,220; keeper of stationery, \$2,102; and superintendents of folding room and document room with \$2,160 each.

The salaries of all the employes about the Capitol are very high, indeed far above what the same class of services can command from private employment. Besides what have been mentioned, there is a host of unofficial employes whose pay is not in the same proportion as the elect of fortune.

Verbatim reporting was first introduced into the House in 1850, and one would scarcely believe it possible that an exact report of all the rapid speeches made during a day when excitement runs high could be made; yet it is done. The reports of both the House and the Senate are printed in the Congressional Record, which is issued every morning from the Government Printing Office, during the session of Congress, and supplied to both Houses. The annual cost of this publication is nearly \$200,000.

It is certainly an unnatural and unjust condition of society which dooms the most useful and important class to the greatest amount of oppression, but such is the case with us to-day.

The Meeting of the Magnates.

BY HARRY HINTON.

Phil Bigpot.—These organizations are fraught with mischief. Much property has been destroyed by the labor unions and strikes, but no one feared them farther than the damage they would do to property; for the principles they advocated were not calculated to gain ground, and if they did, they were not so dangerous. Now the farmers have come to their rescue, and all these elements combined are a powerful menace to our free institutions.

Ben Pinnacle.—The question of the hour is, What is to be done about it?

Lord Bunker.—This is your meeting, gentlemen. I have a sure retreat on the sea-girt Isle of Albion, whither I can take mine when threatened with a popular storm, and many dogs of war would bark at him who dared approach as an enemy. This is your meeting. My masters and the masters of the world will see mine safe, no matter what takes place.

Simon Senex.—We do not apprehend any trouble with the common people, but there is being put forth a new schedule of principles which is calculated very much, if they get headway, to disarrange the business of the country.

Crœsus Gouger.—Yes, and these doctrines are being pushed by the most powerful intellects, both by speech and pen. There are now more than a thousand lecturers in the field and many official organs—even the chief organ is issued from the eaves of the Capitol.

Phil Bigpot.—The best way to fight the devil is to fight him with fire; so my mind is inclined to think that we must combat them through the public press, which we can easily command.

Simon Senex.—That will never do. Might as well throw oil on fire. Jim Blaine said these trusts were merely private concerns, and started a blaze which had to be wet blanketed. Carnegie called them bugaboos, and he was soon salted down. No public antagonism will avail.

Crœsus Gouger.—That is my opinion. Cultivate the same fields which hitherto have yielded so well. Cultivate the political parties. Either will serve our purpose if we have the right men in the right place.

Ben Pinnacle.—That is my opinion also. We must all stick together and bear our part of the burden, and we will win against the world, the flesh, and the devil. None of the vulgar people must be sent to Congress. We must see to the matter that each State sends up the right sort of a man to the Senate. We can keep the Senate all right, anyhow. We can make a mock of passing some bills in accordance with their commands, and, thinking they have accomplished their mission, they will fall into the quondam, disorganized mass, and then all will be well.

Lord Bunker.—That is the way we work them in Great Britain. And if that will not do we take the billet and ball to them.

Phil Bigpot.—Your advised programme will require much money. I mention Leland Stanford or Jay Gould for our next President.

Crœsus Gouger.—Time enough yet. The thing is to keep the parties hot. Don't let them cool. Run the political press in veritable warfare. Pay the speakers—pay them well, if possible, as of yore, out of public moneys. Let the banks take the surplus and lend it out at interest, and with our part of the interest we can set the world on fire with partisan heat. As I said before, it don't matter which party succeeds so we have the right men in the right place. Disintegrate this disorderly herd—disorganize them—scatter them among the different parties in such a manner that the party dictates shall be observed before the dictates of their leaders. I would say we had no sense at

all if we could not cajole and manage this vulgar crew with our brains and our money.

Phil Bigpot.—The thing, then, is settled. We must watch as well as pray. Suppose the common people should send up a Congress which should represent their ideas of justice. They might take hold of the land question and condemn all lands now owned by persons not occupying them, above a certain number of acres, to be opened up for settlement. They might readjust the railroad values and reinstate all persons who have been defrauded in their rights. They might order a non-interest bearing paper currency and pay off the public debt. They might equalize taxation. They might make war on those private affairs, trusts and corners. They might deny to corporations special privileges not granted to a private citizen. These organizations are dangerous, and we must watch as well as pray. This is my dictum.

