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WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Clubbing Rates.

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

	Regular price.	Club-price price. of both.
"Progressive Farmer," of Raleigh, N. C., official organ of State Alliance	\$1.00	\$1.75
"Toller," Nashville, Tenn., official organ Agricultural Wheel	1.00	1.65
"Southern Alliance," Atlanta, Ga.	1.00	1.50
"Dakota Ruralist," Huron, Dak., official organ Dakota Alliance	1.00	1.25
"The Forum"	5.00	5.00

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

The National Economist

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

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 1.

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

NO. 3.

Combination.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

monopolized. And last, but not least, the utter surrender of self to combination as contemplated by socialism is a doctrine not calculated to benefit mankind. Therefore the farmers' and labor organizations are temporary combinations for self-protection and should not be regarded as permanent combinations based upon, and calculated to carry out, the principles of socialism. This is why the Alliance is not a monopoly. Still, it and like organizations must continue to exist till government shall so faithfully perform its functions as to make their operations no longer necessary or desirable.

Alliance Demands.

BY S. B. ALEXANDER.

The Farmers National Alliance and the State Alliances have made demands for certain measures of legislation. So far as I have been able to learn, the demands have not been complied with. In nearly every case the politicians have treated the demands with that degree of contempt that should satisfy the most ardent enemy of the order. The question naturally arises, "What will the Alliance do about it?" If the Alliance has not the power to enforce its demands, it was childish to make them; not only so, but it brings our order into contempt, for mankind looks with derision upon a man, society, or order that makes demands and has neither the courage nor ability to enforce them.

If the Alliance has the power to enforce the demands it has made or may make in the future, it is its duty to enforce them. The power of an organization is in proportion to its power to enforce its demands, and the world will judge the Farmers Alliance by this rule. If our order takes the high rank that we expect it to do, we must preserve its self-respect and not permit our opponents to charge us with being braggarts, making demands that we knew could not be enforced; that after making the demands we would "get up petitions" and beg for what we wanted, and when the petitions were spurned we would quietly "settle down" until we were aroused by the political whip, when we would jump into line and vote as we have done before. If the Alliance will not enforce its demands it should quit "the demand business." It would be far better to let monopoly rule unmolested than for the Alliance to act like the dog baying the moon, howling demand after demand and all ending in a howl. The Farmers Alliance, the Agricultural Wheel, and the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association will meet at St. Louis next December under the name of the Farmers and Laborers Union and may probably be joined by the Farmers Alliance of the Northwest. This great organization will then number more than one million and a half of men, and no question can come before it of more importance than the question of making demands of measures of legislation and in regard to the methods of enforcing them. Now is the time to discuss this question so the delegates at county and State Alliances can give the delegates to the Farmers and Laborers Union some idea how to vote on this and other subjects.

Heretofore the farmers and laborers generally have not exhibited the will or resolution to obtain from the Government that justice they are now making demands for, but linked their des-

tinies to any political aspirant whose flowery speech tickled their ears, yet whose heart beat in unison with

"Purse-proud loiterers that never sow,
Nor put a plant in earth, nor use the plow."

Better, far better, for our order if it only contained those members who would stand shoulder to shoulder like the old guard, then each member would know he had only to attend to his own front and all would be well. But with foes within and foes without no man knowing who will support the right or the left, disintegration must follow and we again link our destinies with the politician of flowery speech and receive our reward of discriminating laws that rob us of our property. The Farmers and Laborers Union has a great work to do, for

"a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

Freedom or Servdom?

BY HARRY TRACY.

In common with every friend and advocate of the dignity of labor, I desire that its progress and history may be known of all men. To this end, I have prepared this article as the result of my limited investigations upon this important factor in our civilization, not as an authentic history, but as a rough sketch of what I have been able to pick up a little here and a little there, hoping thereby to induce some abler pen to take up the history of this interesting subject, as I am sure such a history will be of inestimable value to the American laborer and be the means of preparing him for a higher civilization, which must come if freedom of the masses long survive.

In the beginning of our civilization there was no wage system. The laborer was a slave. The master owned the person of the slave, the soil, and all the instruments of labor. Even the life of the slave was at the disposal of his master. In fact, he was reckoned as but one slight remove from a brute. By directions of their masters, one slave labored at one kind of labor while another toiled at another. Under this system began our first division of labor. It may be important to remark just here that without division of labor there can be no accumulation. For instance, the Indian tribes labor in their way as well as civilized people do, yet they accumulate nothing and are strangers to progress simply because they have no division of labor—i.e., they do not cooperate.

Feudalism and servdom was the second great period in the history of labor and development. This period was contemporaneous with the ascendancy of Christianity. Under this system the owners, who were denominated "lords of the soil," were the dominant class. Under this system the serfs—i.e., laborers—went with and were attached to the soil, but the person of the serf was free; and now for the first time a laborer was allowed to have a family of his own, besides he had a right to a living from the soil, the lord of the manor taking what was left. Thus it is seen that labor gained some slight recognition as human beings. But the lord of the manor compelled his serfs to wear a collar riveted around their necks so that all might know to what manor they were attached and belonged. Under this system a slight punishment was inflicted upon the lord of the manor for willfully killing an unoffending serf. During this period custom was the only law, and freedom meant what custom gave. These two stages of progress were effected by the slave becoming restless under the unbearable tyranny of the master.

As a matter of fact, progress has been effected by the slaves, or serfs, co-operating to resist tyranny. In fact, it has always been the

only means of escape from its unbearable exactions; and when labor's resistance has been crowned with success it has always resulted in a higher civilization.

During these two stages of development it will be well to note that "capital" was unknown and unheard of. It is true, there was wealth, there was revenue; the aristocracy lived in splendor and in what was then known as luxurious idleness. They studied only the art of war; but they did not, they could not, "capitalize" their possessions. It was not applied productively with a view to profit by the sale of the produce of the serf, but with a view to immediate personal enjoyment. They could not invest them for profit, because they did not understand the beauties of "capitalization."

Again, the growing intelligence of the serf and the tyrannical exactions of the aristocracy paved the way for the third stage of development. The iron band of custom was sundered by the assertion of the independence of the individual in the form of unrestricted private enterprise which fructifies the germ "capital" found in the accumulations of wealth by the "serf."

It will be well to remember that the best economic definition of "capital" is that part of wealth used for speculative purposes. Under this system speculation began, and now for the first time the wage system was introduced, and at once the irrepressible conflict between capital and labor began and has been kept up under different forms to the present time. Much has been said, much has been written, trying to harmonize capital and labor. Unfortunately, little has been said, and less written, about harmonizing "capitalists and laborers."

During all this long struggle that has brought so much poverty, ignorance, and rags unnecessarily into the world capitalists have ever been the aggressors, seeking to enslave the laborers, while laborers have never been the aggressors, but, upon the contrary, have ever struggled to defend man's natural, inalienable rights; laborers always contending for the freedom of mankind, while capitalists sought aristocratical dominion, and their worst enemy was freedom, prosperity, and the elevation of the human race.

Those who desired freedom and the progress and elevation of mankind have always espoused the side of the laborers, while, upon the other hand, those who were unscrupulous, vicious, and depraved and abhorred freedom have ever been upon the side of kings, princes, and the aristocracy. In fact, a capitalist is universally an aristocrat. Jay Gould thirty years ago was of the people; his accumulations of capital have transformed him into an aristocrat. This is the inevitable result of bowing at the feet of Mammon. Thirty years ago Gould was a patriot; now he is the key to a safe. His heart was warm in sympathy for the poor; now it's as cold as the gold he worships.

Under the tyranny and exactions of the capitalists upon what they conceived to be their legitimate victims, the laborers, tyranny began to grow unbearable, and to escape their tyrannical exactions the burgher guilds were organized to protect the workers. In the workings of these guilds we see the first efforts toward organized co-operation among laborers; but, as in the case of the first attempt at making a sewing-machine, we find their systems very crude and their co-operation very defective. Still it tended to elevate the worker, by teaching him to respect himself. To these guilds the laboring people are indebted for the pioneer organized efforts of laborers to shake off the shackles of tyranny put upon them by the greed of capitalists, and for the first effort looking to the actual freedom of the laboring world.

The Work in Florida.

BY OSWALD WILSON.

While our beautiful sunny Southland is putting forth an earnest effort for the amelioration of the sons and daughters of toil from the bondage of ignorance and debt, please turn your editorial glasses to Florida, the State which is making grander progress in all that tends to material prosperity than any of her Southern sisters.

The Alliance has not reached its second anniversary, nor will it till June 15th next. Yet we have a membership of one-third the voting population of the entire State.

The Exchange was organized last April. After passing through the ordeal of suspicion and doubt on the part of the membership, a determined opposition on the part of local merchants and the terrible scourge, yellow fever, from August till January, which paralyzed all business enterprises, it comes forth to-day as one of the solid institutions of the State.

Our purposes and plans are being better understood and appreciated not only among the membership but the outside world. They see the Exchange will bring about a cash basis of buying and selling all that the farmer consumes and produces; that a home market for the marketing of all kind of farm and orchard products will be the means of leaving thousands of dollars in our State that annually go elsewhere; hence our support.

Our people realize and feel the burden of debt, and our first effort will be directed toward the amelioration of our financial condition, not as the great end and object of our organization, but as a means whereby these can be accomplished.

Before you can teach or practice social or political economy you must place the people in a free, and independent financial condition. While we do not neglect a single opportunity for our mental, moral, or social improvement, we are bending our energies toward getting our people 100 cents value for every dollar they buy or sell. We append the result of our annual meeting of trustee stockholders, held in this city on the 12th instant, and wish your paper 100,000 subscribers:

The trustee stockholders of the Farmers Alliance Exchange have been in session in the city for the past two days. The work accomplished will redound to the greatest benefit to the order in the State. Eighty shares of stock were represented and several additional shares subscribed before the close of the meeting. South and East Florida were enthusiastic over the success of the business of the Exchange and the courtesies shown by the business men of Jacksonville.

The election of a board of seven directors was held last evening, which resulted in the re-election of Oswald Wilson, W. K. Cessna, William Gorum, and J. M. Massey, and the election of A. P. Baskin and J. D. Johns.

Among other important resolutions passed was the following, offered by J. F. Baker, of Marion, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we, the trustee stockholders of the Farmers Alliance Exchange, do most cheerfully and heartily indorse the business management of our business agent and board of directors.

Resolved, second, That when we consider the adverse circumstances under which we have labored on account of the prevalence of yellow fever during the business season of last year, and the unprecedented victory won by the operation of our Exchange in reducing the prices of what we have to buy, and increasing the price of what we have to sell, that we, as producers, find words inadequate to express our appreciation of the work accomplished.

Resolved, third, That we most heartily com-

mend the plan of our State and county Exchanges to the favorable consideration of the brotherhood throughout the State.

Resolved, fourth, That these resolutions be published in the daily Times-Union, the friend to the farmer, and our own organ, the Dispatch and Farmers Alliance.

The order is rapidly growing in South and East Florida, and it is predicted by those who claim to know that the membership will reach twenty thousand members by September next. President Rogers and Secretary Baskin were both in attendance at this meeting, and seem to be determined by activity, enthusiasm, and efficiency to carry the Alliance to success under their administration.

The Alliance Lecturer.

From the Chickasaw Messenger, March 7, 1889.

Harry Tracy, of Texas, was met by a large and appreciative audience in this city on Monday last, and well were the farmers paid for their time and trouble in coming to hear him. His address abounded in statistics, logic, humor, and truisms, which interested, edified, and attracted his hearers. For nearly two hours he commanded the patient and respectful attention of the house, and many of his points were applauded by the business and professional men as well as the farmers. He maintains that the Alliance movement is not intended to war upon any legitimate business; that there is room for all and a necessity for all; that it is not to organize class conflicts, but merely to protect the rights and interests of the great industrial class, who feed and clothe the world, against the unjust encroachments of concentrated capital and to educate the producers of the country that they may improve themselves mentally, morally, socially, and financially, and thereby form a great and compact body of independent, contented, and patriotic citizens, in whom centers the only hope for the perpetuity of republican government on this continent.

Brother Tracy argues forcibly and eloquently that a man must have a home, which he may call his own, that he may cultivate for his support and that of his family or beautify and adorn for their comfort to insure good citizenship, true fealty to the government under which he lives and genuine affection for his country, and hence we find the most conservative sentiments, the strongest attachments to free institutions, and the most devoted patriotism among the farmers of the country, and he reasons that to the Alliance, which is destined to embrace in its folds the great mass of the agriculturists of this broad land, the country must look for the nucleus around which all good men, of whatever calling, business, or profession must rally when the battle is fought which is to determine whether this Government is to continue a free republic or become an oligarchy controlled by a few millionaires.

The statistics he presents, compiled from the United States census, are calculated to arouse the fears of the most thoughtful and to show the urgent necessity for organized action and that without delay. In the ten years from 1870 to 1880 the increase in population in this country was 31 per cent., yet the small holders of land from town-lot to 50 acres decreased in that length of time an average of 20 per cent., while the larger owners, ranging from 50 to 10,000 acres, increased in the ratio of 322 per cent. In other words, notwithstanding there were 131 persons in 1880 for every 100 in 1870, only 80 persons owned homes in 1880 for every 100 that owned homes ten years preceding. On the other hand, there were in 1880, 322 men who owned from 50 to 10,000 acres of land for every 100 who owned 50 acres or more in 1870. And this accounts in part for the enormous increase in the size of landed estates acquired by a small portion of our population. The remainder of the story is told in

the history of the incompetent, negligent, or corrupt public officials who have allowed wealthy corporations and grasping land sharks to rob the people of vast bodies of the public domain amounting to more acres than all the citizens of this Republic held in fee one hundred years ago, and gives us a valid reason why so large a proportion of the people of this country are to-day houseless and homeless, a nation of dependent peasants, a realm of godless anarchists, and a mighty army of lawless tramps. We

would like to follow Brother Tracy in other valuable statistics equally astounding and disagreeable to contemplate, but absolutely essential that the people should know, that they may inquire, "Whither are we drifting?" and, if possible, find a remedy for the terrible disease now sapping the very life's blood of the Nation, but our space will not permit. Suffice it to say we shall recur to this subject again in the near future, and in the meantime we bid this zealous, able, and efficient exponent of Alliance principles, who has left his home and family in the Lone Star State to point the Mississippi farmer the way to a prosperous independence, God-speed in his noble work.

THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER, OF RALEIGH, N. C.

Its Origin, Principles, and Success.

Under the able editorial management of L. L. Polk, president of the Interstate Association of Farmers, and first vice-president of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-Operative Union of America, the *Progressive Farmer* was started July 10th, 1886. Its conception, its being and its life is founded on the *one central and controlling idea and conviction that organized co-operation among the farmers and other industrial classes is now the only thing that can save them from wreck and ruin*. Accordingly the paper from its first issue began the work of organizing Farmers Clubs—had over 400 in the State when it took hold of the Alliance at the request of the president of that organization. No paper in this country has a stronger hold on the confidence and esteem of its readers. The paid-up subscription list is now nearly 10,000. It goes to over 1,200 post-offices in North Carolina, and 23 States; is the official organ of the Alliance in North Carolina and Virginia.

Its future is most encouraging and hopeful, with a fine prospect of doubling its subscription list this year. Its great strength is its independent, bold, straightforward bearing. It is not afraid of man or men. It has opinions and expresses them fearlessly. The leading men of the State are supporting it. A letter from one of the leading public men, recently, said: "I am going to do and say what I can for your paper. It is my hope for the right in this country and our State. Lay on and rest assured of the support of the honest masses."

Its size is 30x44, eight-page, 48 column weekly; \$1 per year, strictly and only for the cash. All home print.

The people say it has done more to arouse the masses to a sense of their condition and of their duty, and is doing more to educate them along this line, than all the papers or other agencies in the State.

Its editor has refused to hold any political office since the war. He was born and raised on a farm and has learned how to work, and learned *how not to be ashamed of it*; in 1877 was made commissioner of agriculture for the State; has always been identified with the agriculturists of the country.

L. L. POLK writes from Raleigh, N. C.:

"One thousand six hundred and seventy-two sub-Alliances in our State to date, with a membership of about 72,000; all solid and hopeful."

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Harmonious Development of the Industries.

There can be no doubt but that the even and harmonious development of *all* the various industries is not only best for the welfare of the people as a body-politic, but for the best interest of each particular branch of industry. All are necessary to the harmonious working of one great whole, and hardship should not be imposed upon one to benefit or advance the other. There is a mutual dependence of one upon the other of the various branches of industry that can not safely be ignored, and the best results in the interest of productive labor can only be achieved by a thorough co-operation.

The army of labor may be composed of divisions of agriculturists, of brigades of manufacturers, of regiments of miners, of battalions of artisans and those employed in various other industries; but all form one grand army battling for one object and desiring one grand aim—the highest development of the individual, the establishment of justice, and the advance of enlightenment. There is one grand principle to be kept constantly in view, i.e., the establishment of justice. All happiness and true prosperity rest upon this foundation.

No one industry is so important as to be capable of its best development independent of the others. Agriculture is truly the foundation of all; and yet without a proper development of the others, which are merely outgrowths from it and dependent upon it for their existence, it would be but a primitive form of society which it would support as the single resource. Agriculture itself is a manufacture, which is but the manipulation of the powers of nature in the production of articles of use and value. Other classes of manufacture merely take the crude products of the farm and by manual or mechanical treatment put them in various forms and conditions to be more conveniently utilized, or adopt them to greater variety of use. At the same time that manual skill is thus adding value to the output of agriculture, it is supplying consumers for the agricultural products, and adding value to pay for what it consumes in the way of increasing utility and multiplying necessary occupations for the increasing population.

The transportation department of labor, although it adds nothing to created values, is a most important branch of industry, as only by its aid can the best results of the other branches be obtained.

Mining is so nearly akin to agriculture that it might be classed under that head, as it secures directly from nature the crude material which it produces.

The house-wife, who, by her industry, transforms the milk from her dairy into butter, the wool from her pet lamb into yarn, or the grain from the field into bread, is as truly a manufacturer as the most purse-proud mill-owner of Britain; and the savage who first fashioned an arrow-head from the crude ore, as the greatest foundry lord. Truly, woman was the first manufacturer when she took the seeds of the cereal grasses and by her skill and labor produced bread for her children. Although all original value is taken from the earth by the

agriculturist and miner, yet that value is greatly enhanced by the manipulation of labor and its ability to give a return for what it consumes during its exercise. It is, therefore, evident that for the best interest of society, and the insuring of best and most stable results, an even and harmonious development should be given to all branches of productive industry, and that each should be secured in a just return for the proportion of value added by its aid to the mass accumulated.

The greater development given to the secondary industries, and the greater amount distributed among them, the more capacity is developed for the consumption of the surplus products of the agriculturist and miner, and the greater the field opened for profitable employment in these spheres. Thus are supply and demand most easily adapted to each other, and the most favorable conditions for prosperity and progress secured, sufficient home markets created, and the readiest means of communication supplied. A nation with its industries thus harmoniously developed would come very near being independent of foreign commerce, or need only resort to it at pleasure.

From this statement it will be readily seen that there should be no conflict in the ranks of industry, that each branch is an ally and supporter of the others, provided always that the mass militant of each department receives the benefit of the value created by it, and that this value is not seized or filched from them by a small non-producing element, because when this is the case the mass loses its value as consumers on account of its inability to supply its needs and deteriorates into servile pauperism, while the wrongs it suffers are visited upon every other branch of industry in due proportion. Indeed the organism of producing industry is so delicate that it may be compared to the nervous system of the human anatomy; touch roughly any one part and the effect is felt throughout the whole.

The duty of government, then, is to secure to each the full enjoyment of the fruits of its labors, and while industry is producing values to see to it that it is not defrauded of the results it accomplishes. But what are the facts as they exist to-day, and have existed since governments were instituted? The values created by labor have invariably been absorbed by a small speculative, non-producing element, which consumes only an infinitesimal part of the amount which would be consumed were the product of labor justly distributed among the mass which produced it.

According to this statement, with a just distribution of results, there should certainly be no such thing as want among the producing industrial masses. But what are the facts in this case? In whose hands is this vast amount of values accumulating from year to year for a century past? To whose credit does the vast amount of wealth lie which represents the result of productive industry for the time specified? Not to the agricultural class; the very lands which respond to their labors are under mortgage to pay an unjust tribute to a master. Not the miners who delve in darkness under the earth to tear from the treasure houses of nature her hidden wealth; they possess not even a roof to shelter their helpless little ones, to whom grim want and misery are familiar com-

panions, to whom hunger is no stranger, and suffering is a part of daily experiences. Not the actual workers in the field of manufacture, whose wan, pale faces speak of long hours of toil ill requited, and shrunken forms of overtaxed strength, whose comfortless homes are scarcely shelters, and whose round of toil is rarely lightened by the sunshine of pleasure, but whose lives are sacrificed to the unceasing creation of wealth they can never hope to enjoy even in the slightest degree.

Were the industries of the United States developed in due proportion, free from outside interference, so that the entire population would be employed and receive just proportion of the values created, there could be no such thing as overproduction or pauperism, and the development could go on until a population equal to the present population of the entire world could live upon its possible resources and yet have neither paupers nor princes.

With a harmonious development of industries and a just distribution of values among the producers the condition of each should be proportioned to its relation to the others, and yet what is the actual condition in our country?

The census of 1880 shows the proportion of population to the industries to be: In agriculture, 44.1 per cent.; manufactures and mining, 22.1; trade and transportation, 10.4. The remainder, 23.4 per cent., are in domestic service or in professional dependence on them, making more than one-half dependent upon agriculture, one-third on industries, and less than one-sixth on commerce and transportation. This

division is not just as it should be for the purpose of illustration, but is the best available form just at present. Now, our agricultural population controls a vast area of the most prolific soil on the face of the earth, and some idea of the enormous production in values may be had from the census of 1880, which gives the total farm products for 1879 at \$3,726,331,422. This is only the result of one year's agricultural labor of one-half of our population. The total value of the manufactures produced that year was about \$5,457,080,904. This amount includes the raw products of the mines and gives us a grand total of \$9,183,411,326, or a per capita of \$165 for our whole population, produced by five-sixths of our population, which force being reduced to its actual numbers, by eliminating women, children, invalids, decrepits, and old men, would make it about one-sixth of our actual population which have dependent upon them the balance of the five-sixths credited to the industries. There still remains one-sixth whose *productive capacity is nil*, although a portion are useful in the labors of transportation, leaving less than one-sixth for the speculative element of society.

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How many millionaire farmers can one count? How many minor princes? How many skilled artisan plutocrats, or mechanics that roll in luxury? Yet there are millionaires and money kings in numbers whose gathered millions would make a nation wondrously rich, and all belong to the one class of *non-producers* which constitutes less than *one-sixth* of our entire population, and by far the greater portion of the accumulated values of the Nation are in the hands of this class.

Under such conditions how far are we from a system which secures a just return to labor? What an abject failure are our institutions, which we claim to be the very best capable of being devised by man! And year by year the disproportion grows greater in arithmetical progression. Pursue the same course to its mathematical result and what are we to expect?

Fortunately, education is in a fair degree keeping pace with other developments; the masses are beginning to understand. The treachery of trusted servants is becoming known. The prostitution of governmental power to disgraceful ends and mercenary uses is being comprehended. The army of industry is taking time from its creative labors to ponder the situation. It realizes the harmony of its interests and the incalculable wrong that has been put upon it. It realizes the power in co-operation to retrieve to some extent the losses of centuries. A just indignation burns throughout the entire body. Reform must come; the great movement has begun, and the day of deliverance can not be far distant.

What a travesty upon justice is the actual condition in our own boasted land of liberty. The whole power of Government brought to bear to concentrate the values created by the combined industries of the Nation in the hands of less than one-sixth of the entire population, the accumulated wealth of which fraction already is a wonder to the civilized world, while the industrial masses are sinking deeper and deeper into poverty and servitude.

Beside this one question of a just distribution of the products of industry all other issues sink into insignificance. Old party issues are silly twaddle, only resorted to to excite animosities and distract the attention of the masses from the vital issue. A complete, thorough, and radical reform is the need of the hour. All palliative remedies should be indignantly scorned, and only radical cure considered. Superficial party issues are not worthy of consideration. There are only two parties to this contest—the producing industry of the country and the exploiters who, by the aid of Government, plunder it of its creations.

If, as has been said, it is the duty of govern-

this condition of things in the interest of the wealth-producing farmers? Certain it is that the farmers are the great tax-paying class of this country, and the same conditions which force them into this position also compels them to be the principal bearers of the burdens which exorbitant profits of corporations and persons must put upon somebody.

The railroads of the State of Illinois got a profit on their Illinois business in 1886 of more than \$20,000,000, while Illinois farmers the same year lost on their crops over \$26,000,000. The farmers, being the great producers of the freight hauled out of the State, and the great consumers of the freight hauled in the State, naturally were the victims out of whom came the outrageous profits of our railroads. Mr. George would not tax railroads for more than the value of the bare land which they use. Their millions of capital would go absolutely free. They could then water their stock a little more, and the tax which they now collect off of the farmers and pay into the State treasury could be used in paying larger dividends or in increasing the salaries of partly well-fed gentlemen who have thoroughly learned how to "gratify their desires with the least exertion."

"All men are created equal and with certain inalienable rights." With all due respect to the memory of the immortal author of the above phrase, all men are *not* created equal except as to their rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" as to other things, they are as different as the poles. As to their abilities to get their rights, as to their desires and inclinations, their hopes and fears, their sympathies and ambitions, their loves and hates, men differ as day differs from night, are as unequal as

the cat and the mouse, the hawk and the chicken, the eagle and the lamb—cynical, sour, crabbed men; greedy, groveling, grasping men; noble, generous, free-hearted men; men who would do nothing to wrong their fellow-men, who would divide their last crust with a suffering fellow-being; men who would steal from a blind mule, who would speculate upon the necessities of starving widows and children; men worth millions who, for the sake of pandering to their contemptible love of money, would restrict the production of the coal, for lack of which helpless women and little children in wind-swept Dakota might die; men and presidents who could eat a ten thousand-dollar breakfast with a royal money-getting governor one day and the next veto a bill granting a little sadly-needed relief to drought-stricken Texas farmers. Men and men, but the type of man the world most delights to honor before the evil day comes, when thou shalt say, I have no joy in them; that is to say, during the time man can appreciate honor, is the same now it has been from time immemorial; it is the man who, regardless of the means employed, makes his "five talents" ten. This is the type of man the thoughtless world delights to honor, and this is the type of man that has been the curse of the world from the time Judas betrayed Christ for thirty pieces of silver down to the time Dudley bought his "blocks of five." Would the single tax on land values act as a restraining power upon this type of man? Hardly. Your "Napoleons of finance," railway kings, merchant princes, lumber barons, coal oil and other monopoly magnates, trouble themselves but little about the ownership of the earth. They know that an attempt in that direction would end in disaster; and, since it is only what the earth produces they want, they turn their cunning brains to the procuring of franchises and legislation which gives them a complete monopoly in their peculiar line of business, and they speedily become able to "gratify their desires with the least exertion," and that, too, at the expense of men who have been simple minded enough to invest all their means in "natural opportunities."

	Profit.	Loss.
Wheat	\$57,773,801	
Corn	72,384,618	
Oats	21,762,402	
Total	57,773,801	94,117,080
		57,773,801
Net loss		36,343,278

The producers of more than two billions of wealth running behind in its production over thirty-six millions is a spectacle to make the gods weep.

Is it any wonder that the rural population of this State is decreasing? Is it any wonder that our farmers are recklessly sacrificing their "natural opportunities" and seeking the cities where artificial "opportunities" abound? Would the single tax have materially changed

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Co-Operation and Education.

BY BEN. TERRELL.

I have been in Georgia now about one and a half months. I find the members of the Alliance ready to march in line with their brothers of the other States in their efforts to protect their interests. In all the counties we have visited we have urged upon them the necessity of co-operation and education, and all, so far, have voted unanimously for the State Exchange. What a grand thought is this Exchange system! What power it gives the farmers. With an Exchange in every State, we can bring a pressure to bear upon the business world that must be of immense benefit to the consumer. If the brotherhood were better posted in regard to this system of co-operation, they would not hesitate about taking stock to any amount necessary to insure success. Now, brother farmers, you have to sell your produce and buy your surplus; why not do it in an intelligent, business way? You know that the larger amounts you buy the cheaper and the less the freight. Then why not buy them in bulk and ship in bulk?

For instance, if you wish flour, let each man in your sub-Alliance give the amount wanted to his sub-trustee, and he send all the amounts from his sub. to the county trustee or business agent, and he send to the State agent. Now, let us see. Say you have one hundred counties that want flour, and they take one car each. Your State agent would have one hundred car-loads to buy, which would insure him the lowest price. Now, he, as your agent, becomes a shipper, and one of the largest. So, you see, he would be entitled to the best freight rates; he is not allowed to charge more commission than enough to cover expenses; so you would get your flour at the lowest possible price. So with meat, corn, and all other heavy supplies. Look at syrup in the southern part of Georgia and Florida. The farmers make it for sale, and have to sell or barter it to the merchants at any price they can get. I am told it can be bought for 25 cents per gallon. And here you pay for that class of goods at least 65 to 75 cents per gallon. Now, if you had an Exchange, the farmer having the syrup to sell would report to his business agent, and the State agent would put it on his price-list, and you could buy it through him and have it laid down to you at not over 35 or 40 cents at the most, thus saving one-half to you and making a market for him.

I merely mention these two articles; but you farmers in the northern part of the State could find a market for your surplus hay, corn, oats, mules, or anything you might wish to sell.

My brothers, this system will give us an option as to where we sell our produce. Our State agent will keep us posted and we can ship or sell in the home market just where we can do best; so, in buying, this Exchange opens the best markets of the world to us and brings them to our door. It puts the farmers on an equal footing with the rest of the world and enables them to offer their cotton and other products in the highest market instead of the lowest, and to purchase their supplies in the lowest instead of the highest, as they have been in the habit of doing. There is still, Mr. Editor, another good in this system that comes fraught with more blessings to the farmers of our beautiful land than all else, and if we do but accomplish this we will have saved our people. I mean that it will compel the cash system to be adopted and thus be the death of credit, the worst enemy the farmer ever had. When I look at the burdens it has made us bear it makes me hate the very name, and I will do all in my power for any measure that will aid the

Resolutions.

THE County Wheel of Shelby County, Tennessee, passed the following resolutions at a recent session:

Resolved, 1st. That we pledge our support to the Farmers and Laborers Union of America. We believe union is our only means to escape slavery and perpetuate a free government from class legislation, trusts, and monopoly.

2d. We believe every man should be free and vote according to the dictates of conscience. Drunken caucus politicians have already been a National ruin, deceiving the poor farmers, making laws to compel men to steal or starve.

3d. We regard the whisky pool as a National evil, run in the interest of monopoly, fed and clothed by Democrats and Republicans, making a compound, composed of part whisky, arsenic, tobacco, sulphuric acid, logwood, poke-root, and causing headache, heart-ache, bloody family altars, filling our lunatic asylums with mad fools. We ask Uncle Sam to disect the pool.

4th. We carry out the instructions of the State Wheel in regard to our official organ.

5th. We tender our thanks to all our Representatives who have ignored farmers' petitions. We have no further use for them in politics. Please, hereafter, gents, mind your own private business. We will give you a long rest in private life.

6th. That our country schools are the only hope for farmers and laborers to sustain our holy cause. We find by statistics that a common-school education adds 50 per cent. to the productive power of the laborer; an academical education 100 per cent., and an university education from 200 to 300 per cent., to say nothing of the vast increase of his manliness to his God and country. Ignorance is to-day our curse, and education must be our watchword if success attends our union of once free America, now a Nation of monopoly, pools, trusts, corners, and mortgages.

7th. We earnestly entreat our brethren to buy only the actual necessities of life "on time" during the first seven months of the year. We believe it would better all and damage none.

8th. That we use the Chattanooga Plow. The Oliver Chilled Plow being sold by merchants under bond is a monopoly no-free man should patronize. We ask our brethren to fight the Oliver Chilled Plow trust on every inch of Tennessee soil.

9th. We tender our thanks to Hon. J. J. Dubose and Attorney-General Geo. B. Peters, and the grand jurors for prosecuting the bagging trust-thieves, and we see with sorrow and deep humiliation that Hon. R. L. Taylor refused to sign the requisition papers for their arrest and trial before a court of justice. We believe the farmers' interest and rights have been ignored in favor of combined capital directly contrary to our law and in strict conformity with highway robbery. We ask, "Where is farmers' protection?" Monopoly answers, "You have protection for neither life nor property."

10th. Laziness and the mortgage are the two big things we can do without.

11th. We urge our State executive board, at the earliest convenience, to have some substitute for jute bagging, pine straw or any other other material.

12th. That we plant less cotton and more corn; raise more home necessities of life, and, if possible, thereby kill the mortgage law within our order, whether our legislature aids our cause or not.

BELGIUM is the most densely populated country in Europe. Though only one-fifth of the area of Illinois, it contains a population of over five and one-half millions.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The Farmers and Trusts.

BY J. A. TETTS.

This is an epoch of trusts, pools, and combines; and as the weight of all the rails in the fence rests upon the bottom rail, so all the injury done the world by these cursed rests upon the producer and the consumer. The middleman, though he may complain and abuse combinations in trade, transportation, or manufacture, has a chance to dodge their effects and let the damage strike the consumer. All trusts and pools are combinations in which the middleman may become a partner, and if he wishes share the profits, but there is no alternative but for the poor consumer to pay the increased tolls demanded of him.

Last year the cotton producing world was greatly agitated over the bagging trust, and many futile efforts were made to evade the effects or "break the trust." Now since the cotton crop is out of the hands of the farmer all the "public educators" are silent on the subject, yet the same devilish power that taxed the cotton raisers three hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the privilege of using jute bagging last season to wrap their cotton respectably for market, stand ready to add the same or a greater this coming season, that they may grow fat off the hard earnings of the already crushed producer of cotton.