Simon Senex.—You are right, Mr. Bigpot. Although I do not apprehend any trouble, they would, if they got headway, disarrange the business of the country, which never was so prosperous as now. Their justice and our justice don't agree.

Lord Bunker.—If I thought such a herd would get control of this Government I would sell out my lands and securities and return to England.

Crœsus Gouger.—No; stay with us and see the fun. See how we will smite the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass.

Ben Pinnacle.—And see how like sucking doves they'll kiss the hand that smites them.

Crœsus Gouger.—And know not from whence the blow came.

Lord Bunker.—By Victoria and the Empress of India, I will stay. Put me down ten thousand.

Simon Senex.—Put me down twenty thousand.

Crœsus Gouger.—Hold on, this is not business. I nominate Ben Pinnacle as a committee of one to make collections and report at a subsequent meeting. All agreed. Well, Mr. Pinnacle will manage the financial affairs till we meet again.

Phil Bigpot.—See that door. Nothing said or done here goes out there.

A CORRESPONDENT, B. F. B., from Monticello, Fla., says:

Allow me to ask a few questions. Please answer in the ECONOMIST. Can a sub-Alliance waive the rulings and ballot for an application at the meeting of the Alliance when the application is first put in? Is a railroad agent eligible to membership in the Farmers' Alliance? In taking a ballot for an application, if two black balls appear, has the president any right to ask any questions why the black balls appear? Has a sub-Alliance any right to waive the rules when it conflicts with the constitution?

This letter is a sample of many that have been received by the ECONOMIST asking rulings, etc. Personal answers have usually been sent by mail, but it is deemed best to present this one, with its answers, to the public, and save others the trouble of writing to the wrong place for information.

According to the system of government in the Alliance, each State has a complete jurisdiction within itself and has only delegated to the National government such powers as are expressed in the constitution. Therefore each State has full authority to make its own laws, as long as they do not conflict with the National, and the National only has appellate jurisdiction.

Since original jurisdiction is entirely within the States, a ruling upon State laws would, of course, depend upon the

executive officers of the different State bodies, and a ruling from the National president could only be expected in case of an appeal. The president of the National Alliance is, therefore, not the proper person to whom application should be made for rulings in interpreting the State laws. The application should be made to the president of the State Alliance. The editor of the ECONOMIST replies to the above by saying that the ECONOMIST has no authority to interpret State laws; but so far as a question depends on general usage, it is a well-established rule that any body may change its own rules whenever it desires, but can not go in conflict with, or change, its constitution, except according to the provisions in the constitution governing amendments. In several of the States where rulings on the question have been decided, railroad agents have been ruled ineligible. Also, a ballot is considered a secret vote, and any question touching same would be violating the secrecy and making balloting useless.

THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER, of Raleigh, N. C., is the official organ of the State Alliance, and is a journal upon which not only that State Alliance but the order at large may be congratulated. It is under the able editorial management of Bro. L. L. Polk, who is first vice-president and chairman of the executive committee of the N. F. A. and C. U. of A., and president of the Interstate Farmers Association.

He is an able journalist, a profound orator, deeply and thoroughly devoted to the cause of the Farmers and Laborers Union,

possesses fine executive ability, and stands the peer of any man for those peculiar qualities which succeed in extending, solidifying, and building up the work. He is pre-eminently a worker, and the order derives valuable assistance from him and his paper.

THE JOURNAL OF UNITED LABOR of July 11th contains the valedictory of A. M. Dewey. The incoming editor is not named. The marked improvement and success of the Journal under Mr. Dewey's management certify highly as to his ability, and it is to be hoped the order of Knights of Labor will not suffer from his retirement.

SHARPERS, men who engage in business to make money regardless of methods, send out circulars from the cities to the farmers and represent that they have some kind of an association or purchasing club for the farmers and offer to buy notion and a class of goods that usually are sold at a profit. The spider on the same principle would put a sign on his web as "The Fly's Retreat," or some equally enticing motto calculated to entrap his victim. Farmers institute their own business methods in these days of the Alliance, Wheel, Union, and F. M. B. A., and do not propose to enrich a self-styled farmer's agent. They would do themselves and their own business efforts an injustice were they to patronize these sharks who try to entrap them by mail.