If there is one spark of manhood left in the cotton planter he would sacrifice something to defeat the aims of this cursed octopus that has fastened its arms upon one of the grandest and most necessary industries of our grand country. We well know that Congress will do nothing to protect the farmers of our country from these thieving pirates of modern civilization, and it remains for the Alliance Unions and Wheels to throw out defenses, if we have any. The time is too short for us to dilly-dally in the matter; and though I am no political economist to take the law in this matter, I think if any united effort is going to be made it is time to begin, for great bodies like ours must necessarily move slowly. I have not had the time to give the matter the thought it deserves, but I shall give my opinion for what it is worth, hoping the matter will be taken up and discussed by abler and better informed men than myself, and some good conclusions arrived at that will be of lasting benefit to our people.

First, it is my opinion that to head the bagging trust, we have got to alter the size of the bale. As long as from 400 to 600 pounds of cotton is packed in a bale jute will be the cheapest, and, therefore, the generally used material, though the price go to 20 cents a yard. It is next to impossible to get men to sacrifice from 50 to 90 cents per bale as a matter of patriotism. We have got to appeal to men's selfishness to accomplish any reform.

If we can reduce the size of the bale and then cover it with some material that will protect it from dirt in transportation, and at the same time reduce the insurance, freight, and lossage usually attending the same net weight of cotton, we may hope for the adoption of the material used for covering; but as long as the same number of pounds go into the bale and the same strain is put upon the covering, that long will the jute bagging trust hold the winning card. If we make our bales weigh 125 and 150 pounds, tied with wire and then covered with a thick sack of cotton cloth, we will be able to kill three birds with one stone. We will beat the jute trust, the tariff on cotton ties, and increase the consumption of cotton.

To wrap the cotton in the same space now wrapped it would take 147,000,000 yards of cloth, which would require 72,300 bales of cotton weighing 500 each to make; this would be equivalent to taking one bale out of every hundred for the purpose of wrapping. These sacks, as a matter of economy, could be used

several times, as they would not have to be handled with the hooks now used. The cotton could be carried to the spinner in a clean condition without loss or deterioration. The insurance and freight would be lighter, and all expenses of hauling would be reduced, so that in net proceeds the producer would be the gainer and only a few of the men who gather the tolls would be injured. There will be a class of strong objectors to this change—it is the stockholders in compresses, the cotton handlers, the speculators. Why? you ask. Because they make their fortunes out of our misfortunes and ignorance. They make fat livings off of the toils they gather from us, and it will be only by strong united action that we will ever get out of their clutches.

THE following is clipped from a long set of resolutions passed by the County Wheel of Wilson County, Tenn.:

"Whereas, at the meeting of the National Agricultural Wheel, Farmers Alliance, Farmers Mutual Benefit Association in a co-operative Union of America, which convened at Meridian, Miss., December 18, 1888, being represented by delegates from two and one-half millions of American citizens of different organizations of the United States and Territories, and in consideration of the mutual benefit of farmers and laborers of America, signified their willingness to consolidate; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we accept the action of said body, believing it is the duty of each and every member of all labor organizations to assist by word, ballot, and action, and means, as far as possible, and help push on the most powerful of all labor organizations with determined resolution never to give up until monopoly, trusts, corporations, and pools are subdued, and the farmer can realize the fruits of his labor."

It is neither possible nor desirable to unite all the farmers' organizations of the country with all the labor organizations of the cities, and such a consummation is not contemplated by either; but as the encroachments of the speculative elements become more and more apparent both will realize that while amalgamation is neither necessary nor expedient, federation is an absolute necessity in order to successfully resist the tendency to complete serfdom that a continued yielding to the encroachments of said speculative element certainly portends.

The Alliance, Wheel, Union, and Farmers Benefit Association should amalgamate as speedily as possible, and if they can not, with the Grange, make mutual concessions enough to unite with them also, they should form a confederation in which there would be a perfect understanding, and points on which their interests are identical would be contended for in concert; "in unity there is strength," and all other agricultural associations should be offered a basis of amalgamation or federation, and no time lost in extending the federations to all producers. Let the battle-lines be well understood and clearly defined—Producers vs. Drones. Workers against speculators.

ESTIMATING by the past ratio of increase it is calculated that in one hundred years from today the population of the United States will reach four hundred millions, with a consuming power, there is reason to believe, of nearly half the world. Here is a field for American agriculture to fill.

Book Notices.

TAXATION IN AMERICAN STATES AND CITIES. By Richard T. Ely, Ph. D., author of "The Labor Movement in America," associate professor of political economy in the Johns Hopkins University; member of the Maryland Tax Commission; member of the International Statistical Institute, etc. Published by T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 12mo. \$1.75.

A very useful work, calculated to give the general public correct views in regard to the complicated subject of taxation. It is written with a view of meeting the demands of the general reader rather than the specialist, and this adds to its usefulness and makes it pleasant to peruse because it possesses all the information attainable without a mass of dry detail, which usually encumbers works designed for special study. In it is collected valuable statistics and the results of many forms of expense, together with a complete analysis of all the principles involved in taxation, and the author seems to have directed his effort toward qualifying those who have read his book to judge of systems and recommend remedies themselves rather than to prove conclusions he himself has presented.

J. M. THOMPSON, secretary of Nebraska State Farmers Alliance, writes from Underwood:

"Your sample copies received. I mail them to county organizers in the State.

"The Alliance is having a successful forward movement in this State and expects to be up with the times and abreast with all the sister States in time to meet in December. Let us make that meeting the greatest and most influential meeting of producers ever seen in this country.

"Your first issue did not contain list of our State officers, so I enclose them, as follows:

"President, J. H. Powers, Cornell; vice-president, Jas. Clark, Wabash; secretary and treasurer, J. M. Thompson, Underwood; lecturer, M. M. Chase, Creighton.

NEBRASKA ALLIANCE BUSINESS ASSOCIATION: President, Allen Root, Omaha; vice-president, H. Hays; secretary, J. M. Thompson; treasurer, J. Burrows; State business agent, Allen Root."

Millions in Southern Land.

A Chattanooga dispatch of February 28 says: There has been consummated in this city one of the largest and most important real-estate transactions in the history of the central South. The Chattanooga Land, Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, owning 25,000 acres of land on the north and west side of the river opposite this city, embracing valuable coal deposits on Walden's ridge, large ore mines and immense timber lands, have sold a controlling interest to a Boston, New York, and Philadelphia syndicate.

The consideration exceeds \$1,000,000, and the erection of an iron railway bridge across the Tennessee River, the building of a railroad to the top of Walden's ridge, and other extensive improvements will be begun immediately. The purchasers are headed by John W. Candler, a member-elect of the last Congress from Boston. The syndicate includes a number of well-known New England financiers.

SPAIN is largely an agricultural country and yet the corn crop alone of the United States is worth more every year than the combined value of all the crops produced in Spain,

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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IT costs more now to market the creations of labor than it does to produce them. Does this not have something to do with the question of overproduction? To whom does this cost go?

WHEN one fifth only of the population of Great Britain was occupied in agriculture they fed the entire population; now, with only one-eighth so employed, two-fifths of the food-supply must be obtained by importation. In the decade from 1871 to 1881 the increase of the manufacturing class was 23 per cent. and the decrease of the agricultural 31 per cent.

THERE is a great cry in the West and South about immigration, and a hobby that it will increase prices, merely because it increases population. Increase of population alone does not increase prices, but there must be a wise distribution of the labor and its created values, so that all may be able to buy what they need to consume. By this means both a market and good prices are secured.

FARM wastes in the United States are enormous. In the South it is estimated that for every bale of cotton made a half-ton of seed is produced and mostly wasted. At ten dollars for each bale there has been wasted in seed in twenty years eight hundred and seventy-five millions of dollars. Half the straw and stover of more than two hundred thousand square miles in cereals is wasted; estimated at the low rate of one dollar per acre, whether used for feeding or fertilizing, the loss portion would represent the enormous sum of eight hundred millions of dollars for the past twenty years.

THE great object of government is the protection of the citizen in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and yet we find our legislative councils monopolized in devising laws for the protection of invested capital, the guaranteeing of profits, and the creation of fictitious bodies corporate which may dominate the individual and build up a power to paralyze his energies. Instead of guarding the rights of the individual citizen, they seem monopolized by granting especial powers to combinations and the securing to them of unusual benefits. Is it the people or the wealth of the Nation that is the more important factor in the body politic?

THE immigration question is assuming threatening proportions even in England. It has been discovered by the committee of investigation appointed by Parliament that some trades have gone over entirely into the hands of foreigners, who are compelled to work for what they can get and live in the meanest and vilest dens. English workmen can not exist upon what they earn in such occupations and are being reduced to the level of these miserable wretches. The aristocratic institutions of Europe have sapped the vitality of their laborers and driven them, like lepers, to contaminate the industry of more fortunate lands. In the United States the question of immigration is one of startling importance, and threatens the direst evils to American industry, both agricultural and mechanical. In this riffraff of European vagabonds lies a power servile and mercenary ready to the hand of arrogant plutocracy that would murder liberty at a nod. It is time for Americans to beware.

THERE is no conflict between THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST as the National organ of the order and any of the many excellent Alliance newspapers that are State organs in the States in which they are published. The field occupied is entirely different. The State organs furnish all the local and State news, and contain able editorials on State issues, thereby making the State organ an absolute necessity to every member of the order. The National organ treats of the great principles involved in all legislation, and necessarily devotes more room to political economy than a newspaper can spare; it thereby becomes a necessity in every family, both to better fit the voter for the discharge of the responsibilities resting on him and as a means of educating the youth who will soon handle the reins of Government, as to the true principles of economics. It is located at the National Capital, the seat of Government, where it has access to all of the archives, and will therefore be able to give exact and accurate information upon all governmental matters. It can also bring the Government closer to the people, where they can watch it and know more of its workings. It will make the Congressmen soon realize that "there's a chiel amang ye takin' notes, an', sure, he'll prent 'em."

In short, any man who takes interest enough in current events to read his State official organ to get the Alliance news and views current, needs the National organ to get a full conception of the principles in detail that are involved in the great movement, and any who read the National organ will soon realize the necessity of also having the State organ that they may get the Alliance news as to the workings of the efforts being made to carry out the great principles contended for. With this view and understanding, THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST has made a low club offer to all State organs, and requested them to make such reduction as they can afford to the end that the two may be offered at a small advance over the price of one. Some of the State organs have made the rate and are offering it to their patrons; others concur in the sentiment above expressed and will soon offer a club rate.

In France 48 per cent. of the people are agriculturists.

THE great farmers organizations of the United States are not formed for the purpose of opposing or antagonizing any other essential or productive class of society. They are formed for self-protection, and operate by securing united action to resist the encroachment of conditions that cause the business of farming to be conducted at a net loss to those who engage in it.

The examination of these causes with a view of neutralizing them is now the important question of the age, and the one in which all true friends to humanity must feel the deepest interest.

The farmer has been taught for years that he must practice greater economy; he must cut down his expenses by stinting himself and family, and must practice methods of making his lands produce more; he must, in short, produce more and consume less. Philosophers who teach such doctrine have no practical knowledge of human affairs or they would realize that to produce more and consume less will tend to attenuate the prime factor; a country schoolboy knows that to shorten the cow's feed will not only reduce the quality of her milk, but it will lessen the quantity. If you want better results from farming, common sense will tell you that farmers must be better fed, better clothed, better educated, and be enabled to make more clear money from the same amount of labor. It is an insult and an outrage to preach economy to the most economical class of society, and especially is this true when they are not only the most economical, but the most frugal, industrious, and by far the most productive. Nothing is more certain than the conclusion that were farmers able to keep the amount of their products up to the present quantity and reduce their expenses one-half, combinations that speculate in their products, and are not restricted by law in their conspiracies to rob, would succeed in lowering the price of the products and producing a stringency for money that would compel agriculturists to part with the whole crop for what is now secured for half. Verily, the farmer can not afford to waste time and energy in an ineffectual battle with these results by using such palliative remedies; he must discover the cause and apply the knife to the root, practicing a radical cure, not a temporary relief. It will not be hard to find the cause, and, when found, the remedy will follow as a natural consequence. The same kind of speculative combinations are everywhere seeking to defraud labor from any return for its efforts beyond a bare subsistence. The laws of the country are not only not framed so as to interfere with their practices, but are frequently prepared to assist their efforts. They are proving the old adage, "there is only a sixpence difference between them that works and them that plays." There can be no conflict between true producers; it is between producers and non-producers, workers and drones, not capital and labor, but the capitalist and laborer; those who work and those who speculate. On this line the battle must and will be fought to a termination.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Political Economy.
No. 2.

THE investigations of the House committee appointed by Congress for the examination of trusts prove that the sugar trust now practically fixes the prices at which both raw sugar is bought and refined sugar is sold; although, were the customs duties on refined sugar removed, its control over the selling price would be destroyed. The facts and conditions as they exist in this trust are common to all, and yet there is hesitation to crush the hydra at one blow, and why? Simply because of the power of organized capital brought to bear in corrupting the source of justice and in the interests of those who control it against the best interests of the masses.

THE ECONOMIST is receiving thousands of congratulatory letters expressing the universal sentiment that the inauguration of the paper on the plan adopted is exactly the right thing at the right time; that it is located at the right place, and has the right man at the helm, and is destined to supply exactly the kind of reading matter the agriculturists of the country are now most in need of. This is, indeed, encouraging, and will be an additional inducement to faithful exertion. It would involve a greater amount of labor and expense than is expected to try and answer each of such letters; hence this notice to the writers that their kind words of encouragement have been received and are highly appreciated.

LET him blush with shame who teaches that the interest of the farmer conflicts with the interest of the laboring man in the factory because the farmer sells him his produce and one is interested in a high and the other in a low price for such produce; or because the farmer consumes the product of the factory and is therefore desirous of securing such manufactured commodity at a low price, while the laborer wants a high price in the vain hope that it will enable his employer to pay him better wages. The same class of reasoners claim that the interests of the farmers of the North and South are antagonistic because the Southern farmer buys much of his corn, bacon, flour, etc., from the North, and the Northern farmer buys all his cotton goods which are grown in the South. All this argument is quickly, thoroughly, and completely dispelled by the following: The best estimates as to the average return for productive labor is that every laborer produces about eight times as much as he consumes. This being the case, his gains will be greater if high prices prevail than when low prices prevail, and this applies to all producers. The consumers of butter would be better off if butter was one dollar per pound if everything else was enhanced in proportion, provided such consumers were producers, because their revenues would be increased accordingly; but the lordly drone consumer who produces nothing is interested in low prices because it enables him to hoard his capital and increase its power. All producers are alike interested in high prices for everything. The farmer can well afford to pay one dollar a yard for domestic cloth or fifty dollars a barrel for flour if the price of cotton, wheat, etc., are raised accordingly. There can be no real conflict between actual producers.

Their doctrine does not bear as much evidence of wisdom in this day and time as it did when promulgated. It must be remembered that prices were much more stable then; that they came much nearer being regulated by the cost of production; that the tendency to speculation did not control four-fifths of the volume of the capital of the country and organizations and trusts, and by means of such power double or treble the price of an essential article of consumption at will. In a general way, cost of production or manufacture was in that day and time regarded as the measure of price, and hence the plausibility of their single-tax doctrine.

If interest and profit be entirely removed and not allowed to capital under any circumstances, and labor compelled to exert itself for

a bare subsistence, then it will be impossible to combat the idea that all the taxes should be collected from those who own the land; and to fully carry out such a system the government should take all the surplus, because it would be wrong to leave the surplus produced by those who labor, in the hands of those who do not labor, simply because they own the land. In justice to the other classes, the government should take it all and be a strong central or paternal government on which the people could depend for protection and support. The gist, then, of the argument of the economists in favor of the single tax was that, the price of commodities being regulated by cost of manufacture, no tax should be levied on commodities, and the tendency of their doctrine was toward the strong or paternal system of government. This was natural with a people accustomed to despotism, and before any example of American liberty and American institutions had been shown the world; but now, for a hundred years it has been demonstrated that the best system of government depends on the people for strength and support, and few there are who deny that government should exact no greater contributions from its constituents in the shape of taxes than actual necessity compels it to use in an economic administration of the affairs incumbent upon it. More than that is robbery, since it takes by force. But since a uniform and fixed price of commodities equal to cost of manufacture, estimating labor at a bare subsistence and capital without interest, could not be secured in that day and time in order to demonstrate the justice of their single-tax notions, and since the justice of their claim for a single tax must depend on such uniform and fixed price of all commodities, it is manifest that the greater the tendency and necessity for labor to receive more than a bare subsistence, and for capital to command some interest, and the greater the tendency and justice of price being regulated otherwise than by a fixed point indicated by such conditions, the less justice in such single tax doctrines.

Every act of production must employ land, labor, and capital, and without the use of all three of these essentials nothing can be produced; land and labor are ineffectual without capital, labor and capital can not produce without the use of land, and capital and land can produce no results without the use of labor. This is a universally accepted position of political economy; and since each is necessary to the result, it matters very little how, or in what proportion, each seems to contribute to the effort; if it is necessary to secure the result, its effort, though small, is just as essential as one that seems much greater. To illustrate, say that a man goes into the field nude and digs in the ground with his bare hands to produce roots for food, and you have a fair illustration of the use of land and labor, to produce with perhaps the minimum illustration of the use of capital; but since his very life must be sustained by food, and that food is the product of former labor, it is capital, and while it may in this case appear as a very small element in this act of production it is just as essential as the labor or the and, because neither one would have been effect-

ive without it. Confusion as to the full application of this principle has led to many wrong conceptions and conclusions. Adam Smith, by crediting labor or the division of labor as the only agent of production, should have favored the exemption of land and capital by the same style of argument used by the economists in favor of single tax on land. Capital has not been slow to avail itself of any advantages to be secured from government regardless of which of these visionary doctrines succeeded. The tendency of modern times is for capital to reap benefits as the chief element of production. The truth is that land, labor, and capital being the essentials to production, and the only essentials, all produced value, and, therefore, all wealth, is the result of their effort, and, consequently, all taxes must be paid by them, and any effort to exempt either one will be found unjust to the other two. It does not follow that they should be equally taxed. Taxes are not debts due from the constituent for services rendered or to be rendered by the government, neither can they be regarded as a sum loaned the government which will ever be received back in any way, directly or indirectly, in benefits or otherwise. If they were funds paid the government for protection and the franchise of citizenship, then they should be paid in proportion to the amount of such benefits received, and those needing most protection, as idiots, lunatics, minors, orphans, and widows, should pay most taxes; but such is not the case. Taxes are a donation or absolute gift—a contribution of the citizen to the government to enable it to meet its necessary expenses and should be assessed according to the ability to pay them. The ability of capital is and will ever be greater than either of the other two, and it should, therefore, contribute more liberally. Its ability is greater, because land in cultivation possesses no ability to pay, except in response to the efforts of labor, and labor has other demands that must first be satisfied.

Every man's first duty is to himself and family; they must be fed and clothed before he can be called upon to contribute to the expenses of the government. Consequently there can in justice be no tax on the fruits of labor, except such as is a surplus over and above a bare subsistence. Man must and will have that much before he can pay any taxes, and if the government demands a sum that exhausts his surplus earnings and takes a part necessary for his existence, and he is compelled to respond to the demand, he must do so by appropriating a part of the fruits of former labor, even if the same is invested in the land or implements that render his labor productive, and he mortgages to raise money to pay the unjust demand, and thereby starts the leak (interest) that is sure to exhaust all his ability. By such a course the government kills the goose that lays the golden eggs, and if diligently followed will result in vast productive fields relapsing into a wild state, where some lord will devote thousands of acres to keeping a few pet deer, and on which the intruding workingman would be shot as a poacher. The amount of land, labor, and capital, therefore,

that is necessary to produce the actual amount consumed by the individuals, since it can not pay any taxes, should not have any taxes assessed on it. But hoarded capital and vast bodies of uncultivated lands held for speculative purposes possess ability to contribute, and should unquestionably be made to do so. No effort will be here made to outline a system of taxation by saying what limit of cultivated land should be exempt from tax as necessary to supply the wants of the individual, or by what rule the tax on wild land should be increased according to the amount owned, nor on what scale the tax on capital should be raised in proportion to the amount after a reasonable exemption for the small holder; but the object of this article is simply to treat of the principles involved, leaving the reader to make his own application.

As has been shown, the doctrine of the economists in regard to agricultural production and the single tax upon the rent of land could not be sustained by justice and sound reasoning when they were promulgated over a hundred years ago, and the changes in the condition of affairs since that time make them even less tenable now. If, therefore, there be any who teach such doctrines in this day and time let them be subjected to analysis in like manner.

The great difference between comparisons of the present with those of any other time is the magnitude and importance of the speculative element.

It has insidiously been growing and

acquiring privileges under the laws, as well as forming conditions favorable to its manipulations, until it is second to no power in the United States.

The speculative element, by availing itself

of the provisions of the laws of the country in

regard to the hypothecation of land, is making

a large per cent. of the agricultural population

pay a tribute equal to all their surplus produc-

tion, and sometimes more. This is deplorable

indeed; but the reader must not fall into the

error of supposing that the laws governing the

ownership and hypothecation of land are the

sole causes of the speculator possessing this

power, because the system of transportation by

which the agriculturists' surplus products find

a market has been and is by the government

allowed such unrestricted exercise of its essen-

tially monopolistic powers that its schedule of

charges are not regulated by the service per-

formed, but by the ability of the producers to

pay. This, too, is only a form of operations

on the part of the speculative element, and if

it by mistake or accident fails to take all the

produce will bear, or the producer by stinting

himself and family succeeds in retaining a sur-

plus, he may be able to pay the money-lending

speculator interest on his mortgage and not be

compelled to surrender his home to the specu-

lative element, and by so doing become their

serf; but such fortuitous accidents can not long

be depended on, and a careful survey of the

situation shows that conditions are fast devel-

oping which, if allowed to continue, will soon

enslave all labor to what? Capital? No: capi-

tal is all right and is essential. It is the specu-

lative element that tends to absorb all power.

But, again, the reader must take a broad

and philosophic view before attaching all the blame. It will not do to fall into the narrow and restricted method of reform and say all relief must come from a revised code of land laws, nor will it do to say all relief must come from government ownership or control of railroads, because an examination into the existing conditions develops a realization of the fact that the speculative element uses a limited and inadequate volume of the circulating medium of the country as the fulcrum by which it applies its power to appropriate the fruits of labor in conformity with the laws of the country. Again, care must be used not to fall into the error of believing that full and adequate relief for all unjust conditions will follow a "money reform." The contrivance is now complete, the speculative element is the lever, and it is every day rapidly growing longer; the financial system is the fulcrum and it is every day becoming harder and more susceptible of resistance by its contraction; land and transportation are the powers applied from the long end of the lever and they are every day becoming heavier by the aid of pools, combinations, foreclosed mortgages, and a thousand other ways; while the resistance represented at the short end of the lever by the producers of the country seems hopelessly doomed to lose its grip on the earth of this country unless the sturdy farmer can be induced to realize the situation and step out opposite the fulcrum and deal a few blows from the short blade of his trusty ax, justice, upon the back of the speculative element exactly over the fulcrum, thereby breaking the back of the power of the speculative element, liberating labor and precipitating land and transportation monopolists to a level with the rest of mankind, and he should give the ax sufficient force to penetrate the elastic bands that are so tightly contracting the volume of the circulating medium and allow that important element to expand commensurate with the needs of those who have debts to pay. What a field for the artist to illustrate!

This digression is made for the purpose of applying old and true principles to new conditions. This series of articles on political economy would lose a large part of the power for good if lessons for the present were not drawn from experiences of the past. But having reached this point and shown that finance, transportation, and land are the important questions of the present, they will each become the subject of a series of articles that will run throughout the year, and for contributions to which the *ECONOMIST* will secure the best talent in the country, and these subjects will not be longer treated of in this review of political economy.

The commercial system of the physicians and old political economists will be the subject of the next paper, and the doctrine of the balance of trade as now advocated by some of the Republican press will receive due attention.

WHAT the arms of England lost in the contest with the American colonies the money of England is fast regaining in the contest with the American land laws. Make a note of this.

Facts that Demand Thought.

The depressing effects upon the agricultural and producing sections of the Nation of the sectional and class legislation which has characterized the action of our National Legislature for the past thirty odd years, and is growing more and more oppressive, is most strikingly demonstrated by the census reports, showing the aggregate wealth per capita from 1850 to 1880.

It will be clearly understood from a study of these reports that there is now, and has been for over a quarter of a century, a steady transfer of the values produced in the West and South to the East and North; that the agricultural sections are being systematically robbed by a false financial system for the benefit of the protected sections, and that the wealth of the Nation is fast and steadily being transferred into the hands of the already wealthy speculative classes of the favored sections, who use their gains only to lay heavier burdens upon the agriculturists in the form of mortgages, which give them still greater power over the producers and has already virtually reduced the producers of the West and South to a condition of vassalage to the money lords of the North and East.

These figures are taken from "Scribner's Statistical Atlas," and are reliable. From them it will be seen that from 1850 to 1860 there was an advance in values per capita in all the producing States something like equal to the advance in the now protected States, but that each decade after 1860 showed a decrease for the agricultural sections and an increase for the protected sections. This increase will appear still more disproportionate when it is remembered that the agricultural sections have been steadily and rapidly increasing in population and consequent production of wealth, while the protected sections have been at a standstill as regards population. For the purpose of illustration, we select the principal agricultural States and set them in contrast with those which may be considered representatives of the protected interests, both manufacturing and financial. A glance is sufficient to convince any unprejudiced mind of the injustice of existing conditions and the oppression put upon one class of citizens for the sole benefit of another, and how governmental power is being used to bind one class while another appropriates the profits of its industry.

Aggregate of Wealth Per Capita.

State.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
Louisiana.....	\$431.94	\$580.45	\$444.52	\$448.96
South Carolina.....	451.20	778.93	294.99	297.32
Mississippi.....	377.48	767.50	255.08	256.32
Georgia.....	370.15	610.90	224.47	359.23
Virginia.....	302.98	498.92	334.31	458.13
Tennessee.....	269.78	461.62	215.45	250.40
North Carolina.....	289.54	361.11	213.39	318.63
Texas.....	248.08	604.42	194.30	455.47
Missouri.....	210.23	422.03	746.49	708.60
Iowa.....	200.70	445.04	395.89	431.81
Kentucky.....	307.03	576.32	457.47	533.76
Kansas.....	202.22	518.87	577.25	
Iowa.....	123.38	366.47	601.08	870.98
Illinois.....	182.52	509.28	835.34	1,004.69
Michigan.....	150.35	343.29	607.41	839.93
Massachusetts.....	578.50	682.29	1,468.35	1,569.60
Rhode Island.....	620.33	1,014.44	1,218.28	1,318.24
Connecticut.....	419.93	985.50	1,441.30	1,368.89
New York.....	348.78	475.00	1,483.28	1,498.96
Pennsylvania.....	312.52	487.40	1,081.82	1,259.20

Now let it be borne in mind that although the disparity shown by this table is great, yet it is not by any means a representative of the full

difference in the conditions of the sections, for it must be remembered that a great portion of the per capita credited to the agricultural section is represented by land, a great part of which is heavily mortgaged and controlled by the capitalistic States and should really be credited to them. This is especially the case in the Western States, which make the best showing on paper but are really bound hand and foot by mortgages held in the East; and, again, much of the represented value in some of the Western States and a few of the Southern States is to be placed to the credit of protected manufactures which are in process of development. Taken all in all, the condition of the agricultural class is most deplorable, and the end is not yet. The table is complete only to 1880; for over eight years the drain upon the producing sections has been going on, and the flow of wealth from the hands of the producer to those of the speculative classes of the favored sections, who use their gains only to lay heavier burdens upon the agriculturists in the form of mortgages, which give them still greater power over the producers and has already virtually reduced the producers of the West and South to a condition of vassalage to the money lords of the North and East.

The danger from this system of conquest is the greater because the progress of power is so insidious, the means so complicated, that the average mind does not grasp the real condition until too late. A quiet submission goes on from stage to stage until it is but a short step to the employment of mercenary force to compel acquiescence; and then imperialism fixes its poisonous fangs upon the vitals of the Nation. Such is the lesson of history; let industry beware.

History and Government.

No. 8.

In order that the position assumed in this investigation may be clearly defined and kept before the mind of the reader, it is probably well to repeat here what was stated in the preceding article, that it is proposed to prove by the evidence of history that the aggregated power held by the non-producing speculative class has invariably been gained through legislation based upon a wrong and unjust relation of real property (or land) as an article of commerce and security; a dangerous system of finance, as relates to securities and obligations, and a misconception on the part of the people, as to the extent of their obligation to admit as right and just certain established systems and assumptions, merely because they have been submitted to throughout ages of misfortune, oppression, and ignorance; that by establishing an unnatural and unjust relation between the citizen and the soil, and by using the power of government to multiply and compel obligations growing out of this false relation, the speculative element has built up for itself an insidious and dangerous power, which is the natural and deadly enemy to liberty and absolutely defiant of justice and equity; that the financial superstructure built upon this foundation is tyrannical, unjust, and absolutely at enmity with the best interests of the people and universal progress; that the overthrow of nations has been accomplished by its means in every instance, and that the universal failure of every system of government can be traced to the fact that in all this false relation of the citizen to the soil is the foundation-stone; that in every one the power existed that could tear the soil of his nativity from beneath the feet of the citizen and render him absolutely dependent upon the whims and pleasure of another.

This possibility must be removed before the citizen can hope to successfully oppose the en-

nemy which may deny any return at all to the risks of industry.

The accumulated capital in the hands of the exploiting classes is the power which is fast undermining the liberties of the Nation, and the legislative arm of the Government is the strong ally which compels submission to its decrees. Through the legal control of the lands monopoly dictates its decrees, the legislative arm commands, and the executive compels. Thus are the agriculturists of America being reduced to vassalage; thus is the dignity of the citizen destroyed, his refuge taken from him, power centralized in the hands of the few, and the people betrayed into a servitude as galling as ever disgraced the nations of antiquity.

croachments of power. As well expect a man to defend his life bound hand and foot and weaponless against an armed and ferocious band of savages.

The relations between the land and financial systems are so close that practically they are one, and yet they are by shrewd legislation apparently so widely separated as to have a very remote connection as viewed by the average citizen, and especially the agriculturalist, who has not the time or opportunity if he has the ability to study them, their relation to each other, and their real effect upon him and his fellow-citizen.

The first evidence history gives us of an appreciation of the dangerous power likely to be amassed by one class over a whole people through a control of the lands is given us in the writings of that miracle among law-givers, Moses himself, even before the dawn of modern civilization, fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, and in conveying to the people the will and decree of God, he wrote:

"The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me." The land was divided among the people by families, and to guard against a dangerous monopoly of it through shrewd commercial complications a time was fixed beyond which the alienation could not extend, but the lands must all be restored to the heirs of the original holders. The law proclaimed, "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family." Again, "Ye shall not, therefore, oppress one another, but thou shalt fear thy God, for I am the Lord thy God."

"And the land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall eat your fill and dwell there in safety."

The law provided for a redemption of land alienated by its original owner at any time prior to the year of Jubilee, but at that time it reverted back by act of law. The law said: "And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land." "If thy brother be waxen poor and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold." "And if the man have none to redeem it and himself be able to redeem it, then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it, that he may return into his possession. But if he be not able to restore it to himself, then that which is sold shall remain in the hands of him that hath bought it until the year of Jubilee: and in the jubilee it shall go out and he shall return unto his possession."

A marked distinction is made between city or commercial real estate and agricultural lands, for the divine law, as given by Moses, says: "And if a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; and if not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be established forever to him that bought it throughout his

generations; it shall not go out in the Jubilee. But the houses of the villages which have no walls round about them shall be counted as the fields of the country. They may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the Jubilee."

Another evidence of the appreciation of the danger to be apprehended from the monopoly of wealth by the few is shown by laws governing personal property, interests, and debts. The law says: "At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release, and this is the manner of the release: Every creditor that lendeth ought to his neighbor shall release it; he shall not exact it of his neighbor or his brother, because it is called the Lord's release." Slaves were also declared free on this year if they were Hebrews. One declaration of the law seems to have been prophetic, and clearly declared the power of wealth. It is this: "For the Lord thy God blesseth thee, as he promised thee: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow."

Here surely is a prophecy fulfilled as well as a warning against the power of accumulated wealth! The law further says: "And if thy brother be waxen poor and fallen in decay with thee, then shalt thou relieve him; yea though he be a stranger or a sojourner; that he may live with thee. Take no usury of him or increase. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase."

These laws, established fifteen centuries before our era, or over three thousand years ago, prove that the wisest of all law-givers fully comprehended the danger to be feared from a power which could take from the citizen the prime necessity of his existence and use it as a means of compelling unjust tribute or servile obedience. With a penetration which evidences its divine origin, he saw in the monopoly of the control of land the germ from which would spring the deadly upas which would shadow with its poisonous exhalations the nation under which it fixed its roots. Deity itself declares: "The land shall not be sold forever," but shall be for the homes of his people, free from the pollution of mercenary stain and a refuge to the oppressed. The system which makes it a commodity of trade is the outgrowth of a barbarous age and a heathen race.

The effect of this system of laws was, even in a primitive age of the world and surrounded by the densest ignorance, to make the nation governed by them the grandest of its time, the people the most prosperous; and although confined to a small scope of territory, they made a record which is unsurpassed in history! Their social, moral, financial, and general internal condition was far in advance of any people of their time. True, the progress of general education was not such as to develop even in a slight degree the best results possible from the system. It was in the dim dawn of enlightenment, and the average mind was steeped in superstition too deeply to secure even the shadow of the best results; and there were other effects brought to bear against it which have passed beyond the possibilities in civilized societies of to-day, and yet here and in this nation was laid the foundation of the civiliza-

tion which has regenerated and redeemed the world.

Prior to the establishment of these laws we have little reliable history; all is fabulous. There existed the Babylonian monarchy, that of Assyria, Egypt, the patriarchal era of the Hebrews, Phoenicia, and the oriental despots in Asia and India; of none of these have we anything to learn, and the giving of the laws by Moses is the earliest date at which the owning of lands by the people appears. All other nations at this time were absolute despots, with the results of which system all are familiar.

The results of these laws continued to develop the prosperity and progress of the nation until their extinction, which was brought about by no evils growing out of them, or springing up in the nation; but was accomplished by force

of foreign arms, when the uncounted hosts of armed plunders from the surrounding nations, fired by envy of the great prosperity wrought by them, overwhelmed and engulfed the nation and divided its riches as spoils of war. Thus was the world robbed of the lesson it should have had could this wise system have been allowed to work itself out to final possibilities, by the brutality, avarice, and blood-thirstiness of the age.

During the height of the prosperity of the Jewish nation, a division of lands among the people was made in the early settlement of the various Grecian states.

The rise and fall of these were generally uniform. Of course armed conquest played a most conspicuous part; but where left unmolested to work out their own results, they were invariably the same. First, after settlement was made and the lands divided, the states became pastoral and agricultural; the entire population was engaged in industrial pursuits, values were rapidly created and wealth began to appear; commerce then developed; values became fixed; the spirit of speculation awoke; the surplus accumulated; values were soon involved in commercial transactions; debts began to be made and securities demanded; movable property was not considered sufficient for the conducting of the commercial transactions; values were fixed on the lands and these pledged to secure the performance of assumed obligations.

The speculative craze developed still further; the rage for gain knew no control; personal liberty, wives and children became securities for debt. The homes of the people rapidly drifted into the possession of a fortunate few, and the people were reduced to the condition of serfs. When the oppression grew to be unbearable, then came revolution, anarchy, the overthrow of the nation and then another repetition of the same experience with the same result.

At times these horrible conditions were avoided, and a new distribution of the lands made arbitrarily, as in the Jubilee of the Hebrews, but in every instance it was neglected to protect the land against monopoly, and history repeated itself. This condition existed down far into Roman history, and only in one instance was the true cause divined, and that was as early as 1284 B. C., when Lycurgus gave his wonderful code to the Lacedemonians,

which made them the grandest of the Grecian people.

This code clearly demonstrated the direct effect of the land and financial systems upon a people. Of this experiment there will be much to say in its proper place in these investigations. It is unfortunate that the experiment was made in the particular era of history in which it occurred, as the state of civilization was such that it could not have its proper influence and effect, and was necessarily encumbered with a weight which prevented its having the best effect for posterity, yet it is one of the most important lessons of history, and to this time serves as an index to political evils which opens up a rich field of research, and points to real means of relief if properly understood, modified, and applied. But it is time to return to the investigation of the early Greek states.

THE hearty welcome which the first number of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST has received from every section of the Union is, it must be said, most flattering and encouraging. The flood of subscriptions pouring daily into the office is really phenomenal. This journal seems to have struck a responsive chord in the breasts of thousands, not only among the Alliance brotherhood and the agricultural population, but among the industrial masses generally. It seems to have supplied a serious want, and its call is being most enthusiastically responded to. The hearty support being extended at the very outset proves that the people are deeply interested in the study of economic questions; that they have set to work to unravel the complex questions of the day; that they are in earnest in their determination to understand and master the mysteries that have so long puzzled the industrial masses and placed them so utterly in the power of the speculative element, that have brought about such flagrant inequality, and are fast reducing them to a system of servitude inconsistent with the dignity and honor of American citizenship. This ready and enthusiastic response has determined the management to strain every nerve to leave nothing undone in order to give to the people a journal earnestly devoted to their interests—one to which they may refer with confidence, and on which they may depend for the fullest information and most carefully digested opinions. The enthusiasm with which the ECONOMIST is received is certainly an assurance that the people are determined upon reform, and that in a rational, intelligent manner consistent with the civilization of the age and the intelligence and conservatism of the American people.

THE area of wheat planted in 1884 was thirty-eight and one-half millions of acres. The surplus of production above the requirements of home consumption is greater than the entire acreage of 1850, and not less than twelve million acres. The aggregate acreage of all crops is over one hundred and sixty millions of acres.

THE Ohio valley is the most fully occupied body of land in the United States, that is there is a greater proportion of its surface occupied as farms.

CHARTER

Of the "Farmers' Union Commercial Association" of Louisiana, Limited.

effect of rendering this charter null, or of exposing a stockholder to any liability beyond the amount of his stock.

ARTICLE VI.

Subscriptions for shares in the capital stock shall be received only from trustees elected by and representing subordinate Farmers' Unions holding charters from the State Farmers' Union of Louisiana, and not from individuals, and applications for shares must be accompanied by 25 per cent. in cash of the amount of stock subscribed for, the balance to be paid within 30 days from date of application, when certificates of stock shall be issued in the name of the trustee stockholder as soon as the full amount subscribed for shall be paid up.

ARTICLE VII.

Each subordinate Farmers' Union subscribing for stock shall be entitled to one trustee stockholder, who shall be the representative of this corporation in his subordinate Union, giving to the Finance Committee of his Parish Union good and sufficient bond in the sum of \$500 for the faithful performance of his duty. The first trustee stockholder shall be elected by a subordinate Union, whenever the Union decides to apply for stock, and shall serve until the next annual election of officers of the subordinate Union, at which his successor shall be elected to serve one year, and thereafter the trustee stockholders shall be elected by the subordinate Union annually at the time of the regular election of officers. A parish convention of the trustee stockholders in each parish shall at a regular annual meeting elect from their number, or from the membership of the subordinate Unions in the parish that have subscribed for stock in this corporation, one delegate for each ten shares or fractional part thereof of stock held in that parish, each trustee stockholder being entitled to as many votes as he represents shares of stock.

These delegates shall represent the stockholder in that parish in the general meetings of the stockholders of the corporation, and shall be entitled to as many votes as they represent shares of stock.

Each Parish Union shall elect a Parish Agent, provided that no delegate to the Parish Union shall be allowed to vote on his election unless the subordinate Union they represent has stock in this corporation, except by special permission of the Parish Union.

The trustee stockholders in each parish shall at a regular annual meeting elect from their number a Board of Directors of not more than seven, to serve for one year, who shall supervise the work of the Parish Agent, fix the amount of the remuneration he is to receive and of the bond he is to furnish for the proper fulfillment of his duty.

ARTICLE VIII.

All the corporate powers of this corporation shall be vested in and exercised by a Board of nine (9) Directors, five (5) of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The State delegates representing the trustee stockholders of this corporation shall elect these directors from their number on the third (3d) Wednesday of August, eighteen hundred and eighty-nine (1889), and thereafter on the third (3d) Wednesday of August of each year, at the office of this Association. A majority of all the votes cast shall elect, and each share of stock shall be entitled to one vote, to be cast by the holder thereof, either in person or by proxy, and the directors then elected shall serve and continue in office until their successors shall have been elected.

A failure to elect directors on the date above specified shall not dissolve the corporation, but the then existing Board of Directors shall continue to hold their offices, and another election shall be held within thirty days thereafter, whereof ten days' prior notice shall be given in one of the daily newspapers published in

the city of New Orleans and in the official journal of the Farmers State Union of Louisiana. Vacancies occurring in the said board from any cause whatever shall be filled by the remaining directors from among the eligible stockholders of the Association.

The Board of Directors at their first meeting in each year, on the day following their election, shall elect out of their number a President, a Vice-President, and a Secretary, as well as appoint from time to time, and dismiss at their will, such managers, clerks, agents, and employees as may be deemed necessary for the business and purposes of this Association, and fix their remuneration, and make and establish as well as annul and alter all by-laws, rules, and regulations deemed requisite for the support and management of the affairs and business of the corporation.

ARTICLE IX.

The general Purchasing Agent shall be elected annually by the State Farmers Union of Louisiana at the regular annual meeting of that body.

ARTICLE X.

All profits earned shall be applied, first, to pay all operating expenses; second, to pay eight (8) per cent. per annum on the amount of the paid-up capital stock. The balance of profits, if any, shall be distributed among the subordinate Unions holding stock, through their trustees, in this Association, in proportion to the amount of their purchases and sales through the Association.

ARTICLE XI.

This act of incorporation may be changed, modified, or altered, or said corporation may be dissolved, with the consent of three-fourths of the stock represented, and a majority of the amount thereof issued, at any general meeting of the stockholders of said corporation, convened for such purpose, after thirty days' notice of such meeting shall have been previously given by advertisement in two daily papers published in the city of New Orleans and in the official journal of the Farmers State Union of Louisiana.

ARTICLE XII.

Whenever this corporation may be dissolved, either by limitation of its charter or from any other cause, its affairs shall be liquidated by three commissioners, to be appointed by the stockholders at a general meeting called for the purpose. Said commissioners shall remain in office until the affairs of said corporation shall have been fully liquidated, and in case of the death of one or more of said commissioners the said survivor or survivors shall continue to act.

ARTICLE XIII.

By virtue of the authority vested in the Committee on Corporation elected at the last meeting of the Farmers State Union of Louisiana, the members of said Committee are hereby declared to be the first Board of Directors, and shall hold office until the first election under this charter, on the third Wednesday of August, 1889, or until their successors are duly elected, to wit: G. L. P. Wren, P. H. Donovan, Linn Tanner, Daniel Morgan, W. M. Mann, A. T. Hatcher, J. A. Tets, W. H. Bass, and T. A. Clayton, with G. L. P. Wren, President; A. T. Hatcher, Vice-President, and T. A. Clayton, Secretary.

Attest:
J. B. NEWTON.
P. H. DONOVAN.
LEMUEL GUSTINE.
DANIEL MORGAN.
W. M. MANN.
A. T. HATCHER.
J. A. TETTS.
W. H. BASS.
T. A. CLAYTON,
JOHN N. HICKS,
Notary Public.

In Memoriam.

It has pleased an Allwise Creator and Supreme Ruler of the universe to remove from the midst of the members of Gulf City Farmers Alliance, No. 4030, Galveston County, Texas, their beloved sister, Anna Appell, whose death occurred at the St. Mary's Infirmary on the 22d day of February, A. D. 1889. Gulf City Alliance has lost a worthy and valuable member, our community one of its brightest jewels, her husband a loving companion, and her three little children an affectionate mother. Her graces of mind and person made her especially beloved by all.

Although everything that the best medical skill, Dr. Singer and Dr. Randall, could suggest was properly done for her, she died of that terrible disease lockjaw. The Sisters of the St. Mary's Infirmary were indefatigable in their efforts to rescue our fair patient from her sad fate, and we can only point with admiration to this institution that garners such bright jewels, the sisters that waited upon our member, and tried to assuage the sufferings of our sister. We wish them a long life, peace on earth, and the good-will of all mankind. The entire life of the deceased was devoted to her husband, her little ones, and her home, and only the mercy of God can temper the terrible affliction to them. The devoted husband, who idolized the deceased, has the profound sympathy from his many warm Alliance brethren, in this crushing hour of his grief.

Clubbing Rates.

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

	Regular Club-price price. of both.	
"Progressive Farmer," of Raleigh, N. C., official organ of State Alliance	\$1.00	\$1.75
"Toller," Nashville, Tenn., official organ Agricultural Wheel	1.00	1.65
"Southern Alliance," Atlanta, Ga.	1.00	1.50
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The editorial staff will contain an able assistant editor in each State in which the Order has a State organization.

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

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

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

PARTIAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.

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

J. Burrows, of Nebraska, President of the National Farmers Alliance; a man who has been closely and thoroughly identified with the Alliance movement in the Northwest from its beginning, and who now is taking an advance ground in the science of financial economics. From his pen will come words of wisdom, indeed.

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

Col. Robert Beverly, of Virginia, ex-President of the National Farmers Congress; one of the ablest thinkers of America, and thoroughly devoted to measures that tend to elevate and improve the condition of agriculturists.

Felix Corput, of Georgia, President of the Farmers' Alliance Exchange of Georgia; a thoroughly practical business man and financier.

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

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

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WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

The plan of the city was drawn by Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a French engineer of unquestioned genius, who came to the United States from Paris in 1777 and had served during the Revolutionary war in the French contingent under Count D'Estaing. When the French troops returned to their country L'Enfant remained and became a major of engineers in the Federal army.

L'Enfant's plans have been carried out, and prove him to have been a man of marked genius and rare foresight, although he was eccentric and overbearing, which characteristics caused much dissension among the people and with the commissioners, and finally brought about his dismissal. Although offered liberal pay for his labor, he refused to accept anything, and died in poverty, dependent on the kindness of friends, at the age of seventy. However, his plans were carried out, and the splendid city built according to his conception is an enduring monument to his genius.

Andrew Ellicott, of Pennsylvania, was appointed to succeed L'Enfant. He adopted the original plans and carried them to completion.

L'Enfant, while in charge, had arranged a certain system of construction and would permit no deviation from it. The city was first thoroughly surveyed and all the lines established in an accurate manner. No one was allowed to build until the survey was completed. The Government reservations were all indicated, the public buildings located, the streets and avenues marked out, and the whole city divided into squares, as nearly as possible, of equal size.

Any one familiar with the growth of Western towns may have some idea of the trouble had with speculative and avaricious land-holders. A perfect craze of speculation set in, and the rapaciousness of the speculators was well-nigh uncontrollable. Their lands were comparatively worthless until the location of the Capital, but as soon as they realized that the location was an accomplished fact they all saw visions of fabulous wealth to be secured without labor, and became arrogant and defiant of the commissioners. Finally, after a fierce conflict, the proprietors signed the following agreement, which was recorded by the commissioners April 12, 1791:

"We, the subscribers, in consideration of the great benefits we expect to derive from having the Federal city laid off on our lands, do hereby agree and bind ourselves, heirs, executors, and administrators to convey in trust to the President of the United States or commissioners, or such person or persons as he shall appoint, by good and sufficient deeds in fee simple, the whole of our respective lands which he may think proper to include within the lines of the Federal city for the purposes and on the conditions following:

"The President shall have the sole power of directing the Federal city to be laid off in what manner he pleases.

"He may retain any number of squares he may think proper for public improvements or other public uses; and the lots only which shall be laid off shall be joint property between the trustees on behalf of the public and each

present proprietor, and the same shall be fairly and equally divided between the public and the individuals as soon as may be the city shall be laid off.

"For the streets the proprietors shall receive no compensation, but for the squares or lands in any form which shall be taken for public buildings or any kind of public uses the proprietor whose lands shall be taken shall receive at the rate £25 (\$66 $\frac{2}{3}$) per acre, to be paid by the public."

Thomas Beall and John Mackall Gaunt were named as trustees, and the deeds made to them. Thus the proprietors agreed to give the Government all the lands required for highways and to sell the lands for public buildings and reservations for \$66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per acre. One-half the amount realized at the Government sale of lots was to be paid to them. Certain of their lands, after the city had been laid out and reservations established, were conveyed back to them. When the Government had secured a sufficient sum of money from the sale of lots the erection of the public buildings was commenced.

The corner-stone of the President's House was laid on October 13, 1792, and on September 18, 1793, that of the Capitol. Congress made little effort to aid the President in meeting the expenses of construction, and had it not been for gifts and loans made by the States of Virginia and Maryland the work would most likely have been indefinitely suspended. At the time the Government took possession there was little on the site of the city except the President's House and a part of the Capitol. What is now the principal street of the city was little better than a swamp.

The Government took possession in October, 1800. Congress assumed jurisdiction of the District of Columbia in 1801. In May, 1802, an act of incorporation was granted the city, which allowed the citizens to elect a council, but put the appointment of a mayor in the hands of the President. This caused much dissatisfaction, and Congress in a few years gave the people the right to elect their mayor. This municipal plan of government continued until 1871, when Congress repealed the city charter and established a territorial government which lasted until 1874, when three Commissioners were appointed to have charge of the District. This government by Commissioners, which was the original plan adopted, has been continued up to the present time.

Some idea of the expenses and revenues up to 1820 may be had from the following statement, made by Jonathan Elliott, over fifty years ago:

Receipts from lots sold by the United States, \$700,000; donations from the States of Maryland and Virginia, \$192,000; value of 5,150 building lots, averaging 5,000 feet, at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents per foot, \$1,509,375; five hundred and forty-one acres of reserved ground, distributed so as to give the Government possession of the most beautiful parts of the city, estimated at 10 cents per foot, \$2,356,596; freestone quarry, wharves, and water lots, \$40,000; total, \$4,797,971.

The expenditures for the public buildings, etc., are given at \$1,214,286, leaving a large balance in favor of the Government, and showing conclusively that the seat of National Gov-

ernment was established without cost to the people.

In the first ten years of the city the annual appropriation for the civil list was less than half a million dollars, not enough to cover one day's expense as it now stands.

The expenses of the Treasury Department were \$55,000; of the State Department, \$6,300; of the War and Navy Departments, \$11,000. The pension list only amounted to \$6,000 per year, and now it is \$60,000,000.

Here is subject for thought!

In 1814 the British captured the city and burned the Capitol and President's House.

On August 25, 1835, the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was opened, but it was late in 1851 before the stages for the West ceased to run.

In 1840 the city had 23,364 population; the census of 1860 shows a population of 61,122; now the population will reach near 250,000.

THE social troubles that have agitated the Old World for the greater part of the past century are now almost as prominent in America. One of the most puzzling for municipal communities seems to be how and where to lodge the poor, by which class is virtually meant the industry of the great cities. In 1838 the first tenement houses were built in New York; today over a million of the inhabitants of that metropolis are living in tenement-houses. The root of the trouble seems to be the extreme poverty of the individuals and the consequent overcrowding in small rooms, necessitated by the simple inability of the heads of families to eke out a sufficient sum in return for their labor to pay even a moderate rent, much less the exorbitant demands of avaricious landlords for even the semblance of a shelter. Investigations are constantly going on by official committees, formed by municipal authority, to devise means of alleviating the evils, and it is really absurd to see the systematic failure met simply because every committee seems to consider the profits of the landlords as of paramount importance. Could they provide decent quarters for the industrious poor and yet satisfy the rapacity of the exploiter of their earnings they would probably be glad to do so; but the profits must, in their estimation, be first secured; they are of greater consequence than comfort, health, or life itself. Probably, if some of these wise and philanthropic committees could once comprehend the fact that if these tenants were paid even a passably fair return for their labor they might find themselves able to meet a reasonably fair demand upon them for rent. The house supply would not be a question if the means of paying for it were properly provided for. It is not a question of how and where we shall lodge the poor, but the payment of a just return for labor.

In certain localities in New York city ground costs \$14,000,000 per acre, and the rent, calculated at 6 per cent., amounts to \$840,000 per year. There are over five thousand acres occupied by the business portion of New York. Sure enough, a landlords' paradise.

The National Economist

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

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1889.

No. 4.

The Middle-man.

Perhaps no term is applied more indiscriminately than that of middle-man. Sometimes it is intended to designate only merchants or dealers who handle commodities between the manufacturer and the consumer, at other times it is meant to apply to all classes and persons that do not get returns from their labor by direct recourse to the earth. According to the usage of some people it is a term of disparagement, while others use it to make a useful distinction between different classes of society. With its many peculiar and special applications it is not the purpose of this article to treat, but using it in a general sense, as a necessary word to make an important distinction as to class, an effort will be made to better define the relations between the agriculturist and the middle-man, with a view of creating a better understanding that will be mutually beneficial. The middle-men, then, are all persons engaged in trade or traffic of any kind, including speculators, and all occupations and professions except that of gentlemen of leisure, and in this sense is used to embrace all active classes except the agriculturist, the miner, and those who labor at manufacturing pursuits.

So with the speculator. In early times, before the introduction of steam and electricity to facilitate the exchange of intelligence and commodities, and before the introduction of improved machinery to increase the return to productive labor, when large sections of country were subject to great famines in case of a failure of the crop of cereals, speculators, who would buy during a year of plenty, when prices were low, and carefully house and preserve the grain to be utilized in time of famine, were regarded as public benefactors, and classed by economists as producers of utility, to some extent; but since the advent of this age of combinations the speculators have learned to manipulate a large volume of wealth by means of the power given it by an inadequate and inflexible volume of money to compel those who produce the necessities of life, by hard times, to turn over to them their products as soon as acquired, not for what the products are relatively worth, but for just as little of that precious and scarce article—money—as will enable them to barely get along and keep soul and body together, and, instead of holding the grain to be a blessing in time of famine, they purchase all and "corner" the grain and produce hard times and famine in order to increase their gains. Were the old economists, who classed the early corn speculators as producers alive now, they would not be mealy-mouthed, but would class the modern speculator as a robber more dangerous and more to be dreaded and condemned than any highway robber ever was. As we have seen, then, the middle-men may be divided into the merchants (including transportation lines) who produce, at best, very sparingly, and the speculators, who produce nothing—but misery and woe. What a pity that

the English language contains no one word that will apply to the opposite of producer, not as consumer, but as one who acquires wealth at the expense and to the detriment of labor and productive energy.

The great feature of the difference in return for effort between the middle-man and the producer is that the former spends by far the greater part of his effort in getting return, and gets it by direct application to the weakness or necessity of man, and the latter spends all his energy in effort to produce, paying very little attention to methods calculated to increase return, and produces by direct recourse to the earth, whose bounty is regulated by fixed laws, and is subject to neither weakness nor necessity.

The middle-man, if he have high license or right to pay, adds it to the price of his goods; if a large fine be assessed to a railroad company or a heavy damage suit go against them, a very small increase in freights will soon make the merchant pay it, and he in turn, by the same process, will soon get the amount back from his customers, and they in turn from their patrons, and so on until it reaches the man who produces by direct recourse to the earth; her laws are inflexible and he can not raise a greater amount of cotton or corn to pay for the extra amount his necessities have cost him, and unfortunately he has never turned his attention toward getting a greater price for what he does raise, and right there is the key to the whole situation. It is time the farmer woke up to the fact that he can well afford to spend as much time and effort to secure conditions that will enhance the return for what he does raise as he does in production itself. To do this, one of the first steps will be to demand as a matter of right from his Government a volume of money as a circulating medium that possesses sufficient flexibility to be utilized by the producer during the season of marketing the crop to enable him to hold his produce till needed by the consumer, when he will get all that the consumer pays, and by this course secure greatly enhanced prices to the producer without any material advance upon the ultimate consumer. Farmers are to blame if they allow themselves to be longer oppressed by these conditions, when they can rise in their might and demand justice.

Such middle-men as are engaged in a useful and legitimate business should receive protection, encouragement, and patronage, but such as tend to depress the prosperity of the country to satisfy their own selfishness should, like the tamed snake, have their fangs pulled so that they will be harmless. The farmer has the power to pull their fangs and forever neutralize the power of the speculator for harm, by a few wise laws, to be hereafter indicated.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

For the convenience of the Alliances, Wheels, and Unions that compose the two National bodies that contemplate consolidation during the coming year if the State bodies ratify the new constitution, it is deemed best to publish as follows the constitution of each of the National orders and the constitution of the proposed consolidated National order, at the same time, in order that the provisions of each may be compared.

CONSTITUTION

Of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSES.

Profoundly impressed that we, the farmers of America, who are united by the strong and faithful ties of financial and home interests, should, when organized into an association, set forth our declaration of intentions. We therefore resolve,

1. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economic government in a strictly non-partisan spirit, and to bring about a more perfect union of said classes.

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

3. That we return to the old principle of letting the office seek the man, instead of the man seeking the office.

4. To indorse the motto, "In things essential unity, and in all things charity."

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

6. To create a better understanding for sustaining our civil officers in maintaining law and order.

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

8. To suppress personal, local, sectional, and National prejudices, all unhealthful rivalry, and all selfish ambition.

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

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. This body shall be known as The National Farmers Alliance and Co-Operative Union of America, with power to make its own constitution and by-laws.

Sec. 2. The National body shall be composed of delegates from the various State organizations holding charters from, accepting the secret work of, and conforming to the constitution and by-laws of this National organization.

Sec. 3. Each State organization that complies with the above requirements shall be entitled to one delegate for each four counties or fraction of four counties organized in that State.

Sec. 4. No person shall be eligible to membership in the National body until he shall have attained the age of 25 years.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1. The regular annual meeting of the National body shall be on the second Wednesday in October of each year, at 10 o'clock A.M., and at such place as may from time to time be decided by the body or such officer or committee as they may delegate that duty.

Sec. 2. The officers of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union shall be a president, vice-president, an additional vice-president for each State organized, a secretary, a treasurer, a chaplain, a lecturer, and assistant lecturer, a doorkeeper and assistant doorkeeper and a sergeant-at-arms.

Sec. 3. They shall be elected at each annual meeting from members of the body, and shall be entitled to hold office until their successors are elected and installed; at which time the retiring officers shall immediately become honorary members of the National body for that session only.

Sec. 4. The duties of the officers of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union shall be the duties usually incumbent upon and performed by officers of the same name in similar organizations.

Sec. 5. The president shall be the presiding officer.

Sec. 6. The vice-presidents of the body shall constitute the executive committee and board of trustees.

ARTICLE III.

Section 1. Dues.—Each State organization under the jurisdiction of this body shall pay at each annual session of the body five per cent of the gross cash receipts of the State organization.

Sec. 2. The members of the National Order are expected to present at the regular annual meetings reports of the numerical strength and condition of the order in the State they represent and of the success attending their efforts in co-operation; also mental and moral improvement.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. The president, secretary and chairman of committee on secret work shall constitute a board for the examination of brothers who wish to become organizing officers.

Sec. 2. A brother wishing to become an organizing officer shall present to the above board of examination a recommendation from the president and secretary of his State organization or some other credible authority as to his integrity and moral character, and that he is not addicted to the excessive use of intoxicants; upon receipt of which, it shall be the duty of the examining board to examine the applicant as to his qualification and adaptability to the work.

Sec. 3. If he shall pass a satisfactory examination, he shall be commissioned as organizing officer by the president, which commission shall be attested by the secretary.

Sec. 4. There shall not be more than one organizing officer commissioned in each congressional district in States having no State organization.

Sec. 5. The organizers shall work under instructions from the above-named examining board, and shall report to the National secretary.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of the president to issue a charter, attested by the secretary, to each Alliance organized according to law and instructions, by organizing officers.

Sec. 7. It shall be the duty of the President to issue a charter, attested by the secretary, to any State organization, or farmers in any State, when they comply with the following requirements:

A. That they admit to membership no person unless eligible to membership under the constitution of the State Alliance of Texas, or the State Farmers Union of Louisiana.

B. That they have organizations in as many as three counties in the State for which the charter is desired.

C. That they will adopt and use the secret work of this National association.

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

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

ARTICLE V.

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

ARTICLE VI.

Section 1. This constitution can not be altered or amended, except upon a written resolution, clearly setting forth the change or addition to be made, which shall be read in open session on at least two separate days, and adopted by a two-thirds majority, and not then unless it be ratified by three-fourths of the State organizations of the order within one year.

CONSTITUTION

Of the National Agricultural Wheel of the United States of America.

PREAMBLE.

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

We hold to the principle that all monopolies are dangerous to the best interests of our country, tending to enslave a free people and subvert and finally overthrow the great principles purchased to the principle that all monopolies are dangerous to the best interests of our country, tending to enslave a free people and subvert and finally overthrow the great principles purchased to the

Article V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. The officers shall be a president, a first vice-president, a second vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, a chaplain, one steward, one conductor, one lecturer, one sentinel, and the president shall appoint three trustees annually.

ARTICLE VI.—ELECTIONS AND INSTALLATIONS.

Section 1. The officers shall be elected and installed at each annual meeting in each year.

Sec. 2. All elections shall be by ballot where

more than one name is put in nomination, and

a majority of all votes cast shall elect.

ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The fee for a State charter shall be \$10.

Sec. 2. A per capita tax of five cents shall be paid into the National Agricultural Wheel treasury by each State Agricultural Wheel on or before the first day of each annual meeting, to be paid out by direction of the executive board of this body for actual expenses of the National Agricultural Wheel.

ARTICLE VIII.—QUORUM.

Section 1. Seven representatives shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE IX.—VACANCIES.

Section 1. All vacancies that may occur by death or otherwise shall be filled by the executive Board.

ARTICLE I.—NAMES AND POWERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the National Agricultural Wheel of the United States of America.

Sec. 2. It shall be the body to which all appeals shall be made emanating from the State Agricultural Wheels.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS OF THE ORDER.

Section 1. The objects of the Order shall be to unite fraternally all acceptable citizens, male and female, over the age of eighteen years, who are actually engaged in the occupation of farming; also all mechanics who are engaged in the pursuit of their respective trades; provided that no lawyer, merchant, banker, nor the proprietor of any manufacturing establishment who employs more than three hands shall be eligible to membership; and provided further, that there shall be separate organizations for white and colored.

Sec. 2. To give all possible moral and material aid in its power to its members, and those depending on its members, by holding instructive lectures, by encouraging each other in business, and by assisting each other to obtain employment.

Sec. 3. The improvement of its members in the theory and practice of agriculture, and the dissemination of knowledge relating to rural and farming affairs.

Sec. 4. To ameliorate the condition of farmers in every possible manner.

ARTICLE III.—TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING.

Section 1. Its meetings shall be annually, on the second Wednesday of October, and at such place as shall be determined by a majority of all the representatives present in the National Agricultural Wheel.

ARTICLE IV.—MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1. This National Agricultural Wheel shall be composed of the officers of this body and five representatives from each State Agricultural Wheel, and one additional representative for each fifteen thousand members or majority fraction thereof, to be elected or appointed by each State Agricultural Wheel under the jurisdiction of this body, whose term of office shall expire at the close of the term for which they were elected.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. The officers shall be a president, a first vice-president, a second vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, a chaplain, one steward, one conductor, one lecturer, one sentinel, and the president shall appoint three trustees annually.

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ARTICLE X.—PRINTING.

Section 1. The printing of all State charters, rituals, odes, cards, official receipts, funeral rituals, by-laws, and all other printing matter for the National Agricultural Wheel belongs exclusively to said body, but the constitution of all State, County, and Subordinate Agricultural Wheels, secret work and rituals, shall conform to the constitution and laws of the National Agricultural Wheel.

ARTICLE XI.—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. The National Agricultural Wheel only has power to change or amend its constitution and by-laws.

Sec. 2. This constitution may be amended at any regular meeting of the National Agricultural Wheel by a vote of two-thirds of all the members present, but all amendments must be presented in writing and signed by three or more members.

ARTICLE XII.—EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Section 1. The president and first and second vice-presidents shall constitute the executive board of the National Agricultural Wheel.

ARTICLE XIII.—EXPENSES OF OFFICERS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

Section 1. The legally-elected officers and representatives to the National Agricultural Wheel shall receive as a compensation for their services all actual necessary traveling expenses, to be paid out of the National Agricultural Wheel treasury at the close of each session.

CONSTITUTION

Of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

Whereas, the general condition of our country imperatively demands unity of action on the part of the laboring classes, reformation in economy and dissemination of principles best

calculated to encourage and foster agricultural and mechanical pursuits, encouraging the toiling masses—leading them in the road to prosperity and providing a just and fair remuneration for labor, a just exchange for our commodities, and the best means of securing to the laboring classes the greatest amount of good. We hold to the principle that all monopolies are dangerous to the best interests of our country, tending to enslave a free people and subvert and finally overthrow the great principles purchased to the

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, with power to make its own constitution and by-laws.

ARTICLE II.

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

ARTICLE III.

Section 1. The officers of this body shall be a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and treasurer, who shall be elected at each annual meeting, and whose terms of office shall expire when their successors are duly elected and qualified. Also a chaplain, one steward, one conductor, one doorkeeper, and assistant doorkeeper, who shall be appointed by the president, but whose term of office shall expire at the close of the session for which they are appointed.

Sec. 2. No person shall be eligible to two salaried offices in the State or National organization at the same time.

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

ARTICLE IV.

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

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

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the president to issue a charter, attested by the secretary, to each State organization organized according to law and instructions.

ARTICLE V.

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

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

Sec. 2. The organizer shall work under the instruction of the president, and shall report at least once a quarter to the National secretary.

ARTICLE VI.

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

selected to buy and sell as merchants under the supervision of the order: *Provided further,* That any kind of brokerage, banking, law, or commission business shall debar those engaged in the same from membership.

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

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

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

Sec. 4. That they will not adopt laws or usages contrary to the constitution of this National order.

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

ARTICLE VIII.

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

ARTICLE IX.

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

Are The Bonds Payable Now?

BY ROBERT J. WILLIAMS.

Yes! We the people, in 1788, in our National Constitution, said that "Congress shall have power * * * to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States of America."

Congress, in section 3603 of the Revised Statutes, as adopted in 1873, said that "None of the interest-bearing obligations of the United States of America shall be paid before maturity unless the United States notes [commonly called Treasury notes or greenbacks] are convertible in coin at the pleasure of the holder, or unless bonds bearing a lower rate of interest than the bonds to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin."

As both of those conditions do now exist, it follows unquestionably that the bonds can be redeemed!

But to still further clinch this matter, the act of March 3, 1881, says "the Secretary of the Treasury may apply the surplus money in the Treasury to the redemption of the outstanding bonds of the United States."

Every person who reads this item ought to clip it and inclose it in a short letter—

To President Harrison,
Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C.

It might induce him to stop distributing offices long enough to order the immediate redemption of all outstanding bonds held by the National banks, and thereby wipe out all banks of issue!

If ALL of the bonds were to be called for immediate redemption and all of the \$700,000,000 in the Treasury not held for outstanding certificates, whether of legal-tenders, silver, or gold, it would reduce our National debt to less than \$400,000,000! which could be continued at 2 per cent. interest until paid at the pleasure of the United States!