PAPERS from the cotton belt are teeming with resolutions passed by farmers' meetings in which they declare in positive terms that they will not use jute bagging at any price. They notify their merchants and ginners not to keep this bagging, for they will not use it.

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The National Economist

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

SINGLE COPY
FIVE CENTS

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

No. 20

VOL. I.

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

11-tf

The Farmers and Laborers Union.

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

will be the final result? What is the success sought to be achieved, and by what means will it be accomplished?

These and similar questions are constantly being presented to those prominent in the great movement, not only by city people, but by farmers themselves, members of the order, and others. They are questions that no man has the authority or the wisdom to answer. The organization is the result of dire necessity. It is forced upon the farmers by the imperial law of self-preservation. The effort of its members and officers to formulate an expression of the principles of the order is only a weak and human effort to interpret, from the evils which beset the class, a statement of the causes that are productive of the growing inequality in which the business of agriculture is gradually losing its prestige and importance. As these causes are understood, they indicate the remedies necessary. The policy to be pursued, the immediate objects for which to contend, must ever be changing to meet the surrounding conditions. The fundamental principles are unchangeable and will be worthy of endorsement while time shall last; they are the foundation, the basis, from which may emanate any kind of a contest necessary to protect the true interests of the agriculturists. The declaration of principles enunciated in its declaration of purposes will be found a full and adequate foundation on which to base any necessary line of action. This enduring principle and the great scope of effort for good possible by the organization should be always kept in view, and when thoroughly understood, it will tend to broaden and elevate the conception of the order, its objects and probable results. It will also tend to prevent hasty action, and correct the mistaken belief often entertained by those who belong to the order and those who do not, that if an effort is made in a certain direction and fail, it will ruin the order. It would certainly do so if the order confined its objects to that one thing; but since it is the general vehicle in which the attack is made on all wrong conditions, the failure of one line of effort can have but very little effect on the movement. This view of the great work is especially recommended to those enthusiastic members who conceive that the sole object of the order is the good that will follow the sociable features of the work in which

neighbors are brought together and by becoming better acquainted learn to love each other better, and by comparing notes as to their success find causes to emulate them to higher and social, and financially.

On such grand principles as these, the duration of the order must be equal to the necessity for the achievement of the objects sought. That is to say, so long as the political government shall be in any degree defective in guaranteeing to each class full and perfect justice; so long as any shall not understand the true principles of economic government; so long as the mental, moral, social, and financial development of agriculturists shall need a greater incentive or more encouragement and co-operation than is afforded by the Government, that long will there be a necessity for the existence of the order; and however long a necessity for its existence may continue, the grand principles enunciated in its declaration of purposes will be found a full and adequate foundation on which to base any necessary line of action.

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This enduring principle and the great scope of effort for good possible by the organization should be always kept in view, and when thoroughly understood, it will tend to broaden and elevate the conception of the order, its objects and probable results. It will also tend to prevent hasty action, and correct the mistaken belief often entertained by those who belong to the order and those who do not, that if an effort is made in a certain direction and fail, it will ruin the order. It would certainly do so if the order confined its objects to that one thing; but since it is the general vehicle in which the attack is made on all wrong conditions, the failure of one line of effort can have but very little effect on the movement. This view of the great work is especially recommended to those enthusiastic members who conceive that the sole object of the order is the good that will follow the sociable features of the work in which

neighbors are brought together and by becoming better acquainted learn to love each other better, and by comparing notes as to their success find causes to emulate them to higher and social, and financially.

On such grand principles as these, the duration of the order must be equal to the necessity for the achievement of the objects sought. That is to say, so long as the political government shall be in any degree defective in guaranteeing to each class full and perfect justice; so long as any shall not understand the true principles of economic government; so long as the mental, moral, social, and financial development of agriculturists shall need a greater incentive or more encouragement and co-operation than is afforded by the Government, that long will there be a necessity for the existence of the order; and however long a necessity for its existence may continue, the grand principles enunciated in its declaration of purposes will be found a full and adequate foundation on which to base any necessary line of action.