PAY OFF THAT DEBT AT ONCE!

Farmer vs. Merchant.

The Merchants' Review, New York, March 29th, contains the following:

"THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is the title of a new weekly published at Washington as the official organ of the Farmers Alliance, the Agricultural Wheel and the Farmers Union, the first number of which lies before us. It is a neatly printed and ably edited journal of sixteen pages, and no doubt will receive the pecuniary support of the agricultural interest of this country. It has our best wishes, but we can not sympathize with the aspirations and hopes of the organizations which THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST represents, as they are seeking to dispense with the services of the retail merchant. In the Southern States the Exchanges established by the Farmers Alliance obtain goods direct from the manufacturers and importers, and distribute them among the members. The effects of this new departure must be disastrous to the retail merchant, and when the expense of conducting the Exchanges is reckoned up may not materially benefit the farmer."

This extract shows that even a first-class journal, disposed to be fair and just, may not be correctly informed as to our great farmers' movement. This is not strange, since a metropolitan publication representing mercantile interests may reasonably be supposed to get its information as to the relations existing between the country merchant and the farmer from the aggregate of testimony received from the country merchant himself. And, as a rule, the country merchant has formed entirely wrong conceptions of the Alliance effort, its object and ultimate effect. The merchant is not wholly to blame for the misunderstanding; true, he is naturally suspicious, and prone to condemn any move that is or seems to be calculated to, in any way, modify or affect his present conditions. This is always the case with those who are doing well enough; they seek no change, desire no reform, and are disposed to be suspicious of any modification of conditions. Reform must ever emanate from the ranks of those whose cup of pleasure is not brimming full and running over.

But the Alliance as an organization has grown so rapidly in the last two years that many who joined its ranks have had neither the time nor the opportunity to thoroughly post themselves as to the great principles involved. The organization of all other occupations into associations; the depressed condition of agriculture; the pressure brought to bear by rings, trusts, and combinations, that forces him through his necessities to part with the product of his labor immediately on its creation at a less price than the cost of production; the supposed or reputed neglect by the Government of his interests, while it exercises great solicitude and power to insure favorable returns to the efforts of capitalists, whether they be good causes or not, have combined to make the average agriculturist so discontented with "his environment" as to be ready to grasp the first means of relief offered without stopping to inquire whether it wholly corresponds with his preconceived ideas. In fact, the times were ripe for the organization, and many good and true men have been prompted by their great zeal in the cause and the imminent necessity for action to teach—in the absence of any official interpre-

tation of methods—the methods that to them seemed to be what the Alliance ought to advocate; of course, if their ideas were wrong their teachings were wrong, and the merchants and others were misinformed by those whom they had a right to expect knew the facts. True, this would only happen in very few cases, but it seems that every time an Alliance man has invented doctrines of his own and presented them as those of the Alliance he has been very fortunate in getting for them a wide circulation. The organizations which the ECONOMIST represents are not seeking to dispense with the services of the retail merchant. However, there is a cause of complaint and a distinct issue between the farmers, especially in the cotton and tobacco districts, and the retail merchants. The indictment reads that the retail merchant has as a class—of course there are exceptions—been recreant to the trust reposed in him, and has allowed abuses to creep into the business relations and fatten and grow until they are permanent evils that require reform. He now sits passive, with a full stomach, and does not raise his hand in the conflict between the capitalist and the producer, whereas, if he had a proper conception of the responsibilities resting on him, he would realize that he is to some extent a producer, and that he is at least secondarily interested when farmers are robbed, and that it is his duty as a merchant to protect the interests of his customers, and that his influence should always be thrown into the scales of justice in behalf of such measures as will insure prosperity to his customers. It is a shortsighted policy that the Review and all true merchants will condemn, for a merchant, because he makes his money from the farmers, to sit idly by and let others who perform no utility rob them by combinations to take advantage of their necessities.

The specifications are that he has encouraged and still encourages the credit system, because it augments his profits and his power, and that he gives indiscriminate credit, and as a consequence incurs large losses, which he in turn makes good by extra profits collected from those who pay, and by this system encourages and maintains a worthless, trifling set of dead-beats, who call themselves farmers, at the expense of industrious agriculturists, who never fail to meet their obligations.

The country merchant of the South has, as a rule, been indifferent as to the cost of what he purchases, because, selling on a long credit, he made his profit anyway; he dictates to the farmer how much corn and how much cotton he must plant, and how many acres he must work to the mule, also what doctor he must patronize and what blacksmith. The Alliances propose to correct this by saying they will not go in debt if they possibly can avoid it, consequently they will not be dictated to as to the administration of their personal affairs. Where there are some in a neighborhood that can not in any possible way trade for cash they will meet together in their sub>Alliances and exchange such pledges as will make each one perfectly safe and jointly secure, by borrowing, if necessary, sufficient funds to carry those who are worthy and in need. But

they will certainly sift out the bran. They know how; and if they have the losses to pay, none have so good a right to say who shall have credit, and who not; as a consequence they say to the merchant, "We will not trade at a house that gives credit." We propose to eliminate 'loss and expense of collecting bad debts' as an element in fixing price, and demand a reduction from the customary price equal to the usual allowance made for such items." Surely merchants who are merchants—in fact, who understand the business and operate on their own money—ought to sympathize in this movement. There are some black sheep among the farmers who are always trying to defraud their merchants; there are some black sheep among the retail merchants who are ever trying to beat the wholesale merchant. Good live, wide-awake retail merchants have long since learned that the best place to do their purchasing is not with the house that extends indiscriminate credit on long time and has many large losses to make up, and farmers are beginning to catch on to the same doctrine; but they have to reform their home merchant, while he has many to choose from. The second specification is that the possession of sufficient capital on which to operate is not the custom among the country merchants, but the true merchant who learned the business regularly and would honestly contend for the interest of his customers and operate on his own capital and sell close for cash is crowded to the wall by a set of adventurers who operate on borrowed capital, and as a consequence are slaves to the beck and call of the speculative element of the country. Prior to the introduction of this condition, the season for marketing the cotton crop extended from six to eight months, but now it is all squeezed from the farmers' hands in from six to eight weeks regardless of price. The bulk of the money used in handling the cotton crop has again reached the metropolis by the middle of January, and instead of being used in other channels till the next crop may require it, it is put out through the large city banks to the strongest banks in the cotton States, and they in turn lend it to the country banks, who lend it to the merchants, who exact crop mortgages. About time for the season to commence, the first bank sends a hint, the next bank sends a request, and the country bank makes a demand on the merchant to pay up, and the merchant starts out an army of collectors (generally a hard-looking set) who will hound the planter from the time he gets a bale half picked till they get it to town, and soon the transportation lines are white with cotton. Last year was not favorable to these operations, but the year before cotton jumped up ten dollars a bale about the 20th of October; but, as the season was very early, it had about all left the planters' hands. Formerly cotton was housed by the planter, and when the price suited it was ginned and sold; now there is not one bale in a hundred in many sections that ever goes to a house or pen; it is picked into a wagon standing in the field and hauled direct to the gin and from there to market. The merchant has been recreant to his trust, because these conditions have grown during a

Political Economy.

NO. 3

The mercantile system was advocated by all of the earlier writers on political economy; and, guided by its teachings, governments gained some very instructive but expensive experience in their efforts to control commerce and production by arbitrary and restrictive measures. Adam Smith is usually credited with having first produced the argument that successfully controverted the doctrines of this system.

In the efforts of mankind to secure gain there has always been a well-marked division into two classes: those who sought to gain on the merit of their own efforts in production and therefore created a new value which augmented not only their own individual wealth, but the aggregate of wealth in the world, and those who could conceive of no method of acquiring gain except at the expense of some other persons, and whose gains therefore, while they increased the individual wealth of the possessor, were no addition to the volume of existing wealth in the world. In every effort of mankind this division as to actuating principle is visible whether in the race for wealth or renown; some strive to rise by pulling others down, and some by the strength and merit of their own efforts, and, as shown by a measure and proper estimate of the results of their efforts, one is a benefit to society and the other is not. One is essential to the prosperity of the nation, and the other is an actual drawback to prosperity because it thrives at the expense of the class that causes such prosperity. The same principles that apply to individuals in their relations to each other apply also to governments in their relations to other governments.

The mercantile system was based on the doctrine that there could be no national prosperity or gain in national wealth except at the expense of some other nation, or as a result of gain from foreign trade; and as money was by that system considered wealth, and the only form of wealth, they held that, aside from conquest, the only means whereby a nation could gain in wealth (unless it contained mines of the precious metals) was to export products and commodities and exact specie in return. They considered the balance of trade in favor of a country when it exported more commodities or products than it imported, and when it imported more specie than it exported. In accordance with the teachings of this doctrine governments enacted restrictive laws either prohibiting the importation of foreign articles of consumption, with a view of forcing its constituents to produce them at home or use a substitute, or they exacted heavy import duties in order to discourage the importation of such commodities; at the same time they prohibited the exportation of specie. Surely, since a modification of this doctrine, containing the same principles, is often contended for by the most modern publications, it is pertinent and may be instructive to review the effects of such measures according to standard authors. The designing are ever ready to take advantage of the superficial plausibility of the system to impose on those not qualified to

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refute the sophistry contained in this doctrine. A leading Washington newspaper arraigned the Democratic party the day after Mr. Harrison's inauguration, and declared that its reign had tended to impoverish the country because during the last year imports had exceeded exports, and the article was so ingeniously contrived as to appear sound to the casual observer.

M. Say, in his "Political Economy," says: "In France, about the year 1794, there were some persons persecuted, and even brought to the scaffold, for having converted corn land into pasture, yet the moment these unhappy people found it more profitable to feed cattle than to grow corn one might have been sure that society stood more in need of cattle than of corn, and that greater value could be produced in one way than in the other." But France was carrying out the mercantile system, and wanted to discourage the importation of corn. The same author says: "In condemning our lands to the growth of products ill-suited to them, instead of those they are better calculated for, and consequently buying very dear what we might have cheap enough if we would consent to receive them from places where they are produced with advantage, we are ourselves the victims of our own absurdity. It is the very acme of skill to turn the powers of nature to best account, and the height of madness to contend against them; which is in fact wasting part of our strength, in destroying those powers she designed for our aid."

"The national convention of France prohibited the import of raw hides from Spain on the plea that they injured the trade of those in France, not observing that the self-same hides went back to Spain in a tanned state. The tanneries of France, being obliged to procure the raw article at too dear a rate, were quickly abandoned; and the manufacture was transferred to Spain, along with a great part of the capital and many of the hands employed."

"An evil of the same description was occasioned, when, at another period, the proprietors were compelled to cultivate beet-root or wood in lieu of grain; indeed, we may observe, *en passant*, that it is always a bad speculation to attempt raising the products of the torrid, under the sun of the temperate latitudes. The saccharine and coloring juices raised, on the European soils, with all the forcing in the world are very inferior in quantity and quality to those that grow in profusion in other climates; while, on the other hand, those soils yield abundance of grain and fruits too bulky and heavy to be imported from a distance."

"Again, it is laid down as a maxim that it is better to buy products dear, when the price remains in the country, than to get them cheap from foreign growers. On this point I must refer my readers to that analysis of production which we have just gone through. It will there be seen that products are not to be obtained without some sacrifice—without the consumption of commodities and productive services in some ratio or other, the value of which is in this way as completely lost to the community as if it were to be exported."

"The exclusive system proceeds upon these maxims: first, that the commerce of a nation is advantageous, in proportion, as its exports exceed its imports, and as there is a larger cash balance receivable in specie, or in the precious metals; second, that by means of duties, prohibitions, and bounties, the government can make that balance more in favor of, or less against, the nation."

"It may reasonably be assumed that merchants, when left the free choice of what goods they will speculate in, will prefer those that offer the largest profit; that is to say, those which will bear the greatest value when they

arrive at the place of destination. For example, a French merchant has consigned brandies to England, and has to receive from England for such his consignment, £1,000 sterling; he naturally sits down to calculate the difference between what he will receive if he imports his £1,000 in the shape of the precious metals, and what he will receive if he import that sum in the shape of cotton manufactures."

"It may be well here to point out a manifest blunder of some partisans of the exclusive system. They look upon nothing that a nation receives from abroad as a national gain, except what is received in the form of specie; which is, in effect, to maintain that a hatter who sells a hat for five dollars gains the whole five dollars, because he receives it in specie. But this can't be; money, like other things, is itself a commodity. A French merchant consigns to England brandies to the amount of 20,000 francs; his commodity was equivalent in France to that sum in specie; if it sell in England for £1,000 sterling, and that sum remitted in gold, or receive 24,000 francs in specie. And, should the merchant lay out his £1,000 sterling in cotton goods, and be able to sell them in France for 28,000 francs, there would then be a gain to the importer and to the nation of 8,000 francs, although no specie whatever had been brought into the country. In short, the gain is precisely the excess of the value received above the value given for it, whatever be the form in which the import is made."

"It is curious enough that the more lucrative external commerce is, the greater must be the excess of the import above the export; and that the very thing which the partisans of the exclusive system deprecate as a calamity is of all things to be desired. I will explain why. When there has been an export of 10,000,000, and an import in return of 11,000,000, there is in the nation a value of 1,000,000 more than before the interchange. And, in spite of the specious statements of the balance of commerce, this must almost always be so; otherwise, the traders would gain nothing. In fact, the value of the export is estimated at its value before shipment, which is increased by the time it reaches its destination; with this augmented value the return is purchased, which also receives a like accession of value by the transport. The value of this import is estimated at the time of entry. Thus, the result is the presence of a value equal to that exported, plus the gains outward and homeward; when, in a thriving country, the value of the total imports should always exceed that of the exports. What, then, are we to think of the report of the French Minister of the Interior of 1813, who makes the total exports to have been 383,000,000 of francs, and the total imports, exclusive of specie, but 350,000,000, a statement upon which he felicitates a nation, as the most favorable that had ever been presented; whereas this balance shows, on the contrary, what everybody felt and knew, that the commerce of France was then making immense losses, in consequence of the blunders of her administration, and the total ignorance of the first principles of political economy."

"Would you put a stop to the emigration of capital? Is it not to be prevented by keeping specie in the country? A man resolved to transfer his capital elsewhere can do it just as effectually by the consignment of goods whose export is permitted. So much the better, we may be told, for our manufacturers will benefit by the exports. True, but their value exists no longer in the nation, since they bring back no return whence with to make new purchases; there has been a transfer of so much capital from among you to give activity, not to your own, but to some other nation's industry. This is a real ground of apprehension. Capital naturally flows to those places that hold out security and lucra-

tive employment and gradually retires from countries offering no such advantages; but it may easily enough retire without being ever converted into specie."

"On this point it has been alleged that, by sending abroad goods instead of specie, a demand is created for goods and the producers enabled to make a profit upon their production. I answer that, even when specie is sent abroad, that specie must have first obtained by the export of some indigenous product; for we may rest assured that the foreign owner of it did not give it to the French importer for nothing; and France had nothing to offer in the first instance but her domestic products."

"But I will go a step farther, and, having shown that there is no advantage in importing gold and silver more than any other article of merchandise, I will assert that, supposing it were desirable to have the balance of trade always in our favor, yet it is morally impossible it should be so."

"To what good purpose, then, do governments labor to turn the balance of commerce in favor of their respective nations? To none, whatever, unless, perhaps, to exhibit the show of financial advantages, unsupported by fact or experience. How can maxims so clear, so aggressive to plain common sense and to facts attested by all who have made commerce their study, have yet been rejected in practice by all the ruling powers of Europe—nay, even have been attacked by a number of writers that have evinced both genius and information on other subjects? To speak the truth, it is because the first principles of political economy are as yet but little known; because ingenious systems and reasonings have been built upon hollow foundations and taken advantage of on the one hand by intrusted rulers, who employ prohibition as a weapon of offense or an instrument of revenue; and, on the other, by the personal avarice of merchants and manufacturers, who have a private interest in exclusive measures, and take but little pains to inquire whether their profits arise from actual production or from a simultaneous loss thrown upon other classes of the community.

"A determination to maintain a favorable balance of trade—that is to say, to export goods and receive returns of specie—is, in fact, a determination to have no foreign trade at all; for the nation with whom the trade is to be carried on can only give in exchange what it has to give. If one party will receive nothing but the precious metals, the other party may come to a similar resolution; and, when both parties require the same commodity, there is no possibility of any exchange."

All these quotations from Mr. Say's able work on political economy show what a decided position he occupied on this question. The following extracts are from Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," and are highly interesting and conclusive:

"In consequence of those popular notions all the different nations of Europe have studied, though to little purpose, every possible means of accumulating gold and silver in their respective countries. Spain and Portugal, the proprietors of the principal mines which supply Europe with those metals, have either prohibited their exportation under the severest penalties, or subjected it to a considerable duty. The like prohibition seems anciently to have made a part of the policy of most other European nations. It is even to be found, when we should least of all expect it, in some old Scotch acts of Parliament, which forbade, under heavy penalties, the carrying of gold or silver forth of the kingdom. The like policy anciently took place both in France and England."

"The restraints upon importation were of two kinds:

"First, restraints upon the importation of such foreign goods for home consumption as could be produced at home, from whatever country they were imported.

"Secondly, restraints upon the importation of goods of almost all kinds, from those particular countries, with which the balance of trade was supposed to be disadvantageous.

"Those different restraints consisted sometimes in high duties, and sometimes in absolute prohibitions. Exportation was encouraged sometimes by drawbacks, sometimes by bounties, sometimes by advantageous treaties of commerce with foreign states, and sometimes by the establishment of colonies in distant countries.

"Drawbacks were given upon two different occasions. When the home manufacturers were subject to any duty or excise, either the whole or a part of it was frequently drawn back upon their exportation; and when foreign goods liable to a duty were imported, in order to be exported again, either the whole or a part of this duty was sometimes given back upon such exportation.

"Bounties were given for the encouragement, either of some beginning manufactures, or of such sorts of industry of other kinds as were supposed to deserve particular favor.

"By advantageous treatise of commerce, particular privileges were procured in some foreign state for the goods and merchants of the country, beyond what were granted to those of other countries.

By the establishment of colonies in distant countries, not only particular privileges, but a monopoly was frequently procured for the goods and merchants of the country which established them.

"The two sorts of restraints upon importation above-mentioned, together with these four encouragements to exportation, constitute the six principal means by which the commercial system proposes to increase the quantity of gold and silver in any country, by turning the balance of trade in its favor."

"By restraining, either by high duties, or by absolute prohibitions, the importation of such goods from foreign countries as can be produced at home, the monopoly of the home market is more or less secured to the domestic industry employed in producing them."

"That this monopoly of the home market frequently gives great encouragement to that particular species of industry which enjoys it, and frequently turns toward that employment a greater share of both the labor and stock of the society than would otherwise have gone to it, can not be doubted. But whether it tends either to increase the general industry of the society, or to give it the most advantageous direction, is not, perhaps, altogether so evident."

"Merchants and manufacturers are the people who derive the greatest advantage from this monopoly of home market."

"Country gentlemen and farmers, dispersed in different parts of the country, can not so easily combine as merchants and manufacturers, who, being collected into towns, and accustomed to that exclusive corporation spirit which prevails in them, naturally endeavor to obtain against all their countrymen the same exclusive privilege which they generally possess against the inhabitants of their respective towns. They, accordingly, seem to have been the original inventors of those restraints upon the importation of foreign goods, which secure to them the monopoly of the home market."

"Taxes imposed with a view to prevent, or even to diminish, importation are evidently as destructive of the revenue of the customs as of the freedom of trade."

"Nothing, however, can be more absurd than this whole doctrine of the balance of trade, upon

which not only these restraints, but almost all the other regulations of commerce, are founded. When two places trade with one another, this doctrine supposes that, if the balance be even, neither of them either loses or gains; but if it leans in any degree to one side, that one of them loses and the other gains, in proportion to its declension from the exact equilibrium. Both suppositions are false. A trade which is forced by means of bounties and monopolies may be, and commonly is, disadvantageous to the country in whose favor it is meant to be established, as I shall endeavor to show hereafter."

"That it was the spirit of monopoly which originally both invented and propagated this doctrine can not be doubted, and they who first taught it were by no means such fools as they who believe it. In every country it always is, and must be, the interest of the great body of the people to buy whatever they want of those who sell it cheapest. The proposition is so very manifest that it seems ridiculous to take any pains to prove it; nor could it ever have been called in question had not the interested sophistry of merchants and manufacturers confounded the common sense of mankind. Their interest is, in this respect, directly opposite to that of the greatest body of the people. As it is the interest of the freemen of a corporation to hinder the rest of the inhabitants from employing any workmen but themselves, so it is the interest of the merchants and manufacturers of every country to stimulate a demand for the commodities he exports and, by bringing a foreign article of consumption to this country and exchanging it for our native product, he stimulates production here in such branches as are best suited to the here existing conditions. These conclusions, although at variance with what, at first sight, seems to be the effect of a balance of trade, are borne out forcibly by facts and experience. From 1775 to 1815 the imports exceeded the exports, with the exception of the years 1811 and 1813; an average of the increase was about one and three-eighths times as much import as export. And this was one of the most remarkably prosperous periods in the history of the country, and it continued on to the close of Monroe's administration, in 1824, although the excess of imports had gradually diminished, until, at the commencement of John Quincy Adams' administration, the exports and imports were about equal, and from then to 1836 the excess of imports gradually increased, except a reaction in favor of exports in 1830. In 1836 the excess of imports was one and one-half to one, which, in 1838, a period of two years, was entirely changed and showed an actual excess of exports, and during that time the country experienced the panic of 1837. In 1840 and '43 and '47 there was an actual excess of exports over imports; but, aside from that, the balance of the present disturbances may serve as a proof that this is by no means an impossible supposition."

"To hurt, in any degree, the interests of any one order of citizens, for no other purpose but to promote that of some other, is evidently contrary to that justice and equality of treatment which the sovereign owes to all the different orders of his subjects."

"It can not be very difficult to determine who have been the contrivers of this whole mercantile system; not the consumers, we may believe, whose interest has been entirely neglected; but the producers, whose interest has been so carefully attended to; and among this latter class, our merchants and manufacturers have been by far the principal architects. In the mercantile regulations which have been taken notice of in this chapter, the interest of our manufacturers has been most peculiarly attended to; and the interest, not so much

of the consumers, as that of some other sets of producers, has been sacrificed to it."

These quotations show conclusively the opinions of the most eminent authors upon this subject; but since they are based upon conditions that have been greatly modified since they were written, they do not carry the weight that they once did as tariff arguments; but the principle they breathe is sound, when it is claimed that government gained no advantages, and in fact was gradually but surely impoverished, by the restrictions placed upon importation and the bounties given for exportation in the vain hope of increasing the specie in the country. The true doctrine is that a country is benefited by the increased value of foreign trade regardless of which way the balance of trade may be, because the individuals that embark in trade will always be in harmony with their own interests, conduct their operations at a profit, and as a consequence, when profitable, extend their trade and increase its volume; and when unprofitable, the volume will be diminished. Again, if the return for exports is exacted in money the foreign trade is profitable only on the export; whereas if the American citizen exported commodities and sold them at a profit in a foreign country, and invested the proceeds in that foreign country and imported same to this country at another profit, he would gain on both transactions or in two ways; and not only him, but this Government would be that much the richer. But that is not all; he would, by having exchanged commodities in a foreign land, have used their native products to stimulate a demand for the commodities he exports and, by bringing a foreign article of consumption to this country and exchanging it for our native product, he stimulates production here in such branches as are best suited to the here existing conditions. These conclusions, although at variance with what, at first sight, seems to be the effect of a balance of trade, are borne out forcibly by facts and experience. From 1775 to 1815 the imports exceeded the exports, with the exception of the years 1811 and 1813; an average of the increase was about one and three-eighths times as much import as export. And this was one of the most remarkably prosperous periods in the history of the country, and it continued on to the close of Monroe's administration, in 1824, although the excess of imports had gradually diminished, until, at the commencement of John Quincy Adams' administration, the exports and imports were about equal, and from then to 1836 the excess of imports gradually increased, except a reaction in favor of exports in 1830. In 1836 the excess of imports was one and one-half to one, which, in 1838, a period of two years, was entirely changed and showed an actual excess of exports, and during that time the country experienced the panic of 1837. In 1840 and '43 and '47 there was an actual excess of exports over imports; but, aside from that, the balance of the present disturbances may serve as a proof that this is by no means an impossible supposition."

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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 the principles and objects of the same.

The Farmers' Associations that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST represents 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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EVERY day brings additional evidence of the wisdom of the National Alliance and National Wheel in providing for the establishment of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST at Washington.

ENGLAND, by her policy of developing manufacture and trade, bids her farm laborers emigrate or starve, and tenant farmers are compelled to sacrifice their birthright for a mess of English pottage or Scotch oatmeal to eke out a meager subsistence upon their native soil. Will it ever be so in America? The answer is written, unless land speculation and monopoly is crushed, and that promptly.

OVERPRODUCTION seems to be a great bugaboo to the capitalistic economist, and yet it seems that the idea never occurs to him that if labor received sufficient return to meet the demands of comfort overproduction could not be possible; or he prefers to take an undue proportion of the creations of labor, without giving adequate return, to receiving the same amount in the shape of profit on his goods consumed by labor.

AS WILL be seen by a comparison of the constitution of the National Wheel and the National Alliance with the constitution proposed in the place of both as the constitution of The Farmers and Laborers Union of America, all three of which are published in another column, there is very little difference, and such differences as there are will not make it necessary to change in any way the constitution of any State, county, or subordinate Wheel, Alliance, or Union. It is simply a new constitution for the National body that is offered for ratification. The new constitution involves a change of name for the National body, but no change for State, county, or subordinate bodies is necessary. It changes the mode of raising revenue to defray the expenses of the National body, increasing the amount very reasonably so that it will be adequate to transact the business. It does not change the qualifications for membership; does not widen the door a particle in any direction. It does not change the declaration of purposes. It does change the officers, cutting down the number very materially, and thereby reducing the expenses of the annual meeting.

THE pay of a farm laborer in Brazil is forty-three cents per day and board in contracts for five months. He is expected to cultivate three thousand coffee trees and harvest the crop, or, if on sugar plantation, three and a half acres of cane, besides his share of the cutting, and must raise provisions enough for himself and family.

THE eleven States lying between the Potomac River and the Rio Grande is eighteen times as large as the State of Ohio, and three and a half times the size of France and Germany. The population is seventeen to the square mile, while in Germany the percentage is six times as much, and in France five times as much.

RUSSIA possesses about one-seventh of the land of the whole world, over two million square miles in Europe and over six millions in Asia. Its people number one hundred millions, according to the most reliable estimates, eighty-five millions of whom are in European Russia, making an average of forty to the square mile, while in Asia there are scarcely two to the square mile. It is essentially an agricultural nation. Although so largely agricultural, Russia produces only nineteen bushels of cereals per capita, while the United States, with only 44 per cent. of her population engaged in agriculture, produces over forty-nine bushels per capita for her entire people.

European Russia, with a population of eighty-five millions almost entirely agricultural, produces about thirty-three million tons of grain; while the United States, with a population of only fifty millions, only 44 per cent. of whom were engaged in agriculture, produced in 1879 sixty-three million tons. The two countries represent the extremes of governmental policies.

THE initial number of the ECONOMIST has been liberally distributed in every section of the Union, and the response is, so far, most flattering. The people have shown their appreciation and approval in most liberal lists from all sections. Sample copies have been sent to all Alliance secretaries for distribution, and it is hoped that each one will interest himself especially to organize a club promptly, so that subscribers, especially the Alliance brotherhood, can begin with the first issue. Of course, back numbers can be sent, but it necessitates unnecessary labor and expense, while a very little trouble on the part of agents will complete their clubs promptly. Let no sub>Alliance or Wheel be without a copy of the ECONOMIST. It guarantees a perfect means of intercourse between the various organizations throughout the Union, and insures harmony of action, while it prevents misunderstanding and brings the whole agricultural element together every week for consultation and consideration of vital questions. Thus all can act in unison and the effect of every effort will be irresistible. Let every agent and friend who has received sample copies organize at least one club immediately, act promptly and together, and our representative journal will soon be at the head in point of circulation.

Will the Alliances Ratify?

The State of Texas is the birth-place of the great Farmers Alliance movement that is now attracting attention throughout the entire world. There the order was started and grew to magnificent proportions before an effort was made to extend the work with a view of uniting the agriculturists of the whole country.

In August, 1886, the Farmers State Alliance had represented at its regular annual meeting over 2,700 subordinate Alliances, composed of a membership then estimated at about 160,000, and organization was progressing so rapidly that the State secretary found several assistants necessary. In January, 1887, it was necessary to hold a called meeting of the State Alliance in that State, and the acting president having learned that the Farmers Union of Louisiana was an organization having the same constitution, objects, purposes, and in every way identical except in name, sent a delegate from the Texas Alliance to the meeting of the Farmers State Union with a friendly greeting and overtures tending toward a concert of action and an invitation to the Union to send a delegate to the called session of the State Alliance of Texas. The delegate was cordially received by the State Union, his overtures accepted courteously and responded to by electing a delegate to the Texas State Alliance and conferring on him full power to represent the Louisiana State Union in any effort to extend the work.

When the State Alliance of Texas met in called session, the action of the acting president in inviting a representation from the Louisiana Union was approved and ratified by receiving the delegate and electing a delegation from the Alliance composed of two from each Congressional district and three from the State at large, as representatives of the Farmers State Alliance of Texas, to meet with the delegation from the Farmers State Union of Louisiana and organize a National Alliance for the purpose of extending the work into other States. These delegations went into immediate session, elected officers, and adopted a constitution, which was immediately referred to the State Alliance of Texas, still in session, and by it unanimously ratified, and shortly after it was ratified by the State Union of Louisiana. Immediately after adjournment the president filed articles of incorporation in the District of Columbia as a National trade union. The only action taken at the first meeting of the National Alliance, besides electing officers and adopting a constitution, was to select the next place of meeting (Shreveport, La.), and adopt a resolution that all friendly labor organizations be requested to send delegates to the next meeting. All this dry detail is here published to show exactly the plan pursued in the beginning, as it is now important that all should thoroughly understand the entire policy that has thus far been pursued in the extension of the work.

Note carefully that the very first step taken was by Texas, and that it involved, not conquest or evangelization, but consolidation. It did not seek to conquer the State Union by an aggressive war; it did not seek to set the Union aside and build up the Alliance in Louis-

iana by sending evangelist organizers in that State to work for the cause, but it proposed to consolidate with the Union, accept the foundations already laid, if properly laid, and both together put their united power in operation to erect the superstructure. This was evidently the best, most practical, and most economical way to proceed.

Resolved, That we, as delegates of the Farmers Alliance and Agricultural Wheel, agree to accept, as a basis of union, the secret work of the Alliance and the National constitution of the same; each State accepting this basis of union to retain such name as they now have if they so desire.

Resolved, That the eligibility clause in the National Alliance be explained by statutory enactment, showing that the State Alliance of Texas or the State Farmers Union of Louisiana have no power to change this eligibility.

Signed: J. H. McDowell, Tennessee Agricultural Wheel; R. F. Butler, B. F. Rogers, Evan Jones, and J. C. Jones.

The provisions of the resolution providing for the committee were carried out by the appointment of the National lecturer, Bro. Ben Terrell, to visit the National Agricultural Wheel in November, 1887, and present for their consideration the plan agreed to by this conference committee and accepted by the Alliance. He was cordially received, and the National Wheel, for the purpose of consolidating with the National Alliance, adjourned to meet with the National Alliance at Meridian, Miss., at its regular session in October, 1888. In the meantime President Evan Jones, of Texas, visited a meeting of representatives of the Northwestern Farmers Alliance as a member of the committee from the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, and made overtures tending to a better understanding, and at the regular meeting of National Alliance, in 1888, made report of the friendly feeling existing and of the strong probability of successful concert of action, but no delegation from the Northwestern Alliances was present at the Meridian meeting. It seems that the committee appointed to visit the Northwestern Alliances had, besides the authority conferred by the resolution introduced by Ansley, the further powers conferred by the following resolution introduced by Eddleman, of Texas, and adopted by the body:

Resolved, That the president of the Farmers National Alliance and Co-operative Union of America be, and he is hereby, instructed to appoint suitable members of the Farmers Alliance as visitors to go to the Northwestern States and confer with the leaders of the Northern Farmers Alliance looking to a speedy union of the whole interest of the agricultural classes under such instructions as may be in accordance with our constitution.

The effect of all these overtures made by the Alliance was that the National Agricultural Wheel, as a body, and two delegates from the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association of Illinois met with the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America at its regular session in Meridian, Miss., in December, 1888, and the delegates representing the three bodies conferred together four days as a committee of the whole and agreed upon a plan of consolidation by adopting unanimously a constitution to be submitted to the States for ratification on the part of the Wheel and Alliance and to be submitted to the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association and other farmers' organizations for adoption as a basis of our grand amalgamation and perfect union of all strictly farmers' organ-

izations. As soon as a State organization of farmers ratifies or accepts this proposed constitution, by which act they acknowledge the supremacy of and pledge allegiance to the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, the president-elect of that body is authorized to issue his dispensation that the secret work be conferred upon the proper officers of such State organization with power to confer on all members of that order in that State. When three-fourths of the State Alliances have ratified the constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and thereby gone into that association, it becomes the duty of the president of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America to so proclaim to the order, and the same applies to the National Agricultural Wheel, after the publication of which two proclamations, these two presidents join the president-elect of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America in a proclamation declaring both orders merged into the new one, that henceforth wields all power, and to which properly belongs all allegiance from both the pre-existing orders. As we have seen, the ratification of the proposed constitution does not compel any State organization to change its name. It may retain any name it chooses. It simply participates in a confederated form of republican government with other organizations of farmers, in which the National government is called the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and the State governments preserve their individuality as they always have in their powers and name and in the jurisdiction over their own affairs, provided they do not conflict with the National constitution. But the constitution, both old and new, will be made the subject of future articles in the ECONOMIST. The object of this article is to present a view of the plan on which effort has thus far been expended to create growth and power. The plan has been to secure rapid and great accessions of numbers by consolidation with like organizations. It has never been the policy to try to conquer like organizations by war, nor to undermine them with missionaries. In all these efforts tending toward consolidation the Alliance has taken the initiative and has been the aggressive party. It has in every case made the overtures and insisted on the combination. It has gone almost to an extreme in liberality and agreed to give up its cherished name and allow a new name entirely for the National body. It seems to be one of the cardinal principles of the Alliance to combine, to unite, to harmonize, and to unify all the efforts being made in behalf of the agricultural producer until they will be an irresistible champion of right and justice. Can any man, after noting all this, have any doubt as to what the Alliance will do when the time comes for it to ratify the new constitution? Surely not. That is the great object the Alliance has been striving for.

IN 1870 the proportion of the population of the United States engaged in agriculture was 47 per cent. By increasing the use of labor-saving implements and the employment of better methods of cultivation 40 per cent., it is estimated, can supply the entire population.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE.

R. F. Butler, B. F. Rogers, and Evan Jones,

Book Notices.

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, consisting of six numbers a year, at 75 cents each or \$4.00 per year. Baltimore, Md.

The January number of this publication is entitled "The Stability of Prices." By Simon N. Patten, Ph. D., professor political economy Wharton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

From the high standing of the publishers and the author of the above publication, the reader is led to expect something extraordinary on that much-discussed but poorly understood subject price. Whether a perusal of the book will enable him to fully realize this expectation or not will perhaps depend on whether he can agree with the author and accept his conclusions or not. The conclusion probably formed by a majority of readers will be that he will have to produce better arguments to show that trusts and combines are a benefit because they produce stability of price, before that doctrine will be to any extent accepted. His doctrine, also, that governments should collect more taxes in order to be more paternal, is not calculated to spread very rapidly. If government should take by taxation all the surplus labor, may produce, and encourage trusts and combines to regulate prices, the laborer would be certainly barred from ever accumulating anything, and such stable prices would rob the great middle classes of what they had already accumulated and create a nation of millionaires and paupers; one of whom would make "stable prices," and therefore be independent of them, and the other, since he could get no more than a bare subsistence, and society owed him that regardless of expense, would be indifferent to "stable prices." Verily, stability of prices by such methods and with such disastrous results is the last thing necessary.

REPORT ON DISTRIBUTION AND CONSUMPTION OF CORN AND WHEAT, AND ON FREIGHT RATES OF TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES. MARCH, 1889. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. REPORT OF STATISTICIAN. NO. 60.

This is a very valuable report, containing carefully prepared statistics tabulated in a convenient form for reference and comparison.

Perhaps no contributor to the cause of agriculture is better known to the readers of the many agricultural papers of the South and West than Jeff Welbourn. His writings have been replete with practical hints and valuable suggestions, calculated to assist the farmer in getting better results from his labors, and the beauty of his articles has always been that they were practical and based on practical experience, and calculated to be of actual benefit in the field. Mr. Welbourn is now compiling the results of his literary efforts into a book which he publishes for the benefit of the agriculturists of America, and sells it at the extremely low price of 30 cents. Send all orders to Welbourn Bros., New Boston, Texas.

THE extreme value produced in India by agriculture is about eight dollars per capita per annum. With three times the population of the United States, almost entirely occupied in agriculture, the value produced is only equal to about half that produced here.

Are Middle-men Producers?

BY T. D. HINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILL.

Here are three quotations from "Progress and Poverty": Page 13—"Men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion." Page 38—"It is too narrow an understanding of production which confines it merely to the making of things. Production includes, not merely the making of things, but the bringing of them to the consumers. The merchant or storekeeper is thus as truly a producer as is the manufacturer or farmer, and his stock or capital is as much devoted to production as is theirs." Page 59—"The demand for consumption determines the direction in which labor will be expended in production."

The truth contained in the first quotation probably vitiates the reasoning by which the conclusion in each of the other two is reached. Our vast army of middle-men, whom we farmers have long regarded as necessary evils at the best, are in the second quotation made to appear to be as efficient wealth-producers as we are; and the third quotation, taken in conjunction with the second, plainly tells us that "the demand for consumption" will regulate the size to which our army of merchants, transporters, and go-betweens generally will attain.

Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that merchants, storekeepers, and transporters are wealth-producers. It can not be denied that measuring calico, weighing up sugar and other groceries, and figuring up and recording bills of lading are much neater and more desirable modes of production than is farming, pursued as it must be in blistering heat and blinding cold, through drenching rains and blinding snows, and all the time with the most laborious and exacting efforts. It can not be denied that storekeeping and merchandising, even though one is engaged in it in the humble capacity of a clerk, is a much pleasanter mode of production than is mining coal or iron ore or manufacturing the products of our fields and mines and forests into the finished articles required by the consumer.

Since this is true, may it not be that the fundamental law of political economy, "that men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion," has something to do, nay, very much to do, in determining the direction in which they will expend their labor? May it not be that many farmers and miners, and other wealth producers of their class, coming in daily contact with the village storekeeper or city merchant as they do, and, instituting comparisons as they will between their own hard life of exacting toil and the gentle life of the merchant, be filled with a desire that their boys, if not themselves, shall renounce their fathers' calling and engage in that of the merchant? May it not be that this is what has been going on in this country for many years, until now we have a vast army of middle-men, whose genteel mode of life is only attainable through collusion with each other? Every cross-road village in this State has from three to six, and many of them more, stores where one, or at most two, would answer every purpose. These stores are all dependent upon the wealth produced by one or two hundred families for their support. And when a farmer takes in his produce—eggs, butter, or whatever it may be—he had as well stop at the first as to go to the second or third. Prices paid by each are the same, and so he will find it when he makes his purchases. One will do as well by him as the other and no better. Competition does not exist. Combination is the rule, and, in fact, where so comparatively many are gratifying their desires at the expense of the comparatively few it must ever be the rule.

If there was no other factor in determining the direction in which labor should be expended in agriculture, the value produced is only equal to about half that produced here.

would not have one middle-man where we now have many times that number. That five or six stores in a country town will each sell goods cheaper than one would if it had a monopoly of the trade, does not prove that five or six stores are better than one, or that five or six stores can sell cheaper than one, but it does attest to the truth of the statement that "men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion," and the one store having abundant opportunity, its keeper proceeds to gratify his desires in the most approved style. Storekeepers and merchants may be producers, but theirs is a style of production that can easily be overdone, while, so far as the material comforts of life are concerned, it is utterly impossible for farmers, miners, mechanics, or manufacturers to overproduce. Within certain limits, as necessary factors in exchange, storekeepers and merchants can and will add to the ability of others to produce, and, in so far as they do this, they may be properly classed with wealth-producers; but when the limit is reached, all merchants and storekeepers beyond it are, to the real wealth-producers, what drones in a hive are to the working bees—something to be got rid of without ceremony and as speedily as possible.

The single tax on land values proposes to relieve the stress upon wealth producers by throwing open "natural opportunities," but for every such opportunity opened up in the shape of a farm, mine, or bit of forest there will be a city "natural opportunity" opened up in the shape of a city lot, and there will be two applicants for the city opportunity, for every one for the country opportunity, simply because the farm, mine, and forest represent opportunities where wealth may be made by hard labor, while the city lot represents an opportunity where wealth may be got by scheming for it, simply because our cities, with their artificial law-created opportunities, represent the only medium through which immense fortunes may be acquired. When the heart of the labor problem is reached it will be found to consist, not in land monopoly alone, but in the condition of things under which the per cent. of our population who live in cities has grown from 3 per cent. in 1790 to 22 per cent. in 1880. Farmers, generally, believe that the larger our cities are the better it will be for them. Their belief would be correct if our cities were inhabited principally by people who were engaged in self-sustaining, wealth producing industry; but if their inhabitants are principally Mr. George's kind of wealth-producers—storekeepers, merchants, transporters, and others—who are engaged in getting wealth by exacting toll from what passes through their hands, then the smaller they are and the fewer and farther between they are the better it will be for farmers and all other wealth-producing laborers.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the National Farmers Alliance and the business agents of the State Alliances of Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Dakota, and Washington Territory, at Des Moines, Iowa, March 12-13, 1889, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Believing that one of the most important movements we can undertake is to handle our own grain until it reaches the consumer, as nearly as possible, we would recommend to the farmers of the Northwest co-operation with that end in view. The Scandinavian Elevator Company, organized by the farmers of Dakota for this purpose, should receive our cordial endorsement and encouragement. We would suggest that the name be changed to "The Alliance Elevator Company," that it may the more readily be recognized as an Alliance institution."

Jute Bagging.

BY T. A. CLAYTON,
State Agent Farmers Union Commercial Association of Louisiana.

The manufacturers of jute bagging have got everything arranged for another heavy raid on our pockets next fall. The prime movers in the last year's bagging trust have been able to secure control of almost all the available raw material, and this has enabled them to dictate terms to the mills who were not in the trust last year, by which they are able to control the production and fix the price of bagging at whatever figures they choose. The men at the head of this new movement are Messrs. Gratz, Jones & Warren, whose names we have not forgotten since last year.

If we wish to do anything that will protect ourselves effectually against their schemes for the coming season, it behoves us to act at once. It would require the manufacture of about fifty million yards of bagging between now and the end of the year to cover an average crop, and a good many large mills are already being shut up under the trust arrangements. There are no cotton mills in position to commence to manufacture a full width of cotton bagging. All the looms in the South turn out an article about six inches narrower than is required to cover cotton bales. The owners of these mills do not feel inclined to go to the expense of putting in special looms, or of devoting any considerable part of the work of their mills to turn out an article of cotton bagging until they are certain that, when produced, it will be used; and, even then, they would not be prepared to devote the full force of their establishments to turn out such an article; but would make whatever they could of it in addition to their other cotton dry goods, of which they can dispose as much as they can possibly manufacture. The Lane mills, where the cotton bagging was first made, could turn out about five hundred thousand yards per month, running full time, if supplied with the necessary looms and other machinery to do the work to best advantage, and if producing nothing else. If they ran night and day they might produce about a million yards per month under favorable circumstances. So that the mill doing nothing but producing cotton bagging could not, between now and the first of September, produce more than about 10 per cent. of the total quantity required to cover the crop.

It needs no argument to show that, if we expect to get relief from the operation of the jute bagging trust by avoiding the use of their article, we must lose no time in making preparations for a supply of cotton bagging or of some other substitute.

Pine-straw bagging, it is claimed, can advantageously take the place of jute bagging, but the supply of this article is likewise limited, and it lacks many of the advantages of the cotton bagging. In the first place, it is very heavy; in the second place, it is very inflammable; in the third place, it is claimed in a great many quarters, that it does stain the cotton when wet; last, but not least, it does not, in any way, help the cotton producer toward higher prices for his crop, which the consumption of cotton bagging unquestionably does to a great extent.

I believe it will be to the interest of all farmers in the cotton States to advocate and practice the use of cotton bagging, as soon as a sufficient supply can be obtained, to cover the whole crop to the exclusion of any other article; but I believe equally, firmly, that to-day it is the interest, the imperative duty, of every cotton planter, whether in the Gulf or the Atlantic or the Middle States, to advocate and practice the use of any article as covering in preference to jute, for it will require all the pine-straw

bags and all the cotton bagging that we can,

under the most favorable circumstances, hope to procure for next season, to enable us to resist the oppressive charges that the jute bagging trust are preparing to place upon us. There is not a day, there is not an hour to lose, and we want the support and assistance of every member of the Union in devising and carrying out some plan of action.

I believe the Alliances in the different States ought to club together to obtain control of some large cotton-mill capable of producing a good article of cotton bagging, and run it day and night. It would take money to do this; but it would not take anything like the amount that we will have to stand if the jute-bagging wolves are allowed to carry out their pernicious schemes for fleecing the planter.

It might take three or four hundred thousand dollars to get a large mill put in operation, but, in the first place, it would be a good investment for the money, as cotton-mills have all been paying large dividends for the past three years, and it would be a permanent investment, as we can not possibly do without bagging of some sort and would, naturally, use the product of our own mill, and, even if it required the investment of five hundred thousand dollars, without any hope of ever seeing a cent of the money again or deriving any interest from it, it would be cheap as compared with what the jute bagging would cost us. Last year it was estimated that the advance in the price of this article cost us \$2,500,000; and this year we are not likely to get off for less, if we do not do something to help ourselves. The Georgia State Alliance meets in special session at Atlanta on the 4th of next month to consider this question. In the call for the meeting the president requests all other State Alliances to send their representatives, or to hold special meetings to consider the same subject. Certainly nothing of more importance demands our attention at present.

It seems to me that, with the large membership we have now in our National body, there ought to be little difficulty in obtaining the necessary funds to protect ourselves against this jute combination. I believe, if the matter were properly presented to the order throughout the cotton States, that the members would cheerfully agree to pay a special tax for the purpose of obtaining control of our own mills for the production of cotton bagging or pine-straw bagging, or both, and, as the parish Unions are to meet very shortly now, I would suggest that this matter form one of the principal questions to be discussed by them; but I would insist that prompt action of some sort is absolutely necessary if we intend to resist our oppressors.

The Philistines are upon us! Has any Delilah shorn us of our strength?

National Wheel Demands.

We, the members of the National Agricultural Wheel, in convention assembled, at McKinzie, Tenn., November, 1887, do hereby demand of our National Government such legislation as shall secure to our people freedom from the shameful abuses that the farmers and mechanics are now suffering at the hands of arrogant capitalists, powerful corporations, and the seemingly insatiable greed of Shylocks. We demand:

1. That the public land, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers only—not another acre to railroads or speculators, and that all lands now held for speculative purposes shall be taxed at their full value.

2. That measures be taken to prevent aliens from acquiring titles to lands in the United States and Territories of America, and to force titles, already acquired by aliens, to be relinquished to the National Government by purchase, and retain said domain for the use of actual settlers and citizens of the National

States, and that the law be rigidly enforced against all railroad corporations which have not complied with the terms of their contracts, by which they have received large grants of land.

3. That we demand the rapid payment of the public debt of the United States, by operating the mints of the Government to their full capacity in coining gold and silver, and the tendering of the same without discrimination to the public creditors of the Nation, according to contract, thus saving the interest on the public debt to the industrial masses.

4. That we demand the abolition of National banks; the substitution of legal tender Treasury notes in lieu of National bank notes, issued in sufficient volume to do the business of the country on the cash system, regulating the amount needed on a *per capita* basis as the business interests of the country expand, and that all money issued by the Government shall be a legal tender on payment of all debts, both public and private.

5. That we demand that Congress shall pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the dealing-in-futures in all agricultural and mechanical productions, preserving a stringent system of procedure in trial that will secure prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.

6. That we demand a graduated income tax, as we believe it is the most equitable system of taxation, placing the burden of the Government on those who can best afford to pay, instead of laying it on the farmers and mechanics, and exempting millionaires, bondholders, and corporations.

7. That we demand the strict enforcement of all laws prohibiting the importation of foreign labor under the contract system, and that all convicts be confined within the prison walls, and that the contract system be abolished.

8. That we demand the election of all officers of the National Government by a direct vote of the people, and that all willful violations of the election laws be declared a felony, and a part of the punishment be the prohibition of the party convicted from voting in all future elections.

9. That we demand the repeal of all laws that do not bear equally upon capital and labor, the strict enforcement of all laws, the removal of all unjust technicalities, delays, and discrimination in the administration of justice.

10. That we demand the tariff laws be so amended as to remove all import duties on articles entering into our manufactures, and that the duties be levied mainly upon articles of luxuries not above the importing point.

11. That we demand that the Government shall protect the Chickasaws and Choctaws and other civilized Indians of the Indian Territory in all their inalienable rights, and shall prevent railroads and other wealthy syndicates from overriding the law and treaties now in existence for their protection.

12. That we are unqualifiedly in favor of the education of the masses by a well-regulated system of free schools.

13. That we demand that no patents be renewed after the expiration of the time for which they were originally patented.

14. Resolved, That this body will not support any man for Congress of any political party who will not pledge himself, in writing, to use all his influence for the formation of these demands into laws.

DENMARK was almost exclusively agricultural until the eighteenth century; now only 44 per cent. of her people till the soil.

In Germany 41 per cent. of the population is engaged in agriculture.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

History and Government.

No. 4.

Although the nations which existed prior to the founding of the Grecian states flourished under conditions and institutions which can never again affect civil governments, and are therefore beyond the field of our investigations, yet it may be a source of gratification to know that even in them the same evils which afflict us were recognized by ancient historians, especially as the civilization of those countries affected to some extent the early civilization of the Grecian states from which ours had its remote origin.

The great nations of antiquity, prior to the development of Greek civilization, were absolute despotisms, which seems to have been the only form of government known or aspired to by the Oriental people of antiquity, Carthage alone being an exception. The government of Carthage is termed a republic, but was really only a compromise between democracy and monarchy, and is the first step toward republicanism made by any nation of Oriental origin up to the time of its founding, which was about 846 B.C. The Carthaginians, being an outgrowth of the Phoenicians, were especially a commercial people, and their institutions were ordered to suit the calling of the people. There is, therefore, little that we can gather as to their land system; yet there are evidences in plenty of the arrogance and tyranny of wealth and the danger from its monopoly to the liberties of the people.

There are also evidences in the history of Egypt, the mother of nations, to show the oppression of debt and the means of securing power by the creditor over the debtor, in addition to the absolute power already possessed by the sovereign.

Under the despots of antiquity the monarch was the sole proprietor of the lands, and the cultivator merely exercised his labor by permission of his sovereign and at his pleasure; he had no right to lands that that sovereign was bound to respect. Therefore his home, the shelter of his family, could not be held as security for the performance of obligations assumed under the penalty of ejectment. Other means were therefore devised to provide a way of compelling the payment of obligations made, which were often forced upon the individual by combinations of circumstances entirely beyond his control and caused and operated by the speculative element, the sole occupation of whom is to multiply accumulated wealth by devising means of compelling tribute from the producers. The religion of the Egyptians taught them to venerate the bodies of their fathers, which were embalmed and kept in the possession of the family. When a man borrowed money or made a pecuniary obligation he pawned the body of his father as security; religion taught that the man who failed to redeem this pledge should be considered infamous, and if he died without having redeemed it he was deprived of the customary honors paid to the dead. Thus was a debt made by one member of a family secured by the obligations of all that family, and money put above even the most sacred sentiments.

Diodorus says: "No man was allowed to be useless to the state, but every one was compelled to enter his name and place of abode in a public register and to describe his profession and means of support. If he gave a false account of himself he was immediately put to death." The people and their possessions were subject to the arbitrary will of their ruler; and yet the ancient historian says of their most magnificent city: "Riches failed not to bring into this city, as they usually do into all places, luxury, vice, and licentiousness." The only approach to ownership of land was a provision to encourage the practice of arms and develop the military spirit, and that which gave to every soldier twelve arourae (or about 53 1/4 square feet of our measure) of land, free from taxation. Of course this was merely to provide a means of support for his family and relieve the government. Men were merely machines, used at the pleasure of the aristocracy. Every man had his way of life assigned him, and it was perpetuated from father to son. No change of occupation was allowed, and generation after generation was compelled to plod on in the same groove traveled by their fathers—no hope of improvement; no possibility of gratifying a creditable ambition, but doomed to one hopeless course of toil under the crushing heel of power. Is it to be wondered at that a people under such oppression finally sank into despair, and that the national life was crushed out? And yet to this oppression we owe indirectly the development of a higher civilization, because as the more spirited among the people comprehended the oppression put upon them and saw that for them there was no hope of relief or progress under such institutions they sought refuge among the more primitive people of a different race, carrying with them a knowledge of that which was beneficial which the experience of ages had developed in Egypt and a hatred for the institutions which had proved a curse to their forefathers. Thus they became the teachers of nations in useful arts and the source of warning when power began to assume dangerous proportions.

The true spirit of republicanism had its birth with the early Greek States, and from them it has descended to the people of the present age under various forms; and engaged in one continual contest with tyranny under various conditions and every manner of disguise.

The Greeks were of Aryan, or Indo-European, stock, from which have sprung all the historic races of Europe. Their civilization was of home growth, but modified and aided to some extent by the best developments of Asiatic and Egyptian experiences; and it is from the founding of the Greek states that we are to trace the rise and development of our modern civilization.

It is certainly most wonderful to note what a contrast there was between the spirit of independence and individual liberty which animated the Greeks from the very earliest dawn of their history, and the stolid and hopeless submission to oppression which characterized all the Asiatic people who made up the nations of history prior to their time.

Among those nations there seems never to

have been even a remote conception of any such thing as individual liberty. Absolutism seems to have been their only conception of government, and the individual was never regarded except as an infinitesimal part of one great whole. Their conception was socialism carried to its legitimate and final result. Everything centered in the government; the individual was annihilated. There was no room for the exercise of any personal excellency, no hope of personal advancement, but only one dull routine of labor, oppression, suffering, and death from one generation to another, merely to add to the splendor and luxury of the kings and their favorites. They built up mighty nations and great cities, merely that they should crumble into ruin and decay and leave no benefit to the world or succeeding generations except a solemn warning lest they might fall into the same evils.

An entire race (the Turanian) and ages of valuable time were thus actually wasted. The race, by ages of oppression utterly unfitted to contend with the fresh vigor of the Aryan, was blotted out by extermination, as all their works have been by the hand of time. Their existence was a failure, their labors and sufferings barren of results, and their record merely an evidence of their incapacity to meet the demands of progress which is the destiny of man. It has become the mission of a race, comparatively young upon the earth, but fired with a love of liberty, imbued with a devotion to individual distinction, and a pride in personal development, to bear the banner of progress through ages of conflict with every opposition which confronted the earlier races, and still they bear it proudly, though time and again they have been entrapped by the cunning of avarice, the machinations of treachery, or opposed by the arms of despotism. Still, that divine flame burns brightly in every heart, and its brilliancy pierces the gloom of ages and the mists of futurity, and lights them on to the final triumph which has been decreed by nature and Deity. Man's deliverance and the triumph of enlightenment are assured, and it is through the spirit and energy and individual pride inherent in the Aryan race that it will be accomplished.

One of the most striking and thrilling instances in history is the contest between the two characteristics which distinguish the old and the new civilizations, as illustrated in the contest of the little Greek states with the power of the ancient world, when the power of the Medes and Persians had spread like a conflagration under the direction of Cyrus, and had overrun the ancient world and set in motion the armies of the nations under their dominion, besides that of the Medes and Persians, the Phoenicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and others to fall with all the power of Asia and the East upon a little country not larger than half of England, but fired with that love of liberty and the pride of personal independence which has been the sheet-anchor of modern civilization. It is certainly most wonderful that this small nation should be able to resist at all, much less, as it did, utterly overthrow, such vast power and establish its superiority on the

possessions preserved.

Such evidence can be but

conclusive proof of the invincibility of the spirit which animated those people, and the achievements of their descendants are no less wonderful against the powers of evil which have for ages been pitted against them, but against which they have ever been triumphant, as the splendors of modern enlightenment prove.

Grecian history covers a period of 2,154 years, therefore it will be possible to take but a very hurried glance at it in such a series of articles, and only then of such points as relate to the particular subject under consideration.

According to Jewish authority the Greeks sprang from Ion the son of Japheth and grandson of Noah. According to Pliny they took their name from an ancient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition. However, this is of no consequence, as it is of their record that we seek to learn. It is certain that according to their own historians they had a very humble origin; that they were descended from mere savages who knew no other law than force, were ignorant even of agriculture, and fed on herbs and roots like brutes and beasts of the field, which is proved by their decreeing divine honors to the person who first taught them to feed upon acorns as a more delicate and wholesome nourishment than herbs. It was a long and tedious process that developed them sufficiently to bring them to understand the benefits of living together in societies in order to defend themselves against violence and oppression.

At first they built single habitations at a distance from one another, and gradually developed a primitive sort of agriculture. Each family enjoyed the products of its own lands, and the patriarchal power of the head of each family was the only authority recognized. The number of houses gradually increasing formed in time towns and cities. Thus were the first societies developed from a state of savagery. But the bare living together was not sufficient to polish such rough material. Egypt and Phoenicia both were old at this time. The first had driven many of its people into exile by oppression. The latter was exclusively a commercial nation, and sought throughout the known world for commercial profit. Both lent their aid in developing the primitive Greeks. The Egyptians taught them agriculture, architecture, and gave them a taste for arts and sciences, and while they taught them the idea of law, encouraged the innate opposition to oppression, the evils of which Egyptian tyranny had already demonstrated.

The Phoenicians taught them navigation, writing, and commerce. Thus there developed in Greece, first, the family, supreme in its own possessions, then small communities made up of contiguous families, each supreme in its own possessions, but allied for mutual protection; then small states, under a directing head, but the individuality of the family and its separate

possessions preserved.

In this state Greece was of course exposed to frequent violent outbreaks, growing out of family feuds and local animosities. All differences were determined by contest. Then the stronger communities invaded the lands of their neighbors which seemed more desirable

than their own, and dispossessed the rightful occupants, or forced them to compulsory servitude. Thus was personal slavery established, and at the same time a passion for conquest. Some leaders of such incursions became so formidable that it became necessary to form alliances among contiguous communities, and appoint leaders, to whom certain extraordinary powers were given. These leaders, by gradual accession of power, finally developed into kings, and thus were formed the first kingdoms of which Grecian history gives us an account.

In those early times kingdoms were but inconsiderable, the title being often given to a single city with no more land dependent on it than one of our counties. The people were agricultural, and, as a rule, prosperous and happy, fearing nothing but invasion, and secure in their personal rights.

Their crude system of commerce consisted merely in a system of barter or an exchange of commodities. Values were gradually accumulating, but not sufficiently to excite the greed of the naturally avaricious, and a simple state of equality existed. The most humble citizen approached the king with perfect confidence, and an unrestrained intercourse between him and the people was maintained. There were as yet no class distinctions, no arrogant aristocracy, or downtrodden serfs. Sicyon was the first of these kingdoms. It was founded 2080 B.C., and is believed to have existed one thousand years. Argos was next founded, and these small kingdoms became very numerous, but their history is made up of fables, the only facts about them have been given already.

Athenas, the leading kingdom of these petty monarchies, was founded by Cecrops, a native of Egypt, and developed much more rapidly and to a higher state of refinement than any of the others. Amphictyon, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy between the twelve states of Greece, which assembled twice a year at Thermopylae, there to consult together upon affairs in general, and also upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was called the Amphictyonic Council.

This is the picture of Greece in her early infancy. A combination of little states, each governed by its respective sovereign, yet all united for their mutual safety and general advantage. This seems to be a primitive picture of our own Government, and it is worthy of note that this idea originated in Greece 1284 years B.C., therefore there is nothing new in it, and the history of its experiences ought to be of immense advantage to us. This alliance or confederacy, however, did not seem to protect the states composing it from intestine contentions caused from the jealousies of petty princes, and military leaders, and the struggle for advancement and accumulated power. By degrees the states began to emerge from this distressing condition. Sick of the contentions of petty princes and ambitious politicians, they desired to be free; a spirit of liberty prevailed all over Greece, and a general change of government was effected in every kingdom except Macedonia. Monarchy was abolished and republican government established, but was diversi-

fied into as many forms as there were cities, according to the different characters of the people. Thus were established the first republics, the outgrowth of the indomitable spirit of the fresh young race destined to make their record brilliant in the world, history, and lay the foundation for a new civilization.

All these cities, although different from each other in their laws and interests, were united by one common language, one religion, and a national pride that taught them to consider other nations as barbarous and inferior, but their chief bond of union arose from the Amphictyonic Council. There were twelve states which sent delegates to this congress. Each sent two deputies; one took charge of the religious interests and the other the civil interests of his state; each of these enjoyed an equal power in determining all affairs relative to the general interest of Greece. When these deputies assembled they took an oath implying that they would never subvert any city of Greece, never stop the course of waters either in war or peace, that they would oppose any attempt to lessen the reverence and authority of the gods.

Thus all offenses against religions, all contests between Grecian States and cities came under their cognizance, while they had the right to determine, to impose fines and even levy forces and make war upon those who offered to resist their authority.

This confederation of the Greek states welded them into a body of great power, and by its means this little band of free states disputed the empire of the world with the colossal creations of absolutism. They not only resisted the armies of Persia and her allies, but routed and destroyed them, while Greece dictated her terms to the conquerors of the world. All this time, that is up to the time of the establishment of the Amphictyonic Council, Greece enjoyed the greatest degree of prosperity undisturbed except as before stated by the ambition and prejudices of their princes, which resulted in local riot and disorder. The people were pastoral and agricultural, and their industry was fast accumulating a surplus of values that would be in the future a source from which would spring evils greater than the power of the Medes and Persians, from which should be born the spirit of avarice that would finally overthrow the institutions that enabled them to resist the combined power of the world, that would raise up enemies and traitors among them who would betray the liberties of the people for gain, and sell their honor for gold.

Here as early as 1000 B.C. we have a parallel to our own condition: A federation of independent states, represented in a joint congress, which enacted laws for the common good; the people free and devoted to liberty, fixed in their homes by personal proprietorship of lands, enjoying by the aid of laws instituted by themselves the full return of their labor. Wealth had not yet demoralized them, financial oppression was yet unknown, monopoly had not yet been evolved from the cunning brain of greed. The people had yet to learn what evils were in store for them, to be brought forth out of the very wealth they were so cheerfully creating to serve

their comfort and happiness. Little did they suspect that their very prosperity was to be turned into an engine for their own destruction. And yet here are we to receive the first great lesson of the treachery of wealth, the malignity of avarice, and the curse of the craze for gain which follows surely upon all great prosperity.

To recapitulate, we have seen in the development of the early Greek states a perfect parallel to the development of our own Nation. We have seen a people rise from a state of nature, subdue a wilderness, establish civil governments, pass from the form of monarchy into a perfectly democratic form of rule; then combine under one head for mutual defense and protection, each having equal representation in a common council. We find these people imbued with a devotion to liberty, and a hatred to tyranny, just as the founders of our Nation were. We find them demanding and enjoying the right of proprietorship in the lands they cultivate, and we find them enjoying free access to a vast domain of land upon which they may exercise their industry free from the demands of monopolistic owners. We find these people progressive, rapidly increasing surplus values and developing a most prosperous condition. Is the parallel not most striking as drawn in contrast with the early development of our Nation from its colonial form to the primitive republic under the original constitution? It now remains to analyze the principles which underlaid this confederation and compare them with those upon which ours is founded, then to follow the development of these States in all the minutiae of their progress so far as possible, and it is probable that the reader will be startled at the discovery that we are now only living over again the experiences of a people who perished a thousand years ago. Shall we not heed this lesson and take warning before it is too late?

THE last census report shows the strength of the different classes, as follows: Agricultural pursuits, 48 per cent. of the entire population; mining, 22 per cent.; professional and personal service, 21 per cent.; trade and transportation, 9 per cent.

If this be true, it requires that all other classes would have to unite to control the agricultural vote, and, as that never has been done, it follows that the farmers are to blame if there is anything wrong in the Government and it is allowed to continue. True, the farmers have

not advocated any of the evil that has been legally done, but they have allowed knaves and scoundrels to play upon their prejudices and keep them divided one-half against the other so that their voting strength neutralized itself and left the schemers and speculators the balance of power with which to dictate results. Farmers, you must form a holy alliance for right and justice. Be willing to yield your own personal opinions as to non-essentials and say with the Farmers Alliance, "in things essential unity, and in all things charity."

It costs the consumers at large \$4,000,000,000 per annum, paid to the landlords of New York, for the privilege of handling goods in that city.

A FRIEND of the ECONOMIST and to the cause of agriculture writes: "I have received a copy of your first issue and I am much pleased with the tone and general make-up of the paper. With such contributors as Capt. S. B. Alexander and others, whose names I see signed to well-written and timely articles, your readers, if they read intelligently, and not as the ethinuch of old whom Philip found stumbling blindly through a chapter in Isaiah, will soon discover that they are sitting at the feet of Gamaliel. But the trouble with farmers, which I hope your paper will convince them of, is the necessity of overcoming the following faults: first, that too many essay to lead and too few are willing to follow even the wisest leadership; second, the lack of discrimination in selecting always the right man for the right place; third, when they have placed a man at the head of any given department, they are too prone to leave him alone, forgetting that, however competent and self-reliant and prudent he may be, he needs the hearty practical support as well as the vigilant oversight of the appointing power, and thus only can his administration be a success, and secure, by deserving it, the confidence of his constituents."

THE position taken by Sismonde and Malthus that economy of human productive exertion makes the multiplication of unproductive consumers not only probable but necessary, although demolished to the self-satisfaction of many economists since their time, is receiving a full vindication by the experience and history of the United States, so far as the probable increase of unproductive consumers attending economy of human productive exertion is concerned. The economy brought about by the introduction of improved machinery and methods, whereby the same amount of labor is made to yield many times the amount of product, has been attended with such an increase of the unproductive class as to almost make the predictions of these old writers prophetic. It remains for time to show whether such increase is necessary or not, and the decision must of necessity be made by the producing class.

"RIPE AND READY," in the Southern Alliance, of Atlanta, Ga., says:

"As the fight thickens we must stiffen our backbones and knock combines to the four winds. If our legislatures and Congress will not give us any sort of relief or protection we must make it ourselves. There is just as much sense in our employing an infidel to preach religion to our children as to elect legislators and Congressmen whose interests are not identical with ours to make our laws."

"We must educate ourselves through our organs. By all means let us take THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST with The Southern Alliance. I saw a copy of the first issue and hurriedly subscribed. At the end of the year I will have the most valuable book in existence save the Bible."

"Enlightenment to the right action is what we need. When we get ripe in a knowledge of affairs that concern us, then, with our numerical strength, what can't we do? We can become highly educated through our two organs as in no otherwise. With organization as a fulcrum and intelligent action as the lever, we can do what the old philosopher gently suggested, turn the world over. As we have the most honorable calling of all men, let us show a nobler manhood than exists anywhere else."

Second Annual Statement of the Alliance Hall Association of Dakota, for the Year Ending December 31, 1888. Incorporated February, 1887, under the Laws of Dakota. Home Office, Huron, D. T.

RECEIPTS FOR 1888.

Cash received from assessments at	\$98,797.52
23 cents per acre	6,454.82
Membership fees	638.51
Cash received from notes of 1887	580.24
Cash received from interest	581.87

Received from 1887 accounts

Total..... \$107,052.96

Losses paid..... \$73,529.17

Clerk hire..... \$1,683.68

Agents' commissions..... 14,069.33

Expenses adjusting losses..... 3,847.00

Territorial auditor's fees..... 136.50

Recording mortgages..... 1,547.50

Office rent for the year..... 191.66

Office furniture and fixtures..... 50.00

Postage..... 795.83

Bank charges for collecting to date..... 1,008.27

Books, blanks, printing, and agents' supplies..... 1,206.16

Interest paid..... 1,077.61

President's salary..... 1,500.00

Secretary's salary..... 1,500.00

Advertising..... 917.42

General expenses (traveling, special agents, express, etc.)..... 2,595.47

Accounts, less liabilities..... 1,369.15

Cash in bank..... 28.21

Total..... \$107,052.96

RESOURCES.

Cash in bank..... \$28.21

Office furniture..... 150.00

Accounts due the company..... 1,646.91

Notes of 1887..... 3,640.31

Assessment on notes of 1888..... 31,569.70

Total.....

LIABILITIES.

Unpaid accounts..... \$277.76

Total..... \$277.76

Total number of acres insured in 1887..... 152,472

Total number of acres insured in 1888..... 566,814

Number of policies issued in 1888..... 7,660

Total.....

STATISTICS.

A friend to the cause has been studying over the facts presented by the memorial of the National Farmers Alliance to Congress by its president, J. Burrows, of Nebraska, and has ingeniously compiled from them the following table:

THE BANKING CONSPIRACY ARRAIGNED, ANALYZED, AND EXPOSED BY THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE.—PRODUCTION HAS INCREASED MARVELLOUSLY, AND THE VOLUME OF MONEY HAS DECREASED FRIGHTFULLY, SINCE 1865.—THE TRUE REMEDY IS: "MORE MONEY AND LESS DEBTS."

Our progress in production.

Articles.	1870.	1880.
Cotton Manufactures:		
Capital.....	\$140,000,000	\$219,000,000
Product.....	\$177,000,000	\$210,000,000
Manufacture of Machinery:		
Capital.....	\$101,000,000	\$154,000,000
Product.....	\$138,000,000	\$214,000,000
Silk Goods:		
Capital.....	\$6,000,000	\$19,000,000
Product.....	\$12,000,000	\$41,000,000
Cotton:		
Bales of (Louisiana) Hogsheads.....	3,000,000	6,500,000
Wool:		
Pounds.....	144,000	218,000
Railroads:		
Miles in operation.....	35,000	98,000
Agriculture:		
Exports.....	\$301,000,000	\$886,000,000
Corn:		
Bushels.....	761,000,000	1,754,000,000
Wheat:		
Bushels.....	297,000,000	459,000,000
Population:		
Total.....	38,000,000	50,000,000

Our progress in contraction.

Articles.	1865.	1888.
Currency:		
Volume (in actual circulation), about	\$1,900,000,000	\$800,000,000
In Treasury.....	\$600,000,000	\$600,000,000
In banks.....	\$52	\$5
Per capita:		
"Bank debts" or bank-notes (in actual circulation).....	\$294,000,000	\$144,000,000
Greenbacks (in actual circulation).....	\$400,891,868	\$273,000,000
Business:		
Cash.....	512	12,512
Credit.....		
Failure:		
Labor:		
Indebtedness:		
Condition:		
Mills.....	None.....	Idle.....
Farms.....	Booming.....	Everybody.....
Chattels.....	Ruining.....	Alarmed.....
Crime.....	Free.....	Rusting.....
Construction.....	Maximum.....	Mortgaged.....
	Continuing.....	Foreclosed.....

* In regard to the greenbacks, Treasurer Hyatt, in his annual report for June 30, 1888, says that he has redeemed \$73,000,000 of the \$346,000,000 of greenbacks, notwithstanding the act of May 31, 1878, which provided that "they shall not be retired, redeemed, cancelled, or destroyed, but shall be paid out again and kept in circulation."

Oh, Lord, how long shall "public office continue to be a public trust" for the benefit of Wall and Lombard streets, where they toil not, neither do they spin?

THE Memphis Weekly Appeal presents its yearly subscribers on the 1st of May with 1,000 gifts, amounting to \$3,393.50. This distribution is made among all subscribers who commence after November 30, 1888, and prior to May 1, 1889. In addition to this, they also give \$300 in cash prizes to those securing the largest clubs of new subscribers, to be awarded as follows: Largest, \$100; second largest, \$75; third, \$50; fourth, \$25; fifth, \$20; sixth, \$15; seventh, \$10, and eighth, \$5. The Appeal is a first-class, live, wide-awake weekly paper. Send for sample copies, circulars, subscription books and terms to agents. They will be sent you free. Address, Memphis Appeal Co., Memphis, Tenn.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The following is taken from Say's "Political Economy":

"A nation, in order to enjoy the advantages of a good system of political economy, must not only possess statesmen capable of adopting the best plans, but the population must be in a situation to admit of their application.

"I here suppose the higher orders of society to be actuated by a sincere desire to promote the public good. When this feeling, however, does not exist, when the government is faithless and corrupt, it is of still greater importance that the people should become acquainted with the real state of things and comprehend their true interests. Otherwise they suffer without knowing to what causes their distress ought to be attributed, or, indeed, by attributing them to erroneous causes the views of the public are distracted; their efforts disunited, and individuals, thus deprived of general support, fail in resolution, and despotism is strengthened; or, what is still worse, where the people are so badly governed as to become desperate they listen to pernicious counsels and exchange a vicious order of things for one still worse."

From the same author:

"And capital, or accumulated produce, is the mere result of human frugality and forbearance to exercise the faculty of consuming, which, if fully exerted, would have destroyed products as fast as they were created, and these never could have been the existing property of any one; wherefore no one else but he who has practiced this self-denial can claim the result of it with any show of justice."

Clubbing Rates.

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

Regular Club-price

price. of both.

"Progressive Farmer," of Raleigh, N. C., official organ of State Alliance..... \$1.00 \$1.75

"Toller," Nashville, Tenn., official organ Agricultural Wheel..... 1.00 1.65

"Southern Alliance," Atlanta, Ga..... 1.00 1.50

"Dakota Ruralist," Huron, Dak., official organ Dakota Alliance..... 1.00 1.25

"The Forum"..... 5.00 5.00

"Memphis Appeal"..... 1.00 1.50

"Georgia Farmer"..... 50 1.00

St. Louis "Home Circle"..... 1.10

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

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.
No. 3.

On August 21, 1814, Washington was taken by a force of British under General Ross. The Capitol, President's House, and public buildings were burned. They held possession of the city only until the evening of August 15, when they quietly withdrew and went on board their ships at Alexandria. The loss to the Government by their invasion was over two millions of dollars, and to the citizens of Washington about half a million. About one hundred Americans were killed.

After this misfortune the location was thought by many to be too dangerous, or rather too much exposed to the depredations of a foreign enemy, and there were strong endeavors made to move the Capital to a more secure location farther in the interior. There were exciting contests and debates in Congress on the subject, and for a time there was much doubt whether the present site of the Capital would be retained; but in February, 1815, a bill was passed authorizing the Treasury to borrow five hundred thousand dollars at six per cent., with which to rebuild the public edifices. This gave confidence to the people and private enterprise again began the development of the city. Improvements went on rapidly until the breaking out of the war in 1861, although at that time Washington was a very unattractive place. The streets were still unpaved, the residence buildings were poor, and Government edifices little better, and they in an unfinished condition. The city was spread out over a vast territory, the buildings scattered, and what pavements were laid were miserable. There was little attraction for any class of people, and only those remained who were compelled. It was not until 1871 that Washington began to show traces of the beauty of which she boasts to-day.

The movement which resulted in the great and rapid improvement of Washington, and the development of its present magnificence, was started by Alexander R. Shepherd, or, as he was politically known, Boss Shepherd. All the thoroughfares are very broad, clean, and delightfully shaded in summer by a great variety of beautifully arranged and kept shade trees. The majority of the streets and avenues are paved with a concrete of asphaltum which is as hard as stone, perfectly impervious to water, and as smooth as a billiard table, without a seam or irregularity. These splendid pavements extend for miles and there is no possibility of tracking mud from the suburbs in sufficient quantity to make the least deposit, and the consequence is there is neither mud nor dust at any time, and pedestrians can walk in the middle of the streets as comfortably and pleasantly as on the sidewalks. Mud is an unknown commodity in Washington, and carriages roll as smoothly and silently in the worst weather as in the most delightful days of spring. Every night the streets are swept by great machines drawn by six horses each, and in the early morning the citizen enjoys a view of cleanliness to be matched in no other city on earth; indeed one might say the streets look clean enough for breakfast-tables. This cleanliness added to the beautiful vistas of splendid

sewers, lay water-pipes; in fact, to do everything promptly and at once that was requisite to bring the city to the condition of elegance and splendor intended by its founders. In a time most surprisingly short the great labor had been accomplished. The old slovenliness and squalor had disappeared and a new city had sprung up as if by magic. Splendid business houses, palatial residences, churches, school buildings, markets, hotels, theaters, etc., sprung up like the palace of Aladdin; at least \$25,000,000 were expended, and Washington became a magnificent monument to the genius of the American people—a grand and beautiful realization of the dreams and hopes of the founders of the Nation, an undying evidence of the capacity of the people of America to successfully cope with the highest civilization and artistic development of the Old World—a creation of a Nation, yet in its infancy, that not only rivaled, but surpassed, the creations of centuries of development in older nations. Truly, Americans may be proud of their Capital City.

The District of Columbia covers an area of sixty-four square miles and is bounded on the northeast and south by the State of Maryland and on the west by the Potomac River. The city of Washington is located on the west side of the District, fronting on the river, and ex-

shades trees makes the street views something to be remembered for a lifetime.

Within the city there are 6,111 acres, and more than one-half of this amount, or 3,095, is devoted to public uses. There are 408 acres of Government reservations, 107 streets, with an aggregate length of 279 miles, and 21 avenues named after various States. The Capitol marks the center of the city and all the streets are laid out at right angles from it.

OUR PAPER.

A Letter from J. H. Harris, General Superintendent Alabama State Fair and Exposition.

A long-felt want we have in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and it emanates from the right place, our National Capital, and in our opinion it is edited by the right man. Now the question is, will we claim it as our paper and by our united efforts put it where it justly belongs in our homes? We can make it just what we will it to be, brethren; this is our opportunity, let us use it.

Alabama belongs to the brotherhood, and we hope to be no disgrace to it; but by prudent management, wise measures, and united action, not only be in the lead alphabetically, but in good works and a noble example.

The Indian said, "Here we rest;" the Alabamian of to-day says, "Here we boom and bustle; our fathers crossed our waters in skiffs made of buffalo and other hides; we cross them in railroad cars and palatial sleepers; not paddled by hand, but pulled by the 'iron-horse.'" Now, in the midst of all these improvements, there it a cry still that lingers in our ear, a cry not like that which comes from a hurt child or a frightened baby, that is fitful and soon over, but a wail, a chronic cry, and what is it? "No money in farming." I do not propose just here to discuss this question, but will say if it is true there is no money in farming, it would take the wisdom of a Solomon to tell us where the money came from that built the palatial homes of some of our people, the massive brick walls of our banks and business houses, and our magnificent structures of various kinds that we see, where farming is the main industry. If it was the cry "no money in farming to the farmer," then there might be some one less than a Solomon who could give an answer and explain the cause.

But I did not sit down to write an article for our paper, but to indorse it and to hope for its success.

We hope to do big things in Alabama, and we hope our people in all our land will appreciate a good thing and show their appreciation by subscribing and paying for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our paper.

The number of mortgaged farms in Dakota is just a trifle greater than in Michigan, Iowa, and older States. Forty-four per cent. of the farms are mortgaged in Iowa, 51 per cent. in Nebraska, 55 per cent. in Michigan, and 59 per cent. in Dakota. Perhaps nothing indicates more surely the relative inequality of compensation of producer and speculator than the growing pyramids of mortgages that are piling upon so many farms.

The National Economist

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

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

SINGLE COPY,
FIVE CENTS.

VOL. 1.

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

NO. 5.

Debts vs. Contraction.

According to theory and the teachings of political economy a nation can transact the same amount of business with a small volume of money or circulating medium of exchange than it could with a large volume, and transact it fully as speedily, effectually, and with just as much justice, satisfaction, and proportionate individual profit, but at relatively lower prices. According to the accepted doctrines taught in the schools, if the volume of money used as a medium of exchange in the nation amounted to three hundred millions of dollars, and, by some means, exactly half of every dollar was instantaneously destroyed, so that every person would have exactly half the amount of money he had a few moments before, it would not make a particle of difference, so far as the transaction of all business was concerned, because the money would instantly possess double value; according to another way, everything but the government has been made a tool to enrich a certain class of its constituents at the expense of a certain other class. Such would, however, be the result were a government to adopt a policy of rapid contraction without notice to its laboring and producing constituents who, as the best friends of the government, were borrowing money and thereby becoming debtors for the purpose of improving wild lands and rendering them productive, that they may not only add to the wealth of the country, but by increasing its products add also to its revenues—this class who, not content with spending every energy and resource they can command in developing the country and government, pledge their future efforts by going into debt that they may assist their laborers with capital, the beneficent fruits of which is to add to the government mentally, morally, and financially, and that government adopts a process of contraction that not only doubles their debts to the Shylocks, but multiplies it again and again until, having contracted the volume from \$50 per capita to \$5 per capita, the poor producer finds his debt ten times as hard to pay. Is that not an unjust return by the government for services rendered? But see the other side of the picture. The capitalist has been cognizant of the contraction, without notice; in fact he was the instigator of the move, and as it is done in his interest, he takes advantage of it. He knows that contraction will shrink all values except debt, therefore he loans his money to the workers and producers at a profitable rate of interest well secured, and keeps it out during all this period of contraction to find that all values have shrunk to one-tenth their former value except his money, and as the volume of money is only one-tenth what it was previously

every dollar he has is worth ten times as much as it was, and therefore he has just a hundred times as much value as he would have had if he had invested his money in commodities. True, this is an abstract statement of the conditions upon theory, and the facts, when investigated, will modify it a little, because, owing to the great increase in productive power given by improved machinery and the increase in values by the addition of thick settlements and growing cities, the decrease in the value of commodities has not been to one-tenth of former amounts, and consequently the increase in the value of money has not been quite equal to ten times its former value; but what these two conditions lack in difference by the agency of such advantages is more than made up by the increased power possessed by the capitalists whose portion now possesses a much greater proportion to the whole amount in existence, and therefore renders combinations on his part capable of producing corners in the money and other markets that make money, more than ten times as hard for the poor debtor to procure. When stripped of all sophistry and looked at calmly in this way under the bright light of truth and reason, does not the action of such a government in the premises become a "financial conspiracy" in fact? If all this will apply with truth to this our glorious American Union, is it not time that the producers who have been made the victims of this conspiracy began to take some steps to stop its evil effects, before they, from its exhausting tendency, lose the power? It certainly is a financial conspiracy of the very worst kind; but the Republican party is not to blame, neither is the Democratic nor the United Labor party, neither is relief to come from either one of these or any other political party as such. The political parties are just what the people make them, and when the people rise in their might and say a thing must be done the servile politician will be ready to claim that he always was in favor of that, and the great political parties will not dare to cross the will of their constituents. The trouble is that the farmers and laboring men, being honest themselves, have been spending their energies in production in order to properly raise and educate useful families of bright-eyed children, never dreaming that the very government they were thus assisting and benefiting in the greatest possible manner could be thus manipulated to rob them for the benefit of a few. But the most effectual eye-opening argument has at last reached many—"the stomach argument," and if they allow these conditions longer to continue they will not be passively to blame, as

they have in the past, without a full conception of conditions; but their blame will be, as the lawyers say, "premeditated and with malice aforethought," and as a consequence they will deserve no sympathy.

But says some one, how about the injustice to creditors that a policy of expansion would entail? The reply is simply that they have fattened from contraction and that a corresponding degree of expansion up to the point where contraction commenced when the debt was made would be simple justice.

The Origin and Results of Monopoly.

In examining the economic situation as it presents itself throughout the civilized world today, no thinking man can fail to admit that in all nations, and especially in our own, we are confronted by most startling economic conditions.

These conditions, to a certain extent, have developed before in the history of the world; and in every instance where this has been the case the nation where they existed has suffered a serious shock, or has been utterly wrecked. In some instances palliative remedies have given temporary and unsatisfactory relief, but in the end proved that most heroic measures must be adopted to accomplish radical cure. Although former similar developments have been of such serious consequence, yet the present conditions are accompanied with such peculiar and unusual characteristics as to make the danger more threatening, the effects broader and more sweeping in their action, than have ever before threatened the social system as at present organized. Indeed, the situation is so peculiar and so threatening that we are forced to ask ourselves if it is not possible that civilization has reached a point where old ideas must be changed, and accepted theories which have existed for ages give place to more advanced conceptions better suited to the advanced state of development under which we live.

Has the boy not outgrown the clothing suited to his more youthful years, and is he not now ready to put on the toga of the man? Another great economic evil resulting from monopoly, and especially trusts, is the immense displacement of labor and destruction of industry, and the formation of an unemployed and idle class likely to fall into crime and certain to become a burden upon the employed industry. Trusts control the output of labor in any line in which they are interested, having in view only the *profits* of the stockholders, and utterly regardless of even the *necessities* of the *labor* which it controls and upon which it thrives. When the Vulcan mills at St. Louis shut down to suit the interests of the combination of which it was a part, the capitalists who controlled the mill received a large sum as their share of the *profits* annually from the other mills in the combination, for preventing production, or rather not producing; but what became of the workmen thus prevented from exercising their industry at the degree of capital and who were condemned to idleness and destitution? The pipe system of the Standard Oil Company compels 11,000 men to remain idle because there is greater *profit* to the monopoly in compelling these men to starve. New machine processes are developed by capital, and these throw thousands out of employment and deny them the right to gain a support, in order that monopoly may have a *profit*. Commissioner Wright, of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, says of the displacement of labor by machinery, that in some industries the displacement is as 100 to 1.

We live in an age when the power of man is increased ten thousand-fold over what it was in former ages. The power of wealth is far beyond the most fantastic dreams of the wisest men of antiquity. The accumulation of values, produced by genius and labor, is far beyond the conception of the most powerful monarch of any former era, and yet the work goes on, and the glittering volume grows, until it is a monument grander than could have been constructed by the combined powers of the ancient world. We find in this day private citizens whose wealth and power far exceed those of many kings in the earlier ages of the world, and we find existing in our own Nation corporations and combinations of wealth whose power and riches are far greater than those of empires which

have made undying records in the history of the world. The creative capacity of labor, aided by modern science and invention, has reached immeasurable proportions; the evil which is a part of avarice still produces its results, as it ever has; human nature is unchanged. The history of the world is replete with evidences of the danger to nations growing out of accumulated wealth in the hands of the few, and yet although the wealth of the world is greater than ever, and the facilities for controlling and monopolizing it greater than ever, yet there has never been a change in our system to protect the Nation from this serious evil, and we go on with this great development under systems founded on theories fitted only to be effective under a far more primitive development, and which have proved futile even for that.

In the earlier eras of history the vast accumulation of wealth by individuals was a labor of years, rarely accomplished in one generation. Now it is the result of a few years of shrewd speculation. In older times manufactures were carried on by individual enterprise and industry, independent of any foreign capital; each tradesman was his own master and controlled the creation of his industry; every apprentice expected in time to become his own master and a manufacturer. The field of industry was broad and free; there was employment for all. The means of communication were slow and difficult. The agricultural population had access to a vast extent of free domain, and could not be held in bondage by legal claims upon the soil which gave them sustenance and shelter. Each individual felt that he was an important factor in the body politic, and not a creature dependent upon the whim of a mercenary master; a mere cog in the wheel of industry, a link in the chain of labor. Under such conditions it was difficult to amass vast riches, and there were loopholes of escape from the tyranny of the usurer, the speculator, and the demands of task-masters; but all these things are changed. The mechanic has been swallowed up by the factory, the independent manufacturer has disappeared and given place to the wage slave of the industrial centers. The means of transportation have been perfected, time and space have been annihilated by steam and electricity. Brain and muscle have been replaced by machinery. The honest returns of the artisan have been replaced by the dole of a pittance to the wage slave. The free agriculturist and independent farmer has been replaced by the overburdened tenant and mortgage vassal. The free lands are in the grip of mercenary landlords, who must receive a tribute before industry can be permitted to feed its children. The product of the farm pays tribute to every hand that touches it until there is nothing left for the producer; and the speculator, the peddler of the Middle Ages and colonial days, has blossomed into the money king, the merchant prince, the tyrant who rules America. Industry has used every avenue of escape that existed under the old system; gradually all have been closed one after the other, until there is now no loop-hole left. Monopoly guards every outlet, there now remains only submission or

desperate battle. Submission is a word not understood by Americans, and battle must be given. What, then, is the plan of campaign? Let us see, if we can, upon what foundation this audacious power rests, and set to work to sap and overthrow it. First let us review the evils growing out of monopoly and trusts as they exist in our country, and then we will be better able to search for the cause that has produced them.

First we find that monopoly makes itself felt in oppressive demands for what it may have to dispose of. It is not governed by what the thing or commodity is worth, or has cost, but what it can command. There is only one interest consulted in all its transactions, and that is the profits it can gather for its operators. In this respect it reaches all classes, but it is the least of the evils that follow in its train. Monopoly may control necessities, which it holds beyond the ability of the individual to reach, and may compel him to assume obligations for the future which will be a burden during his life, and rob him continually of the results of his industry under penalty of suffering to himself and family. These unjust obligations the law compels him to meet, and thus the Government, which should be his protection, is made the ally and tool of oppression, thus crushing out patriotism and laying the foundation of a sentiment dangerous to the stability of the Nation.

Another great economic evil resulting from monopoly, and especially trusts, is the immense displacement of labor and destruction of industry, and the formation of an unemployed and idle class likely to fall into crime and certain to become a burden upon the employed industry. Trusts control the output of labor in any line in which they are interested, having in view only the *profits* of the stockholders, and utterly regardless of even the *necessities* of the *labor* which it controls and upon which it thrives. When the Vulcan mills at St. Louis shut down to suit the interests of the combination of which it was a part, the capitalists who controlled the mill received a large sum as their share of the *profits* annually from the other mills in the combination, for preventing production, or rather not producing; but what became of the workmen thus prevented from exercising their industry at the degree of capital and who were condemned to idleness and destitution? The pipe system of the Standard Oil Company compels 11,000 men to remain idle because there is greater *profit* to the monopoly in compelling these men to starve. New machine processes are developed by capital, and these throw thousands out of employment and deny them the right to gain a support, in order that monopoly may have a *profit*. Commissioner Wright, of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, says of the displacement of labor by machinery, that in some industries the displacement is as 100 to 1.

Thus monopoly is not only appropriating the creations of industry but the entire field of labor, and excluding thousands from the right to exercise their industry at all, merely that they may have a *profit*. What is the difference between this condition and one where men

were prevented by force of arms from earning a support for their families? Monopoly thus not only appropriates earnings, but prevents the exercise of the right to create them. In each field of industry which monopoly enters, the individual worker is driven out, dumb machinery takes his place, and the aggregate of value the field is capable of producing goes to swell the fortune of the capitalist in *profits*, while the people who before were dependent on that field for support are driven out as waifs and vagabonds, or retained as serfs. Thus is one field of industry after another seized by the power of capital until the people are reduced to beggary or vassalage.

If thus a few wealthy men are to control all the affairs of the Nation, and the balance are to be dependent on them, although the form of republican government may survive, yet the essence, the spirit is dead. But what of the thousands of unemployed, driven from the fields of industry by monopoly? Many drift aimlessly about and become the victims of drink and crime and misery. Others become the menials of wealth and flaunt their degradation in showy liveries.

Nor has monopoly confined its operations to the fields of mechanical industry. By means of a vicious and unjust land system it has, by the aid of subsidized or treacherous legislation, fixed its fangs upon the public domain, and thus cut off access to the lands of the Nation. It has gained control of the currency of the Nation, and, by cunningly manipulating the volume, has made money dear in proportion as other monopolies have made labor cheap. It can command large profits for the use of money in the shape of usurious interest, which the returns of the agriculturist will not allow him to pay; this unjust demand is secured by mortgages on the homes and farms of the Nation, which gives monopoly the entire control of their products and makes the farmers nothing more than tenants at will. Thus is every industry dominated by massed wealth, virtually conquered and bound.

What are the moral and political results, and what the effect on the employed worker? Instead of having personal moral relations to an individual employer, they become, more and more, machines, grinding out wealth for soulless corporations, with which they can have no human relations, and which are incapable of human sympathy, which have only one idea and aim—*i.e., profit*—and sneer at justice. The workers cease to be free citizens and become less men and more machines—mere units of labor force, having no interest in, and no control over, the industrial processes in which they are engaged, and liable to be dismissed and their support to be cut off any day; mere creatures of the corporation, dependent upon it for very existence. To them the Nation is nothing—a myth, a something far away, in which they have no interest; their existence is dependent on the favor of the corporation. How can patriotism exist under such conditions?

The spread of corporations and the triumph of monopoly evidence the entrance of the plutocrat into politics and the control of the state by the wealthy class. The United States Senate has become the property of this class, and is virtually closed against all who do not belong to and serve it. The elections are decided by money. The sources of legislation are corrupted, as is evidenced by thousands of instances, both State and National. The operations of the Standard Oil Trust in the legislatures of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and the rings and combines which have disgraced the National Congress, rival in corruption the worst methods of European politics. The courts

the very fountains of justice—are corrupted and tainted, and great corporations can sometimes buy decisions and immunities. The individual citizen has no chance, justice is made a mockery.

If thus a few wealthy men are to control all the affairs of the Nation, and the balance are to be dependent on them, although the form of republican government may survive, yet the essence, the spirit is dead.

It must ever be a conceded point that without the division of labor man would have made no progress in civilization. He would always have remained in a primitive and savage condition. The division of labor was the first step in simple co-operation; without it every man would have been compelled to administer to all of his wants and desires by his own hands; his food he would have secured from nature without the assistance of tool or implement, and prepared it himself; his clothing also, would have been the fruit of the labor of his own hands without the assistance of tool or implement other than such as he could himself make; if he had books or papers he would have made them himself with appliances of his own, on paper which must also have been the result of his unaided effort. It is superfluous to say that, under such circumstances, he never would have any books or papers because he would have no use for them, nor would so miserable a creature have any use for many of the luxuries and conveniences that now surround man on every hand, and add to his usefulness and enjoyment. Without personal co-operation, as represented by the division of labor, man must have remained a savage brute. But with an intelligent application of the principles involved in the doctrine of the division of labor, each individual exercises his energy and his talents in that direction in which he excels, and exchanges the product of his labor to those who are less dexterous in that branch of labor for the product of the branch of labor in which they in turn excel, and to which they devote their whole time. The illustration cited by Adam Smith is still standard as an example of the increased productiveness of labor when this principle is applied.

He showed that a man could not be depended upon, working singly, to make and finish over twenty pins a day, but that ten workmen, by dividing the labor, one to draw the wire, one to point, one to polish, etc., could altogether turn out 48,000 pins a day, or 4,800 each. This is a strong illustration and is not overdrawn, and perhaps the principle is susceptible of just as forcible a demonstration in many other branches of work.

This doctrine of the division of labor is worthy the most careful investigation and study, especially by agriculturists, because all the great writers have agreed that man could have made no advancement in material progress without it, and that, therefore, a large part of the progress he has made must be due to the application of its principles, and they also affirm that division of labor is not as effective in agricultural pursuits as it is in commercial, professional, and manufacturing. This is substantially

Political Economy.

NO. 4.

To Dr. Adam Smith belongs the credit of having pointed out the fallacies of the economists, and, in addition to that, presenting to the world a proper conception of the advantages attending the diversified employment of mankind, which he designated as the "division of labor." He laid the foundation for the doctrine as to the division of labor which has, by its evident harmony with true principles, been accepted by all writers since his time.

It must ever be a conceded point that without the division of labor man would have made no progress in civilization. He would always have remained in a primitive and savage condition.

This is a short review of the evils of monopoly. Now, as to its origin. The direct source from which these giant modern enemies to society have sprung are the vast strides made in invention, the application of steam to industrial pursuits, the increased facilities for transportation, and the transmission of intelligence; in other words, machinery, railways, steamers, telegraphs.

These great inventions are the property of the world, and yet they have been monopolized by a few, and through them the industry of the world is controlled. Add to this the power derived from a monopoly of the lands under an unjust and arbitrary system, and we have the means directly by which these evils have been wrought.

But here arises the question, through what oversight in our economic calculation has it become possible for a few to thus monopolize the greatest creations of genius for the furthering of the progress of enlightenment? The evil lies at the door of the American belief in the right of unlimited private accumulation.

This idea of unlimited private acquisition, at the time of the founding of the Nation, was safe and right enough, as from the time of the establishment of the Government to the war between the States all could acquire who would; but it is not true to-day, and steadily becomes less and less possible until there will be established two fixed classes, the rich and the poor, the idle and the servile.

The idea now suggests itself: Has the time not come when it is necessary to modify the doctrine of the unlimited right of individuals to acquire *that which is needful to the life of all*? The great discoveries of the age are the property of the world, and should not be allowed to be monopolized by a few as a means of building up extraordinary power over the masses virtually superior to the Government.

The population of the United States at the last census, June 1, 1880, was 50,155,783. Of this number, 43,475,840 were of native birth, and 6,679,943 were born in foreign lands, the proportion being respectively 86.68 and 13.32 per cent. In respect of race, 43,402,970 were white, 6,580,793 negroes, 105,465 Chinese, 148 Japanese, and 66,407 Indians, not counting Indians still upon reservations or in tribal relations. In respect to sex the males were slightly in excess, there being 25,18,820 males, to 24,636,963 females.

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the position of Adam Smith, Jean Baptiste Say, John Stuart Mill, and all leading authorities. But the ECONOMIST does not hesitate to affirm that it must be a false position to some extent, because it implies that those who engage in agriculture can not attain as high a degree of development as those engaged in other occupations. And to admit that position would be to agree that agriculture, as an occupation, was inferior to the other branches of effort. They are led into error by taking it for granted that the occupation of the agriculturist is not as well calculated for applying the principles of the division of labor as are the other branches of industry, the falsity of which supposition depends upon an improper conception of many of the industries performed by artisans and professional men. For example, many occupations are considered as independent from agriculture, such as the country school-teacher, the country doctor, the country blacksmith and carpenter, and a number of similar occupations in the country and the country villages, and as such the existing relations with agriculturists would be that of an exchange of the products of their labor, but this is not the true situation. The agriculturists, by raising the only surplus that is exported or exchanged with distant communities, for commodities or their equivalent, are engaged in the leading productive industry, that adds to the aggregate value of the wealth of the community, and consequently all these other occupations are subsidiary or auxiliary to and dependent upon it. Therefore they are in the employ of the farmer and are branches of the division of labor of the farm that have never been properly controlled and utilized, and the issue is made with these authors that agriculture is susceptible of just as forcible an application of the principles of a division of labor as either commerce or manufacture, and that it is the manifest duty of the modern student of the science to point out the best methods of applying those principles, so as to demonstrate, what everybody must admit as a natural fact, that agriculture is necessarily inferior to no occupation on earth. The wrong conception springs from regarding the occupation of the artisan and professional man as independent and always the same, whereas they belong to whatever branch of production they, for the time being, assist. When the doctor serves the manufacturer he is indirectly a manufacturer, when he serves the railroad man or the merchant he is indirectly a commercial man, and when he serves the agriculturist he is indirectly an agricultural producer, and so of the teacher, the preacher, the lawyer, the tinker, the smith, the carpenter, and so on indefinitely.

Division of labor, as individual co-operation, has unquestionably developed the commercial and manufacturing pursuits and shown more tangible effects of its beneficial workings in those branches than it has in agriculture; but it does not follow that because these principles have not been applied to agriculture that they can not be. Farmers may be slower to give up their prejudices and break up old established customs and engage in new movements; but when they do so they will be in

dead earnest, and will advocate with more tenacity and vigor than those who are more ready to indorse new methods. "Still water runs deep;" "large bodies move slowly." And, although it may take a long time to get the great conservative agricultural element to apply to their own business the principles involved in the doctrine of individual co-operation as illustrated in the division of labor, when they do apply them it will be done with more vigor and determination, and, as a consequence, will be more effectual. Every agriculturist and every person who is interested in the prosperity of the agricultural classes ought to apply himself to the study of this question, and in so doing he will immediately find that it has been the great incentive and prime cause of the wonderful development of commercial and manufacturing pursuits, and that agriculture—the most essential of all occupations—is utilizing its principles less effectually than it did two or three hundred years ago. In fact, division of labor, as a principle applied to agricultural pursuits, has been gradually diminishing for many years, and the tendency has been to separate agriculture into a pursuit dependent on every other, while it is naturally the most, and in fact the only, practically independent occupation on earth.

The recognized obstacle to the application of these principles to agriculture is the isolated manner of living and the difficulty of access and exchange of personal services. In the early settlement of this country, when the farms were farther apart than now, the farmer used to raise his own flax and wool, he tanned his own raw hides into leather, the housewife selected and dried rye straw, and she spun the flax and wool into thread and yarn which were woven into cloth for domestic use, and plaited the straw into hats. At regular intervals the traveling shoemaker made his appearance and stayed a week or two, during which time he made shoes for the whole family; so the tinker would also come and mend everything in his line, and the chair-maker in time would make new chairs or put in new bottoms, as necessary. Under this system was more personal co-operation than under that now in vogue, but it is not necessary or desirable that those old methods be again inaugurated. The shoemaker that could make one pair of shoes a day has gone to work in a factory with five hundred others, where they turn out a better-finished and neater-looking shoe at the rate of many pairs a day for each hand employed. It has been found that the production of shoes, chairs, hats, clothing, and everything manufactured can be greatly augmented by concentrating the work so that many hands co-operate together, and they have stopped their welcome, happy, and healthful visits to the farm and broken up their direct relations with the farmer, who still lives isolated and alone and follows in this particular the traditions and customs of his ancestors in that he strives to be a segregated, independent factor in production, while in consumption he practices the most modern patronage of improvements caused by division of labor. He buys store butter, store soap, manufactured tobacco, cigars, and whisky; he

OUT of a total of 580 cities and towns, of four thousand and over population, containing in all 12,936,110 persons, 266 comprising 6,969,766 people, or more than one-half the urban population, are found in the North Atlantic States; and 213, comprising 3,663,843 people, in the North Central States; while in the Southern and Southwestern sections combined there are but 78 cities and towns, comprising only 1,825,832 inhabitants, showing the great predominance of agricultural interests in this section.

It may be of interest to know that almost the entire cotton belt of the United States lies in a region having a mean annual temperature above 55 degrees. The sugar and rice regions have a temperature greater than 70 degrees, while between 50 and 60 degrees is the mean annual temperature for tobacco. In the great prairie region the average lies almost entirely below 55 degrees, and the wheat region of Minnesota and Dakota is below 45 degrees of mean annual temperature.

STABILITY, not flexibility, is the characteristic we desire to secure in the currency.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

History and Government.

NO. 5.

From the founding of Athens, 1556 B. C. (about the time of Moses), down to the establishment of the republics under the Amphictionic Council, it must be borne in mind that, as has been before stated, the accounts are almost entirely fabulous. The only records from which we can gather information are the writings of the poets. History, so far as the Greeks are concerned, had not as yet begun her labors. The vivid imaginations of this highly poetic people ran riot, and the reader of the literature of this age wanders through the most delightful scenes the highly-excited imagination can offer. We are presented with the machinations of gods and demi-gods, the adventures of heroes and giants, the ravages of monsters and dragons, and all the potency of charms and enchantment. The national intellect was in its infancy and reveled in beauties of its own creation, while nature and life were a mystery. It is, therefore, very difficult to form definite conclusions that are at all reliable as to the minutiae of the social conditions which surrounded these people. About all that we can say is that they were a brave, self-reliant people, imbued with a deep devotion to liberty and fired with a zeal and enthusiasm that made progress a necessity. Although much more rude than our colonial ancestors, the characteristics which distinguished them were very similar.

The mental tone of the people was of a high order. They were quick, sensitive, impulsive; full of vitality, and their mental processes shaded by the most delicate sentiment. We only know that the patriarchal form of government was the natural development of their condition, and that equality was the prime factor in their idea of society, and that this principle grew and developed with their progress. They looked upon the home as the foundation of the state, and each family was fixed to the soil, which was its means of support, by individual ownership. The early forms of government were merely alliances of families for mutual protection, and only such powers were recognized in them as were delegated for special purposes.

This, although the most primitive form of government, is the true principle upon which ours is founded. Of course, as has been stated, there was much violence, and many savage and warlike chiefs wasted the country with their bands, which could only be resisted by force, and from this savage class sprung the kings, who forced their yokes upon the necks of the people. This condition, however, lasted comparatively but a short time even at this early stage of civilization, and the people, still devoted to liberty, overthrew their monarchies and established republican government.

During this monarchical period there was constant intestine dissension and civil war, which wasted the produce as well as the energies of the states. Men were kept continually under arms who should have been engaged in industrial pursuits. Their time and labor were not only wasted, but occupied in preventing others from productive labor and in consuming

and destroying what was produced. So that this era may be set aside from our investigations, except so far as it shows us the character and development of the people.

Every one will be struck with the similarity of these conditions with those which exist with us to-day. At this time Lycurgus came into prominence in Lacedemon, or Sparta, and history says that "he found the people so poor that they had not one inch of land of their own, while a few individuals were possessed of all the lands and wealth of the nation. Insolvency, fraud, luxury, and two other fatal dis tempers of states—that is, extreme poverty and excessive wealth—cursed the people."

In Athens, at the time of Solon, the same conditions had been developed. Ancient historians say "the poor were grievously oppressed by the rich on account of their debts, which they were unable to discharge. They were, therefore, determined to choose themselves a chief, who should deliver them from the inhuman severity of their creditors, and make an entire change in the system of government." Not only were the people in debt, but their lands were monopolized by the speculative element, and themselves no better than serfs. Indeed, the conditions were identical with those existing in Sparta, and just such as we may reasonably expect to grow out of present developments among us when carried to their legitimate end.

Now it must be borne in mind these results were brought about not by force of arms or any tyrannical assumptions by the state, but were developed gradually and almost imperceptibly by the growth of wealth and aggressions of capital sustained by the state and submitted to by the people from stage to stage until the oppression became general and relief imperative.

It should be further borne in mind that up to this time the Greeks had no written laws, but were governed by established customs and mutual agreement, while their differences were decided by a court of final appeal, called the Areopagus, consisting of judges chosen from the wisest men of the state. It will be readily seen how easy it would be for great wealth to corrupt a power so arbitrary and resting in so few hands without check.

The universal desire for more definite laws, and a more perfect execution of them, led to the choice in Athens of Draco as one fitted to compile a proper and just code; but the result of his laws were abortive, as his code was so cruel and inhuman that it was soon abandoned, and matters relapsed into their former chaotic condition. There were at this time seven men in Greece whose wisdom was proverbial, and whose fame is even at this time undiminished.

These men were philosophers who made a study of the science of government and the true principles of justice, and some of their teachings and expressions will give an idea of the general sentiment of the people at that time. These sages are termed the seven wise men, and were Thales the Milesian, Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedemon, Pittacus of Mitylene, Periander of Corinth, Bias and Cleobulus, whose places of nativity are not known. These men often

consulted together upon the methods of instituting the best form of government. On one occasion a question was proposed as to which was the most perfect government. Bias said, "That where the law has no superior." Thales declared that it was "the one where the people are neither too rich nor too poor." Cleobulus declared it to be "where the citizens fear blame more than punishment," and Chilo said "where the laws are more regarded than the orators." Anacharsis the Scythian said "where virtue is honored and vice always detested." Solon's definition was "where an injury done to the meanest subject is an insult upon the whole constitution." At one time, while visiting Croesus, King of Lydia, who was reputed to be the richest king in the world, Solon was shown by Croesus immense heaps of treasure, who asked him if he did not think the possessor the happiest man in the world. Solon replied: "No; I know one man more happy, a poor peasant in Greece, who is neither rich nor poor, who has but few wants, and has learned to supply them by his labor." This was the prevailing sentiment among the people of Greece—perfect equality and justice, a high respect for labor, and hatred of avarice and greed. They, however, were suffering from oppression growing out of these very vices, and chose Solon to devise laws which should protect them in the future against such misfortune. But although Solon seemed so well qualified to compose a code which would insure justice and seemed to fully comprehend the evils to be feared, yet Anacharsis the Scythian seems to have comprehended the evils that afflict government even better than Solon, for in a conversation upon the subject of the proposed laws Anacharsis said: "Alas! all your laws will be found to resemble a spider's web; the weak and small flies will be caught and entangled, but the great and powerful will always have strength to break through," a declaration which is as true to-day as applied to law as it was then in the infancy of government. The weak and ignorant are easily controlled by just laws; it is the shrewd and unprincipled that require rigid control and unsleeping vigilance. They not only break through the meshes of the law, but by corruption and chicanery so subvert it as to make it serve them in their unjust and outrageous oppression of the people, for the protection of whom laws were instituted.

It would seem, from the character of the men chosen to compile just laws, their evident wisdom and unquestioned patriotism, their devotion to justice, thorough sympathy with the people and perfect understanding of them and their misfortunes, that Greece might hope for the establishment of a system of government that would be as nearly perfect as the wisdom of man could make it; and yet, although there is every evidence of the most perfect devotion to duty and self-abnegation upon the part both of Lycurgus and Solon, the results of their labor proved in the end the impossibility of perfection resulting from the works of man. Although the results of their wise legislation were felt in Greece for centuries, and have had their effect upon modern government and civilization, the

same evils overwhelmed them that had afflicted Greece when without laws entirely.

Lycurgus, before he undertook the establishment of any system, decided to visit the great powers of the earth, study their systems, search out their defects, attempt to devise remedies, and when he had thus thoroughly digested all forms of established government develop one from them all which he considered would be best suited to the development and best interests of his people. He began with the island of Crete, whose harsh and austere laws were then famous; he studied these institutions closely. Then he went to Asia, the home of despotism; and then to Egypt, where was the seat of science and art. He spent years in this practical study of all known systems of government. He gave his entire time and mind to a close analysis of all these various institutions.

His great ability and love of liberty qualified him to eliminate the good from the evil, and choose only those parts of each which would benefit and advance his people.

The result of this earnest and deep study of governmental systems by Lycurgus is one of the most enduring monuments in history. The government of Sparta is still a wonder to all the world, and there is nothing in history better attested, and at the same time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta and the institutions of Lycurgus. There is no parallel to the wonderful courage of the people in war, or the perfect dispensing of justice in peace.

Trained under the institutions of Lycurgus, Sparta gave laws to all of Greece, and through the Greeks dictated to the world. Every Spartan was a hero, a patriot, and a philosopher. Even the women were enthused with the spirit of patriotism to such a degree that they held the welfare of the state above every other consideration. The Spartan's devotion to his country became an absorbing passion. Virtue he worshiped, and vice in every form he scorned and abhorred. Wealth was beneath his contempt, and avarice he detested beyond all other vices. Riches had no attraction, and so he was beyond their power to corrupt. Poverty was as entirely unknown as wealth, and the people dwelt in the most perfect equality.

So long as these laws were observed, Sparta stood upon the pinnacle of fame, scorned the corruption which blasted the happiness of contemporary people, and from her height of superiority extended her aid to the neighboring states; her institutions the wonder and admiration of the world, her people the example which all emulated, her justice proverbial, her glory universal. The modern economist will find, however, much to condemn in the institutions of Lycurgus, and it must be admitted that, viewed from a modern standpoint, that great law-giver went too much to extremes;

yet it must be remembered that the age in which he lived was one of violence, that the only reliance a nation had for its protection was in the valor and military ardor of its people. This was their first and only reliance; therefore it became necessary, first, to develop these qualities in the highest degree before there could be

how they were carried out, it will be well to carefully study.

Here, it will be observed, is another striking parallel to present conditions. Monopoly had developed until it had grasped the entire wealth of the nation. The lands were alienated from the people and were in the possession of speculative landlords, who demanded what tribute they chose from the people dependent upon them for their support. Money was dear and monopolized by a favored few, who dictated terms to labor and compelled compliance with all demands under penalty of suffering and destitution to families and children. The labor of the country had been reduced practically to vassalage, although the people boasted of liberty and a republican form of government. Wealth was swelling in the hands of the few until fortunes had become colossal, while the masses groaned and suffered in poverty. Industry was robbed of its earnings and compelled to labor for a bare subsistence. Agriculture was forced to pay tribute to idle wealth. A power had crept in between the state and the people which overshadowed the state, or made it a party to its tyranny. Conditions were similar, and probably little, if any, worse than they are now with us, and it rested upon Lycurgus to provide a means of relief. This he did,

be accepted by Alliance men throughout the cotton belt and acted upon with a degree of unanimity that will be a surprise to those who, from past experience, claim to have no faith in farmers' organizations.

There are many reasons why the cotton bagging adopted is better than the jute, and only the one valid objection, that it does not weigh as much, and that the price of cotton is fixed in foreign markets, where they dock 6 per cent. for jute bagging and ties, or about thirty pounds per bale, making a difference equal to the difference in weight in favor of the jute bagging. There is, therefore, a necessity for a regulation that will reduce the amount of tare thus taken, and this becomes imperative when the lighter tare, after being removed, possesses more value and can be utilized for many purposes. This is right and just, and therefore worthy to be demanded by the farmers, and, being right and just, the cotton exchanges and the factories can not afford to deny such a regulation. Foreign countries must, in time, yield the point also, but there is little hope that they will do so in time to assist in the present conflict.

But if a regulation can be introduced into the American system of handling cotton whereby a just difference in the tare will be recognized, it will soon follow in foreign countries. The merchants, cotton brokers, and factors, and the various merchants and cotton exchanges throughout the South have

expressed great sympathy for the farmer and great indignation on account of the bagging trust. In this struggle the farmer needs their co-operation and assistance, and it is suggested that he call upon them and note their responses—make a record of them. Let every neighborhood in the cotton belt get up a unanimous petition to their merchants and nearest cotton exchange to declare cotton as the standard substance for cotton bagging and to base all quotations and usages to apply to bales covered with that kind of bagging and to give notice of a uniform and just discrimination against jute bagging equal to its extra weight of, say, ten pounds, and let it be known that every bale marketed in jute bagging will be docked ten pounds. A pressure of that kind brought to bear must either produce that result or compel those who have the power and authority to enforce it to admit that they are more partial to the bagging trust than to the farmer. Cotton is worth about a dollar a bale more wrapped in cotton than in jute, and the only question about this matter, then, is one of policy. Will the farmers demand a premium on cotton wrapped, or that a tare be taken on jute wrapped. It is as broad as it is long, but probably the latter would be much the easiest to enforce and maintain inviolate. The interest of the buyer, under its action, runs with the cotton wrapping.

THE Farmers State Alliance of Georgia met on the 4th inst. in the city of Atlanta in called session for the purpose of deliberating upon measures best calculated to enable the cotton planter to resist the proposed extortion of the Jute Bagging Trust.

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The attendance was large, and the meeting conspicuous as a representative gathering of the best farmers in Georgia, with prominent Alliance men as visitors and delegates from most all the cotton States. The work was taken up in a systematic and thorough manner and a definite conclusion reached. This will

How to Conquer Error.

The following editorial, clipped from the Western Recorder, contains good, sound doctrine that all should study well and heed:

"The best way to meet error is to advocate the truth. Error is oftenest propagated by being formally attacked, and those who hold to the error are seldom convinced by argument. No man can be convinced unless he is first open to conviction. To attack a man's belief and argue against him is almost sure to arouse his opposition and shut his heart against the plainest and strongest arguments. That is why so few people are ever convinced by argument. But to advocate the truth, without formally assailing error, is to find the mind of the one who holds to error measurably open. There is no humiliation involved in his accepting the proofs offered. It does not occur to him that he is assailed, and must resist. Indeed, when he accepts the truth he is apt to think that really that is what he has believed all the time; only he did not state it exactly in that way. It is faith that begets faith; and it is faith that moves men, rather than reason. 'Wavering souls rally around firm ones,' says Reveillard, and John Stuart Mill says one man with a belief, as a force in society, is worth a score who have only interests. Those who believe error, with very few exceptions, believe it very loosely. They rather acquiesce in it than believe it; and if the truth is presented to them in a way that does not throw them on the defensive, there is a good prospect of their accepting it. But the surest way to make them tighten their grip on error is to make an attack upon them. To strike a man is a very poor way to persuade him to go the way you desire. There are many efforts alive and active in the world to-day that would long ago have been dead had they not been so vigorously assailed.

"Of course, we must not be indifferent to error, nor must we withhold or compromise the truth; but we should pull down error by building up the truth. We should not shun 'to declare the whole counsel of God,' but it must be the counsel of God we declare, not attacks on error. Paul preached Christ; he did not argue with the Athenians or Corinthians against the folly of their belief in Jupiter and Apollo; and it was the preaching of Christ that made the heathen altars crumble. Felix would not have trembled had Paul attacked his beliefs.

"Let there be no consenting to error, but always and everywhere let us proclaim the truth, and proclaim it in love. While hating heresy we should love heretics, and should be very careful not to increase the difficulty of their accepting the truth. Many an unwise advocate of the truth will have a good deal to answer for in this regard. Truth is God's remedy for error, and if we advocate the truth in love we can safely leave the error to take care of itself. Not battering-rams nor catapults, but blowing the Gospel trumpet, will overthrow the walls of the Jericho of errors."

THE census returns show a rapidity of increase in population in the United States which is without parallel in the history of the civilized world. Each decade has shown an increase ranging from 30.08 per cent. to 36.40 per cent. How long will it be possible to sustain this enormous increase and what is to be the result? According to the most conservative calculations, based upon former returns, the population in 1900 will be 84,992,000.

THE average annual rain-fall upon the surface of the United States, exclusive of Alaska, is not far from twenty-nine inches.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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THE transportation system of a nation is of vital importance to its people, it is an institution of common interest upon which all are dependent, and yet, under our system, it is the subject of private speculation, manipulated exclusively in the interest of a few for the tribute it can force from the many.

THE element which has for ages monopolized the power in human government has ever opposed all who labor for the advancement of the world. It poisoned Socrates; murdered, assassinated, and banished hundreds of the brightest, noblest, and most patriotic men of antiquity; and when Christ assailed sin and evil in high places, drove out the money-changers and sat down with Publicans and sinners, it crucified him. Its cry has ever been, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

A New York paper devotes a large amount of space to prove that the amount of mortgaged land is not greater than it was ten years ago; but the advertising columns of the Saturday Spectator, published in Minneapolis, issue of April 6th, contains fifty notices of mortgage sales. If they are foreclosing fifty at one time in one county for non-payment, it seems safe to estimate the whole number in existence as very large, and if contraction continues it is undoubtedly safe to expect the proportion of foreclosures and evictions to increase.

THE ECONOMIST has consummated arrangements to secure a series of articles upon the subject of transportation and the effect of the railway abuses upon production, from the pen of J. F. Hudson, author of "Railways of the Republic." Mr. Hudson is one of the ablest and clearest advocates of railway reform of the present age. He is fearless in his denunciation of wrong, and correct and logical in his method of discussion, being thoroughly master of the question and its relation to other questions as well as its history in this and other countries; he produces at will incontrovertible facts to sustain his positions. He argues truth for truth's sake and does so from the ranks of the people.

THE census of 1880 shows the extreme readiness of Americans to change the place of their residence. Out of a total population of a little over fifty millions, nine and one-half millions were born in States other than those in which they live, and the number of those who have changed their place of residence without changing the State is still larger.

THE tendency of our people to desert the farm and drift into the cities is shown by the census returns to be rapidly increasing. In 1790 the proportion was 3.3 in cities to 100 on farms. In 1880 it was shown that 22.5 live in cities to 100 on farms. Let this difference go on increasing for another century and what will be the result? From a rural and agricultural people we are fast being transformed into an urban and dependent race. This is a strong evidence of danger to the independence of the masses.

THE land grabbers are still at work to pervert the power of the State and make it their ally and assistant in robbing the widows and the fatherless. Their last assault on the helpless is made in the stronghold of capitalistic rascality. A bill is before the legislature of New York for the purpose of abolishing the wife's right of dower in lands owned by the husband during marriage and before death. This will enable the heartless speculators to turn widows and orphans destitute upon the cold charity of the world when death has robbed them of their natural protector. Is there any limit to the depths of heartlessness to which mercenary humanity can descend? It does seem that avarice is capable of reducing man to a state lower than the very beasts. They would rob the widow of her inheritance and then compel her to labor for wages that oblige her to ask charity or starve. Can the vengeance of God against such beastly instincts be long delayed?

THE reason why so small a number of monopolists have so long succeeded in preventing the masses from making any head against their designs or accomplishing any great reform is that they work harmoniously, with a fixed and definite design, and are persistent and tenacious in their undertakings. They understand definitely and clearly just what they want, and have their plans for accomplishing their desires perfected and thoroughly understood before beginning their undertakings. The masses, whose interests compel them to contend against this thoroughly understood and systematized aggression, are unorganized; or, when organized, are vague in their understanding of what they desire to accomplish, spasmodic and uncertain in their action, and the force of their movement broken by dissension among themselves. No hope of great results can be entertained until the objects to be accomplished are thoroughly and clearly understood, the manner and plan of action thoroughly formed and digested, and the masses determined and persistent, acting in perfect harmony and with clear understanding of what they desire.

Under such attack monopoly must fall, resistance will be futile, the masses must and will triumph.

THERE are some most remarkable facts with regard to money which will startle almost every one before whose observation they are placed. First, let any one ask himself the simple question, "What is money?" and see how he will blunder and flounder in attempting to give a clear and satisfactory definition. The fact is, that although money is a necessity to all and constantly before the attention of all, it is a thing all understand less than probably any other commodity we come in contact with. It is also a fact that the most important truths relating to its real nature have been purposely kept so hidden by technicalities, and so deeply buried under a mass of confusing legislation, economic theories, and technical contrivances, especially designed to blind and confuse even the most intelligent citizens, that the masses do not stop to think of the matter at all, and leave it in the hands of the few who have unmasked the secret and joined the band who are manipulating it for vast personal gain.

The masses recognize the power of money because they feel it every day. They also feel that this power is at enmity with their comfort and happiness, and yet what that power is, or from what it originates, they have not the most remote conception. They simply recognize the mystery and give up the solution in despair. Let each individual note the following facts, and after considering them see if he is not nearer an understanding of the mystery than he was before: First, the object of labor is to provide food, clothing, and shelter. No material of which money is made is capable of being used for either of these purposes, but man must labor first for money and then depend upon the value of the money for supplying the requirements. This value of money depends upon its scarcity or abundance. The scarcity or abundance depends upon the powers that create it and manipulate it. Gold and silver have only such intrinsic value as they can command as commodities of use and utility, but an especial and increased value is given to them by the fact of their being made into money. The value of paper money is given, after its recognition by government, by its scarcity or abundance. Thus those who control the volume of money dictate to labor what proportion of the necessities it requires it shall receive in return for its producing power.

Instead of labor supplying the necessities of the laborer, as nature designed, it can only supply such proportion as the power which controls money chooses to allow. Money commands labor instead of labor commanding money, which represents necessities for which labor is exercised as nature commands. The laws of nature are set aside. The pyramid is reversed. Instead of money being created for the convenience of the people it becomes a power in the hands of its manipulators by which they prevent the people from accomplishing the best results for themselves by means of their industry.

Of the total number of prisoners in confinement at the last census in 1880, only .11 per cent. of the native population were criminals, while .19 per cent. of the foreign element were among the criminals.

THE annual rain-fall of the group of States bounded by the Ohio River, the Mississippi, the Atlantic, and the Gulf, including the coast of Texas, is little over fifty inches. In the group north and west of this, extending from the New England States to longitude 99, it averages between thirty and thirty-five inches.

THE foreign element which is drifting into the United States seeks comparatively high latitudes and altitudes and low temperature and rain-fall. Ninety-five and a half per cent. of our foreign population is found north of the parallel of 37 degrees, the middle latitude of the country, and the proportion which this foreign element bears to the total population of each latitude belt steadily increases northward, until, between forty and forty-eight degrees, it reaches nearly 40 per cent. of the total population.

THE largest proportion of colored population is found in South Carolina, where it is about three-fifths of the whole. In Mississippi and Louisiana more than one-half of the population is colored. In Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama, Florida, District of Columbia, and Virginia, the colored element forms from one-third to one-half of the total. In Arkansas and Tennessee, from one-fourth to one-third are colored. Missouri and West Virginia show the lowest proportion among the former slave States.

AFTER a careful investigation the New York Sun concludes that forty thousand working women in that city are receiving wages so low that they are compelled to accept charity or starve. Such a condition in a country calling itself civilized, much less Christian, is too infamous to require comment. Speculators rolling in ill-gotten millions, and delicate women denied enough return for their toil to ward off starvation. Does history bear a blacker blot even among barbarians? Yet this is only one instance, and still the somber clouds gather over the Nation. Is it unreasonable to look for the flashing of the lightnings of popular wrath and the crashing of the thunders of the indignation of the people?

THE rain-fall of a country is perhaps the most important element of the climate in its relation to material interests because that one upon which all others depend is agriculture, may be said to flourish within certain limits, directly in proportion to the amount of rain-fall.

Therefore, in seeking a location, farmers should give especial attention to this point. In the United States the rain-fall differs greatly in frequency and volume in different parts. Over the eastern half it is amply sufficient for all needs of agriculture. The western half, however, with the exception of a narrow strip near the Pacific coast, has an insufficient supply, so much so that everywhere, except in certain limited localities where the local topography produces occasional rains, irrigation is necessary for the production of crops with any degree of certainty. This is an important matter to farmers seeking locations in the West.

THE most rapid and convenient means of communication are rendered an imperative necessity to the mass of the people, and yet they are, among us, monopolized for the benefit of a mere fraction of the people. Is it democratic or just?

SOME idea of the immense returns paid by transportation lines may be had from the fact that a change of eight mills per ton per mile in the freight rates of the Michigan Central means to that road a gain in gross earnings of one million dollars a year.

IN the Northern Central States 71 per cent. of the cereal crops of the country are produced, and in the Southern States the entire cotton crop and all the sugar and rice. Thus the Northern, Central and Southern sections represent almost the entire agricultural interest of the Nation, while the North Atlantic States represent practically the entire manufacturing interest.

BY a shrewd trick of legislation more than two hundred thousand acres of the fairest land in the Des Moines valley in Iowa has passed out of the hands of the people who redeemed it from its primitive wildness and caused it to blossom and smile in plenty while they made the homes of their children glad with comfort. Now under the decree of Government four hundred families are to be turned shelterless upon the world and their homes pass into the hands of land sharks and schemers. Is Ireland any worse? Is any man's home safe from the invasion of these robbers while the law defends them in their methods? It behoves American farmers to look well to their safety.

SINCE 1820, 14,000,000 of foreigners have made their homes in the United States; over 10,000,000 of these have come within the past twenty-five years. This 10,000,000 constitute one-fifth of our entire population. All have been educated under institutions directly opposite to ours, and yet they have equal influence with natives in the conduct of affairs. They may be equally honest as Americans and feel an equal interest in the welfare of the country, but the effect of education necessarily must influence their judgment, affect their conception of the true principles of republicanism. Social science clubs will serve to bring out these false ideas and give opportunity for correcting them.

MUCH has been said and written upon the influence of forests upon climate. To sum up all the appreciable actual results, they are about this. While their presence does not increase the amount of rain-fall in the least, it tends to economize that which falls, preventing it from flowing directly off into the streams, and thereby lessens the violence of floods. Evaporation from the myriad leaf surfaces doubtless lowers the temperature in summer in the immediate vicinity of forests, and they break the force of winds which otherwise might develop into destructive tornados. In these and many other ways the presence of forests tends to mitigate the extremes of climate and to neutralize its ill effects.

NOW is a good time for all who read this paper to do a little missionary work. In the near future a series of articles will be commenced upon the subject of railroads by J. F. Hudson, author of "Railways of the Republic." These articles will run through the balance of the year and will, when the volume is bound, comprise a book worth several times the cost of a year's subscription to this paper. All readers should, if possible, get them from the start, hence the necessity of subscribing at once. The articles are not calculated to propagate any dogmas, but to give the reader a clear, full, and intelligent idea of the abuses and the principles violated by them. Let all friends do a little missionary work in the spread of this intelligence and request for subscribers.

THE urban population of the United States is shown by the last census as follows: In the North Atlantic group of States, including all from Pennsylvania to Maine, 48 per cent. live in cities. In the South Atlantic group, containing all from Delaware to Florida, 14 per cent. are located in towns and cities. The Southern Central group, including all from Kentucky to Texas, only 9 per cent. live in cities and towns. The Western group, from Montana to California, have 27 per cent. in towns. Rhode Island shows the highest proportion in cities and has 77 per cent. of her population in towns. Arkansas has the lowest, only 2 per cent. in towns, and North Carolina has only 3 per cent. so situated. The North Atlantic group has one-half of its population in towns, while the Southern States average only 9 per cent. So are divided the forces of agriculture against urban interests.

THE following sensible suggestion from a Dakota farmer to the official organ of the Alliance in that State, the Dakota Ruralist, is a word in the right direction, and it is to be hoped that the farmers of the great grain-growing section will act as a unit in resisting the twine trust. The farmers of the South have a like monster to contend with in the shape of a cotton-bagging trust; but, unfortunately, they can not bind their cotton by hand; if they could there is no doubt that their organization is so well developed and their determination so great that they would not use a yard of jute bagging. The farmers of the North and West are of just as good grit, but the question is, are they as well organized? If not, they should be at once. If they will all agree to use wire or go back to first principles and use straw, they can burst the twine trust:

"Let every farmer make up his mind to use harvester or headers this year. I have used headers for the past ten years and never had a failure, nor in Dakota have I ever sold a bushel at a less grade than No. 1, hard. Stack carefully, and no trouble. Don't be in too much hurry to cut. Have your boxes tight and save more wheat than your header will cost. It is less complicated than a binder and can be run as light.

"Let Dakota farmers serve notice on the 'binder trust' that they are independent and can not be coerced."

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE FARMERS' PROBLEM.

Plan of the Alliance Exchange—Mr. Corput and the Exchange.

The following is from the Atlanta Constitution:

We print below the first full exposition of the proposed work of the Alliance Exchange of Georgia that has yet been published. It is an authorized interview with Hon. Felix Corput, the head of the Exchange, prepared with his approval and submitted to him.

This Exchange when carried out will seriously affect the relations of agriculture and trade. It is, therefore, of the highest interest to both the merchant and the farmer, and we commend to both classes a close, impartial, and thoughtful perusal of the following statement. One thing may be said: Mr. Corput is earnest in his convictions, honest in his expression, frank and open in all he says; a capital business man, successful and positive, and of fine executive ability. His associate directors are well chosen—earnest, active, honest, and capable men as a whole—and many of them men of unusual ability. Under control of Mr. Corput and his associates the principle of trade co-operation will have the fairest possible experiment—worked out without trickery, or prejudice, and with no object save to profit the farmers and thereby profit the community at large.

Ex-Mayor Corput was found Thursday at the Kimball House, where he presided over a meeting of the board of directors of the Alliance Exchange. He accorded to a member of the Constitution staff a full interview, of which the following is an authorized version:

"Mr. Corput, I want to publish the detailed plan for organizing and carrying out the Alliance Exchange."

"Knowing no reason why it should be withheld from the public, I am willing to give you a statement of our probable business course."

"Let us trace your work step by step. First you will try to have the \$200,000 capital subscribed?"

"That is already subscribed. The county Alliances have taken that amount in round figures. Under the charter we can not commence business until \$50,000, or 25 per cent. of the capital, is actually paid in."

"Your next step then will be to have the \$50,000 paid?"

"Yes. Of this we have perhaps \$10,000 already in bank. Several counties have raised their quota. Many others are at work, and we hope to have the full amount paid in within ninety days."

"With the \$50,000 actually paid in, what would be your next step?"

"To advertise for bids from cities for the location of the Exchange. Whatever city we select will become a central trading point for 1,900 Georgia Alliances, embracing over 80,000 Georgia farmers. The commercial advantages of this would be enormous. The Exchange would not attempt to handle anything except probably the heaviest articles of trade. The buyers for farmers therefore, getting their meat and guano from the Exchange, might buy their crockery, dry goods, and all lighter articles of commerce from the merchants of the city in which we were located. There are other advantages which will be developed below. We will make it to the interest of any wide-awake city to secure the Exchange, and concentrate the vast business of the farmers within its limits. When we considered all the bids, we would locate in the city that offered best advantages."

"Once located, what would be your next step?"

"Unless we secure a building as a gift, we would either build or rent a commodious house. We would not need a central location, as our trade would not depend on the passing crowd."

"And your building secured, what would you do then?"

"Secure the very best business talent that could be had to administer every department of the Exchange. Those who predict we would put new hands at the helm are mistaken."

"Your working force employed in position, what would you do next?"

"The first thing would be to study thoroughly the currents of trade. We would take an article of common use, such as plows. We would find out just how many hands a plow passed

through from the factory to the field, and how many profits were added to the machinery cost. We would then go to the factory and get the contract price on, say, 10,000 plows for spot cash. We would then ascertain how many plows of that brand were needed by an Allianceman, and where, and would furnish those plows at first cost, simply adding the freight and cost of one handling."

"How would you proportion your purchases to the demand?"

"That develops the advantage of a perfect organization. The State agent would send a circular to the one hundred and thirty-eight county agents asking how many plows, and what sort, the Alliancemen of that county would want. The county agents would send this circular to the sub-Alliance agents, each of whom would report back, and the county agent would report back to the State agent. In a week's time we would have on file orders for approximately the number of plows that would be needed by our customers during the season. Say that these amounted to 15,000 of a certain style of plows. We would then contract for them where we could buy them cheapest, and sell them at actual cost of transferring from the factory to the county Alliance."

"This would be your system of trading?"

"Yes; but we go further. When we found our Alliances needed a very large number of plows—and 80,000 farmers would use a great many—we would induce some manufacturer to establish a factory in the city in which our Exchange was located, taking his full output to the extent of our necessities. This would save freight on the raw material from Georgia to the North and on the manufactured article back to Georgia. We have wood and iron as cheap here as anywhere in America. What I have said about plows simply illustrates the whole system."

"How much do you think you could save by this direct trading?"

"On many articles an enormous per cent. On all articles considerable. Remember, we would not try to handle anything except leading heavy lines, such as plows, meats, guanos, and farm supplies. Why, take guanos. We know that they pass through three or four hands before they reach the farmer, and that men travel to sell them. You are selling a forty-dollar sewing machine with the Constitution at seventeen dollars, simply because you buy direct from the factory and ship direct to the buyer. We propose to do the same thing with farm implements, guanos, and all heavy lines of farmers' goods. We do not think of wiping out the middle-man, but there is a cumbersome and expensive waste of second, third, and fourth hands that we shall abridge."

"How will you treat the subject of fertilizers?"

"That is another point of interest. We shall get terms from the oil-mills or induce the building of others. The cotton-seed that the farmer sells for \$1.11 yields to the oil-mill an income of something like \$2.50. Allowing \$4 a ton for handling—an excessive cost—that leaves a net profit of \$10 to the mill on every ton. This is simply excessive. By combining our shipments of seed and our purchase of fertilizers we could build, or have built, an oil-mill that will agree

to take our seed and give us in return a guaranteed amount of cotton-seed meal or fertilizers, and based on such prices as will divide

the supposed Alliance who neither have credit nor deserve it."

"Precisely. We can not burden the Exchange system with such risks. They will get mad, of course, and some of them will quit. The sooner we get rid of that sort of dead timber, the better it will be for us. But many of them will remain in their sub-Alliance, and so change their habits that they will become worthy of credit, and will be included another season in the joint note. It will be an incentive for a small and poor farmer—the very class we want to reach with our benefits—to be saving and frugal and industrious. Even though poor, he will want to feel worthy of the credit and confidence of his neighbors, and to get advantage of special cash buying, and be relieved of the burden of a heavy per cent. of usury. The sub-Alliance will be anxious to carry all of its members and thus increase its order. There is no danger that any worthy and deserving man, no matter how poor he may be, will be left out. The very essence of the order forbids this. It is helpfulness—helpfulness through co-operation—that is the corner-stone of the Alliance. The worthy members, no matter how poor they may be, will get the benefit of the credit of the order; the unworthy members, no matter how smart they may be, will not be allowed to impose on it."

"What is your attitude to the merchants?"

"That of perfect friendliness and comradeship. We do not fight the legitimate merchants of the State. We do intend to fight the blood-suckers. We intend to fight the fellows who get the poor farmers under their thumbs and press them until the heart blood drops out. We intend to rid ourselves of the fellow who extorts 75 and 100 per cent. profit out of the necessities of the farmer who builds up his business and makes it possible for him to prosper. The legitimate merchant we will not antagonize but will help. As I told you, we only hope to sell leading articles. We will sell these to the farmers at such prices that they will have more money to spend on other articles of general use, and even upon luxuries. Once let the farmers become prosperous and have the cash that now goes into the pockets of a few usurers to spend in general trade, that will make their families comfortable and their homes beautiful, and the whole State will prosper, and the legitimate merchants of the country will be the very first to thank us for the revolution we have wrought. We do not even want to take the trade to our Exchange. We simply want to set a reasonable price on leading articles—a price not based on guess-work, but what we can actually furnish goods at—and then say to our customers, 'This is an honest price for this article. Tell your local mercantile we can sell it to you at that, but that we are willing that you should patronize him on the same terms, freight added. If he sells you at this reasonable profit, buy of him. If he does not, come to us.' No merchant and no man of common sense will claim it is right that the farmer should pay 75 per cent. profit on goods when he is compelled to buy on time over what they could get the same goods for at cash. No honest man will say that the farmer ought to be compelled to sell his cotton seed at \$1.11 a ton to a mill that clears perhaps \$10 a ton out of their product. It is not the merchant but the blood-suckers that the Exchange declares war upon."

"But how about selling farmers' products?"

"That is a simple process. I shall propose that all time paper mature on January 15th, instead of October 15th. As it is now, a farmer has to hurry his picking and rush his cotton to market to meet his paper. By changing the date of maturity of paper to January 15th it will enable the farmer to get to market in good shape and get the advantage of better prices. Through our system of organization, we will find out how many bales of cotton the mem-

bers of each county Alliance will have for sale at a certain date. We will then have them sent to a warehouse selected in each section of the State. Our agent will there sample them and send the samples direct to importers and get prices, or to the agents of the New England mills. We had arranged to do that before the Exchange was thought of. The farmers' pay-brokerage to half a dozen men, and warehouse charges to half as many, before their cotton reaches the exporter. We propose to put it to the exporter direct. Take hay, for example. My section of the State next year will have a very large amount of hay for sale. When the amount is reported to the State Exchange we will ascertain how much hay Alliances in other sections want, and it will be transferred at the simple cost of freight. So of other articles of farm produce. These ideas are in the rough. The details will be worked out in great prudence and caution, and, of course, will be modified by the experience of our business men, and by the demands of trade and our own observation.

"The theory of the Exchange is this: To get the advantage of organization, get the cooperated credit, and to bring the buyer and seller face to face. By making our orders together and by ordering what we want in one order instead of 50,000 orders we get the advantage of the very lowest possible price. By shipping these leading articles direct from the factory or through our warehouse for the farmer we eliminate the cumbersome and costly system of brokers, middle-men, and agents."

"You are confident that the Exchange will be started?"

"I may say that I am. The money is now subscribed. Nearly one-fourth of the required amount is actually paid in. The county Alliances are rapidly raising the balance. I believe the farmers have more confidence in this phase of the Alliance work than in any other. It commands itself to their solid, common sense. Just as you have been selling that machine for \$17, that regular agents are still selling at \$35 and \$40, illustrates what the Exchange can do if it is properly worked. I have no doubt the \$50,000 will be paid in less than ninety days, and then will be inaugurated a scheme that promises more for the prosperity of this whole people—and I speak deliberately—than any scheme that has been devised in twenty years. Tell about the merchants fighting us; why, we shall have the hearty prayers and well-wishes of every man who loves Georgia, its good name, its whole people, whether he be merchant, farmer, or lawyer.

"It is the farmer who has built the cities and made them prosperous, and he has been oppressed and burdened beyond his strength, and unless he gets relief, and speedy and permanent relief, the unspeakable oppression that now holds him will lay its touch on every town and city in the State. I have studied this question day after day, and night after night, and I know that in honest and frank and straightforward ways we can through this Exchange lift the heaviest burdens under which the farmer now staggers, and, without hurting any legitimate and helpful business in this State, let him stand upright and free and independent once more—and thus start out to dig from the soil and reap from his fields a richness and prosperity that will enrich and make prosperous the whole people of our beloved State."

"The ratio of per cent. of criminals among the whites of the United States is .10 per cent.; among the negroes it is .26 per cent."

NEW MEXICO shows the lowest ratio of prisoners to the total population, viz.: .3 per cent., and WYOMING the highest, viz.: .35 per cent.

Farmers and Their Work

We print this morning two notable articles in our discussion of the farmers' problem. In one of them Commissioner Henderson says: "The farmer was ignorant of his power when organized. He now understands it and will demand justice." In the other, Mr. Felix Corput, in a singularly clear way, explains the method by which the farmer will show through an Alliance Exchange what organized effort can do in simplifying trade.

We have long contended that co-operation is the power that will finally move the world. There can be no co-operation without perfect organization and the discipline that comes therefrom. As we have said before, it has been marvellous that the farmers representing the bulk of our population and producing the bulk of our wealth would stand in disorganized masses, while every guild and every class was organized for defense and aggression. When the official report showed, a few weeks ago, that the farmers were actually paying 78 per cent. usury on their time purchases, we expressed amazement that this was not made impossible by an instant federation of farmers, pledged to the last resort. The farmer is the greatest seller and the great buyer. And yet while every trade and calling has had its exchanges, guilds, syndicates, and trusts, the farmer has stood unorganized and therefore practically defenseless. That day has passed, and the farmer, last to organize, but at last in earnest, is bonded in that principle of co-operation that is so terrible for right or for wrong.

In all organized efforts that look to the bettering of their condition, the farmers have earnest and almost universal sympathy. This the Constitution has expressed over and over again, for on the prosperity of the farmers depends the prosperity of the whole people. Such an effort, it seems to us, is the plan proposed by Mr. Corput and his directors. While none but a fool would boast that the middle-men can be or ought to be eliminated, it is admitted that there are many cumbersome and unnecessary features in our system of buying and selling. If the farmer can simplify these methods and shorten the distance between himself and the factory, every one will wish him speed in so doing. What he saves by this he will spend in other ways—with added comfort to himself and safety to business. It is fortunate this experiment—so important and so far-reaching—is in such wise and conservative hands.

Every thoughtful man will watch with deep anxiety this farmers' movement that already surpasses in earnestness and extent any of which we have record. The farmer has learned the truth—and a very important truth it is—that there is no power save in organization, and that compact and steadfast organization will assuredly prevail. What the farmer must keep in mind is that nothing can endure that does not commend itself to the whole people, and that nothing should endure that does not help the whole people. What they need is, not class warfare, but broad and general movement—not to tear down but to build up—not to array one profession against another, but to enlist all together for what is just and sensible. Upon the leaders of this movement—upon the army of anxious and earnest men that follow these leaders—rests such a responsibility as few leaders and few armies have ever borne before. Happy will it be for the South, and for the whole country, if they discharge this responsibility in wisdom and in conscience—and thus bring prosperity and happiness to the class upon whose well-being the prosperity and happiness of all other classes depend.—Atlanta Constitution.

THERE is a large preponderance of males among the immigrants to this country.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Cotton-Seed Oil.

Mr. Robert Grimshaw, in paper lately read before the Franklin Institute, says: "The cotton-seed industry, as now conducted, yields cotton oil, cattle food, a valuable fertilizer, excellent soap stock and admirable fiber for paper making. The main product is cotton oil, formerly a by-product. It is now used throughout the world for a greater variety of purposes than is, perhaps, any other oil, and is obtained in the United States from decorticated and crushed upland cotton seed by expression. When expressed it is an odorless, dark brownish-green oil with specific gravity of about 0.9224. Treated with potash or soda solutions, it becomes clear yellow in color, odorless and flavorless. It boils at about 600° F. and congeals at about 50° for summer and 32° for winter pressed. The American oil is superior to the Indian or Egyptian, and its quality at times varies with locality and the season. The present annual consumption of cotton seed for oil-making is about 800,000 tons, yielding about 28,000,000 gallons, which, when refined, brings about 28 cents per gallon. As it is neither a drying nor a non-drying oil, it can not be used for lubricating or mixing paint or in the manufacture of leather. Its chief value is for food purposes. It is largely used as a substitute for olive oil. Probably nine-tenths of the total annual product enters into food products chiefly in the shape of refined lard and salad and cooking oil. There are about twenty-five factories which employ beef fat, hog's lard, and cotton oil in making lard, though some concerns use no hog's lard at all, it being claimed that the lard does not improve the compound. The value of the refined lard product of the United States is about \$15,000,000 per annum, and the cotton-seed industry yields about \$16,000,000 annually. The cotton-seed oil cake is an excellent food and is used extensively here, in Great Britain, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. It is said to have a higher value than any other animal food for producing milk, fat, bone, etc., and for manure, as it supplies the albuminoids and fats that are lacking in hay, straw, corn fodder, and the like. Cotton-seed hull ashes as a fertilizer are reckoned to have four and a half times the value of average hardwood ashes, and one ton is found to be equal to fifteen tons of leached hardwood ashes. The husks, too, are made to yield a fiber for the manufacture of paper second only to the best linen brand."

A MUTUAL assurance company of New York city issues a circular setting forth the benefits of its plan, and, in order to attack the principle of stock insurance companies, gives the following statement of their earnings. Insurance is not making as much stir as some other lines of business, but it is evidently making more money than the majority:

"A recent report of the superintendent of insurance of the State of New York shows that the old line, high-premium companies received from policy-holders during the year \$105,527,864. Out of the latter sum there was paid to policy-holders \$60,948,751, the difference being the stupendous sum of \$44,579,113, which, during one year, was consumed in expenses or added to the almost inconceivable wealth already under the control and manipulation of a few close corporations. During the past twenty-eight years three of the largest old line life insurance companies have received, in excess of death claims, \$613,169,013."

"More than one-half of all persons who have become members of old line, level premium life-insurance companies have lapsed and terminated their insurance, having sunk and lost the entire investments they made with these companies."

PROSPECTUS.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF

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

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

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

Will be issued weekly, a handsome sixteen-page paper, in large, clear type, of a convenient size for binding each year into a book. The subscription price is only one dollar per year. The editorial staff will contain an able assistant editor in each State in which the Order has a State organization.

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

Other names will be added as soon as authorized.

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

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

PARTIAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.

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

J. Burrows, of Nebraska, President of the National Farmers Alliance; a man who has been closely and thoroughly identified with the Alliance movement in the Northwest from its beginning, and who now is taking an advance ground in the science of financial economics. From his pen will come words of wisdom, indeed.

Isaac McCracken, of Arkansas, President of the National Agricultural Wheel. Mr. McCracken is the great leader in the Wheel movement that has assumed such rapid and wonderful development in the Southwest. He has already made history in this great work that there should never be more than ten shareholders, and that any or all the shares should be held subject to purchase at face value by the National body at its option; that the price of the paper should be one dollar per year; that it should be a weekly, and should be the official organ for ten years, subject to annulment for cause, and that the company should give the president a bond in the sum of \$50,000 that they would fulfill all the contracts they might make for advertising or subscriptions.

Col. Robert Beverly, of Virginia, ex-President of the National Farmers Congress; one of the ablest thinkers of America, and thoroughly devoted to measures that tend to elevate and improve the condition of agriculturists. Felix Corput, of Georgia, President of the Farmers Alliance Exchange of Georgia; a thoroughly practical business man and financier.

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

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

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

Hon. H. F. Simrall, Judge of Supreme Court, Mississippi, the Nestor of the Farmers Alliance.

Harry Tracy, "The Sam Jones of Texas."

W. S. Morgan, of Arkansas, prominent Wheel writer and lecturer.

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

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

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

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August Post, of Iowa, Secretary N. F. A.

The Presidents of State Organizations as follows: S. B. Alexander, of North Carolina; S. M. Adams, of Alabama; L. F. Livingston, of Georgia; I. P. Featherston, of Arkansas; R. T. Love, of Mississippi; S. B. Erwin, of Kentucky; H. L. Loucks, of Dakota; G. T. Barber, of Virginia.

Other names will be added as soon as authorized.

The business efforts of the various State organizations will have special attention, and all the information obtainable will be presented to the readers.

Contributions will also be secured from the Members of Congress who lead in important movements without regard to political parties.

All will be interviewed from time to time on important measures in which the readers are interested, and as they make tracks it will be the business of THE ECONOMIST to record it.

The list of contributors will be increased as rapidly as possible, and as the finances of the paper will allow. Should the subscription list run up to 100,000 or over (which it certainly should with 1,000,000 members in the Orders represented alone) the management will have sufficient funds to employ the whole time of an able corps of contributors.

Remember, THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is not a money-making scheme. The National Order did not have on hand the funds with which to start a paper. All the members present at the meeting seemed to realize the necessity of having a National organ located in the City of Washington, and in charge of competent management. Several gentlemen organized themselves into a company and agreed to furnish ten thousand dollars, or more, for that purpose, with the understanding and written agreement that there should never be more than ten shareholders, and that any or all the shares should be held subject to purchase at face value by the National body at its option; that the price of the paper should be one dollar per year; that it should be a weekly, and should be the official organ for ten years, subject to annulment for cause, and that the company should give the president a bond in the sum of \$50,000 that they would fulfill all the contracts they might make for advertising or subscriptions.

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

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

Send all money and communications to—

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Clubbing Rates.

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

	Regular Club-price price of both	
"Progressive Farmer," of Raleigh, N. C., official organ of State Alliance	\$1.00	\$1.75
"Toiler," Nashville, Tenn., official organ Agricultural Wheel	1.00	1.65
"Southern Alliance," Atlanta, Ga.	1.00	1.50
"Dakota Ruralist," Huron, Dak., official organ Dakota Alliance	1.00	1.25
"The Forum"	5.00	5.00
"Memphis Appeal"	1.00	1.50
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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 4.

The city is divided into four sections by lines running north and south, and east and west, intersecting each other exactly under the dome of the Capitol. These sections are designated as Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, and Southwest. This division is a great convenience to strangers, and enables them to locate numbers and places readily. The numbering of the houses begins at the Capitol, and is arranged one hundred numbers to a block; the hundreds corresponding to numbers of the streets counting from the Capitol in each direction as designated.

The northwest quarter is the most densely populated, and comprises the business center, while it has the greater portion of the most elegant streets and avenues. In this quarter are located the White House, the Treasury, the War, State and Navy Department Buildings, the Patent Office, Post Office, and Pension Office, the Corcoran Gallery, monuments and parks, and various other institutions of interest; besides theaters, hotels, churches, schools, charitable institutions, etc., etc. In that portion of this section known as the "West End" are the magnificent and costly mansions for which the city is noted throughout the world. The elegance and display of artistic taste in architecture and adornments evidence a high state of culture and refinement, as well as great ability and skill. The luxury and refinement of the present civilization probably has no higher illustration than in this section of Washington. Here is centered wealth, culture, and refinement, drawn from every quarter of the civilized world; and here are illustrations of the manners, customs, dress, and habits of every nation in the lives led by their legations, which all have their residences located here. Here the representative men of the Occident and Orient meet in friendly converse and association, although each brings his national habits, manners, dress, and mode of life. Thus is the society especially cosmopolitan, presenting a study of untiring interest, as well as a fine field of instruction to the young and those who have not the means of visiting foreign countries.

One thing is especially remarkable in Washington which is different from all large cities, and that is the comparatively small number of very poor or indigent people; the comparative absence of that vivid contrast between glittering wealth and extreme poverty, between affluence and destitution. This may be accounted for by the fact that Washington is not a commercial city; there are no manufacturing establishments, and the bulk of the population is made up of people in the employ of the Government who receive liberal pay; the small traders and merchants, who supply them with their necessities, and wealthy people attracted by the advantages Washington offers as a place of residence. To these are added a proper proportion of mechanics and artisans necessary to fill the demand. Business, as the brutal struggle for existence is called in commercial and

manufacturing centers, is virtually not known, and the people lead a quiet, easy, and comfortable life. Indeed, the contrast between the homely comfort so general among the citizens of Washington and the eternal rush, whirl, and struggle common to manufacturing and commercial cities is most striking, and the conditions most restful and delightful to one who has been long under the strain which is a part of life in metropolitan communities.

For the young Washington is a very university of practical instruction. The departments are full of valuable object-lessons. The National Museum is overflowing with instruction in every branch of learning. The scientific institutions open, ready to impart information in any line of research. Even the streets themselves are seminaries where observations will gather great stores of knowledge and especially as regards human nature. Columns might be written on this subject, but space forbids. A visit to Washington and a thorough overhauling of its institutions would be worth more to any young man, in the way of valuable and practical information, than a year at college, and no young American should deny himself this opportunity and advantage which the Government offers him. There is no expense except traveling and board; everything belonging to or established by the Government is open and free to all; even the vast Congressional Library, one of the finest in the world.

The southwest quarter comprises the harbor, the steamboat docks, yards where are stored building material of all descriptions, stores, the Monument, the National Museum, the Army Medical Museum, the Fish Commission, the Botanical Gardens, the Smithsonian Institute, the Agricultural Department, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, etc.

The southeast quarter has been the last to develop, although the founders of the city thought that it would be the most populous. It covers Capitol Hill, and is now rapidly developing. The natural advantages are far better than in any other section, and this fact made it a prey to land sharks and speculators, who monopolized the land and held it at exorbitant prices, which drove settlers and purchasers to the less desirable sections which, in the end, was fortunate, as what would have been a barren suburb has been developed into a magnificent city, and the elevated section still remains ready to receive the blocks of splendid mansions which will certainly adorn it in the near future.

Throughout the city the streets and avenues are from 130 to 160 feet in width. The side-walks are unusually broad, many being as wide as 20 feet. Along these walks are set, at intervals of 30 feet, stately and well-kept shade trees, whose interlacing boughs form a canopy of verdure, and often intertwine across the streets. There have been over 80,000 shade trees planted on the streets within ten years. These trees are of many varieties, but prominent among them are maples, elms, Carolina poplar, beech, and oak; some of them having developed to mammoth proportions. The park commission give great and especial care to these trees. One can imagine the beauty of these perfectly paved avenues in the sunny days of summer, stretch-

ing for miles under a canopy of waving verdure through which the soft zephyrs whisper their soothing melodies.

Pennsylvania avenue is the principal thoroughfare. Its entire length is four and one-half miles, its breadth of roadway is 160 feet, and is as smooth as a billiard-table and as hard as granite. The Treasury building, a magnificent palace in granite and freestone, breaks the continuity of the avenue at Fifteenth street, and the Capitol at First street. This stretch of one mile and a half from the Treasury to the Capitol is one of the grandest avenues on earth, and must be seen to be appreciated; no conception of its grandeur can be given by description. It is intersected at intervals by other avenues, which cross it diagonally, and leave at each point of intersection beautiful triangular plots, set in velvety sward, and kept scrupulously clean, giving a most beautiful effect to the view. Some of these plots, which are larger than others, are set with splendid shade trees and adorned with statues of National heroes, reminding one of the classic days of Athens, when art and culture made their home in Greece, and reveled in the splendors of the Attic capital.

At First street, on Pennsylvania avenue, are located the Botanical Gardens, and immediately in front of the west entrance to the Capitol, in the center of the avenue, is located the Naval Monument, to be described farther on. From the Botanical Gardens, on First street, to the river, almost two miles, extends a magnificent park or series of parks, carpeted with a velvety sward, set with magnificent trees, and intersected in every direction by beautiful and shaded drives as smooth as floors, from which all heavy vehicles are excluded. Here are rustic seats beneath the overshadowing verdure, winding walks meandering beneath towering trees, quiet and restful as the dim recesses of a primeval forest. Here the yellow sunlight shimmers on the fluttering foliage of a foreign plant, painting it with tints of exquisite variety and there the deep shadow rests upon the somber verdure, inviting to repose and quiet thought. This splendid park extends through the very heart of the city, and the improvements being made on the Potomac flats will add about a thousand acres to it. On it are located the buildings of the Fish Commission, the National Museum, the Smithsonian, the Agricultural Department, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and the Washington Monument. The various streets are extended directly through it from north to south, so that it does not interfere with the business of the city in the least. Fronting this park, on one side and Pennsylvania avenue on the other, are the White House and the War, State, and Navy Departments. These, with the Treasury Department, lying contiguous, form a group of palatial piles; striking in their majesty and triumphs of the genius of the architect. Each of these buildings can justly claim a chapter, and will be described in detail, each in its turn.

Pennsylvania avenue continues on west through Washington Circle to the boundary at Georgetown, and east of the Capitol it extends to the river. Throughout its entire length it is a broad and imposing street, adorned at intervals with magnificent buildings, those the property of the Nation being what in Europe would be termed palaces. Throughout the entire city there are parks, squares, and circles at frequent intervals, all splendidly kept and cared for, many adorned with magnificent statues, and all surrounded with elegant mansions. These parks are each worthy of special mention, and will of themselves demand a chapter.

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The Farmer in Politics.

When the Farmers Alliance, the Agricultural Wheel, and the Farmers Union were first being organized rapidly and the work extended into new territory it was denounced by many as a political move, and predictions were common that it would soon develop into an effort to boost the political aspirations of its leaders. But all these orders have stood the test of time and continued to grow and flourish, and have now succeeded in getting their objects so well understood by the public that a man would now only make himself ridiculous were he to assert that these grand organizations of farmers were political machines. They are not only better understood by the public, but their objects are better understood by the membership, and those members who, three years ago, feared the discussion of economic questions in the meetings lest they would lead to partisanship now realize that the intelligent discussion of the principles of economic government within the order is the greatest antidote to a blind and ruinous partisanship. A partisan policy that will keep one-half of the farmers of the country opposing the other half upon issues of minor importance that have been magnified by prejudice and falsehood is a policy that deprives them of all their political power, leaving them at the mercy of such classes as are better organized, and who economize and apply a much smaller amount of political power, so that it controls the whole government. Are such classes to blame for manipulating so much power when they have the opportunity? Certainly not; the blame must attach to the class that has the power, who, instead of economizing, waste it in conflict of the right hand against the left and neutralize their own power till it represents nothing. If a proposition should now be submitted to popular vote, involving an important financial feature of banking, and the vote of the bankers themselves on the question examined, it is more than probable that it would about all be on the same side of the question, and that less than 10 per cent. would vote against what the majority conceived to be against their interests. So of insurance and all other classes, their vote may be depended on to represent what they believe to be to their own business interests, and their conceptions are so clear that politicians do not attempt to array prejudices based upon sentiment, in order to blind them to their own interests, sufficient to vote against them.

It is almost a maxim that business and sentiment will not mix, and that in proportion as a man is ruled by sentiment he is less a business man.

Narrow-minded men who believe in this doctrine have distorted it into a cloak to cover a

multitude of sins. They justify any violation of sentiment or principle if calculated to advance their personal financial interests and dignify it by the title "business," a sweet word to them that embodies the object of all existence; on the other hand, the visionary dreamer and impractical man gives himself up to a sentiment that is often based on misconception, but is so blindly devoted to it that he will sacrifice his worldly possessions and the freedom of his posterity to his convictions as to that sentiment, when, perhaps, it can not be demonstrated to ever be practical. The extremists are both wrong. There is a happy medium. There can never be any compromise between "radical right and radical wrong." There is no way to justify the violation of a true principle for the sake of a policy. But there can and should be a proper admixture of sentiment and business, for the double purpose of rendering business solid and permanent and elevating it above too great a degree of selfishness; and rendering sentiment practical and useful. The lesson to be drawn from this is that some kinds of business that in the past have been eminently successful by means of doubtful agencies, should adopt a higher moral sentiment, that will restrain them from accomplishing success by wrong methods, otherwise it is only a question of time when they will have dug their own graves. Other kinds of business, and principally agriculture, should mingle more business interests with their political sentiments, to the end that they may be more practical and secure conditions calculated to benefit them in their business. The great question of the hour; then, is, How may this be accomplished by agriculturists? The answer is, By adopting the same maxim in politics that they have adopted in business, "*In things essential unity, and in all things charity.*" This has been the watchword of the Alliance, the Wheel, and the Union, and is the motto of the proposed grand consolidation to take place at St. Louis next December. These are business organizations for business purposes, and have done more to neutralize prejudice and misconception in business circles than all other agencies, and from all appearances these organizations have only just commenced their grand career for good. But how may this principle be applied by farmers to their political sentiments? The answer is, just as business men would; not by organizing a new party if it could possibly be avoided; not by prostituting their business organizations by making them secret political orders—a thing that can never be tolerated under our present form of government; but by holding a conference of the different factions of those interested, with a view of deciding

how much and which one of the preconceived prejudices each must give up in order that all may harmonize on the things essential. In applying this principle as *business farmers* they might say: The very life and prosperity of agriculture depends on important reforms in the system of finance, transportation, and land, and agriculturists being divided on these questions as on all others, it becomes necessary for those of each political party to make some sacrifice of their partisan preferences for the general good; therefore, as agriculturists, we will select a leading agriculturist, who is known to have the advancement and good of that class thoroughly at heart, and who is a true and tried Republican, and one of the same character who is a Democrat, from each of the agricultural States; this would make a small efficient working body, and might be designated as the farmers' political council, and should meet before the country is again agitated by any political strife, and take into consideration the actual political necessities of the farmer, and by so doing indicate what past pets of sentiment it is best for him to sacrifice. By this method the agriculturists from all sections and of all parties could be brought to the support of the measures most needed. The organized Republican farmers would demand of the grand old Republican party that she engrave these needed reforms into her platform. The organized Democratic farmers of that party would demand the engraving of the same principles into the time-honored party of Jefferson.

The great good of such a council would be that it would decide what were essentials, on which all should unite, and what non-essentials, for which all would be willing to be charitable.

True, the reforms needed will be in opposition to the past policy of both parties, but the effect of such demands would be either the surrender of the party to the agricultural element or the eviction of that element, and if it should be evicted for having had become hungry no one could ever accuse it of having left the party.

A CORRESPONDENT asks if the Farmers Alliance is a holy alliance. It is, in the fullest sense of the term, because every object it seeks to achieve is of such a nature that it is worthy of most sincere prayers for its success. It is, because it tends to make man better fitted to perform his duties and discharge his responsibilities to himself, his family, and his God. It is, because it impresses man with her God-given mission, to mold, fashion, and develop the manhood, patriotism, and purity of her sons to advocate the cause of humanity against that selfishness prompted by the devil himself.

FRAUD AND THE BALLOT.**The Australian System.**

Ever since the establishment of popular government and the introduction of the ballot system of voting in the United States fraud at the ballot-box has been a subject of serious concern to the people; not only that, but of serious danger to the perpetuity of our institutions, and especially to the integrity and virtue of our officials. A review of the growth and character of these frauds and their results may be of interest to many who are not familiar with their various phases or the extent to which they have been carried, and a consideration of the proposed means of relief may also be of interest.

In the earlier eras of our history the qualifications of voters varied in the various sections, but property qualification in the earliest times was almost general. These qualifications were gradually changed and made more liberal, until the ultra-democratic ideas which prevailed throughout the world in 1848 and 1849 caused almost unanimous abolition of stringent requirements, and the right of suffrage was conferred indiscriminately and almost all limitations removed.

Up to this time immigration, which previously had been limited in volume, assumed large proportions, and the residents of foreign birth became numerically of great importance, and opened a wide field for the perpetration of fraud. This element was easily manipulated and influenced by money, especially in the great centers of population. In New York city the results were especially disastrous. Vast frauds were perpetrated in elections and a class of men raised to positions of honor and trust who were utterly destitute even of common honesty, in fact, professional rascals and schemers.

One party, in 1855, nominated for the mayoralty a man who had been a year previously proved guilty in open court of forgery and swindling, and he was twice elected. In 1866 they nominated a man for Congress who was an ex-pugilist, street rowdy, and keeper of a gambling hell, and elected him without difficulty. The corruption and fraud which was rampant for all those years culminated in the outrageous villainies of the Tweed ring. The municipal officials had become so corrupt that the most brazen swindlers and rascals in the city did not hesitate to offer for office, well knowing that fraud and bribery would secure their election, and, having secured it, did not hesitate to devote themselves to plundering the people in the most open and defiant manner. During the time in which the population increased fourfold, the expenses of the city had increased twenty-three times, and the permanent debt of the city had increased from \$10,000,000 to \$113,000,000, and the greater portion had gone into the pockets of thieving officials. All these evils were brought about by the unprincipled use of the election machinery. Rascality had become so rampant and dishonesty so brazen that rascals boasted of their shrewd tricks, and the arch-rascal of all, Wm. Tweed, shortly before his death, in 1877, in an examination by a special committee of

the board of aldermen, impudently admitted that in making returns of elections the ballots made no results, that the counters declared results to suit themselves. This is only one instance among the many that have disgraced the Nation within the past quarter century, but it is a type of all. A recital of only a small part of the instances of fraud and dishonesty which have disgraced the Nation would startle the most thoughtless. Indeed the record compares with the most corrupt eras of history, and still the evil grows. Dishonesty, thievery, corruption, bribery, are the accompaniments of every election. The will of the people is suppressed, their voice is hushed, while corruption flaunts its gaudy robes in the halls of honor and rascality rides rough-shod over the people.

The first attempt at reform was made by the registration system; but this has proved practically of no avail. The count of the votes may be guarded, but false registration will effect the ends of rascality. In New York, which is the most favorable soil for the growth of political trickery, in the registration of 1887, there were one hundred and thirty-two votes registered from one lodging house, most of which were proved fraudulent. From another house, containing only five legal voters, there were thirty-seven names registered. There were even organizations formed for the purpose of selling their votes to the highest bidder. A few days before the election the vote of one of these clubs was purchased for \$250 and the amount divided up among the members. It is reported that fifteen thousand names were registered from tramp lodging houses alone in 1887, and it is safe to say that fourteen thousand of these were registered for the purpose of selling their votes. The business seems to have been reduced to a system, under which the lodging-house keepers made contracts to furnish votes for a stipulated amount wholesale, and then bought them up singly or in bunches, probably giving a night's lodging or a meal to some homeless vagabond for his vote. The great evil, unfortunately, is not confined to New York, but is common in all great centers of population and also in a less degree to the entire country. We choose New York as an example because it is a pivotal State, and its influence in National affairs is most important. To what depths of degradation have men descended who will sell their manhood, or accomplish by deceit and rascality what they know to be against the interests and desires of an entire population. But false registration and bribery are not the only resorts of political thieves and scoundrels. Great danger to the suffrage grows from the printing and distributing of ballots by irresponsible political organizations. They may fail to print a candidate's name on the ballot, or substitute the name of the party opponent for pay. There are numerous tricks in thus manipulating the tickets that aid fraud to accomplish its designs. Candidates are traded off for personal gain, and there is no means of punishing the perpetrators of the crimes. The last Presidential election in New York was a striking illustration of this trading system, where Presidential

votes were traded for support of State and municipal officers of the opposite party. These statements will give an illustration and convey an understanding of the manner in which frauds are perpetrated: we use the report of conditions as they are claimed to exist in New York merely because they are convenient. The same evils are common throughout the country.

All these evils are due, principally, to the fact that the political rascals who superintend the bribery are sure of the results of their labors. They do not labor on a mere chance that the bribed voter will fulfill his promise; the present system of elections guarantees them the fulfillment of the rascally contract. The law allows him to hand a ballot to the voter, to follow him to the polls and see that he votes the ballot handed him. This enables the briber to see the fulfillment of the disgraceful bargain before he pays the miserable wretch who has sold his honor and his manhood.

In large cities, where trading in votes is a business, the voting cattle who have been bribed are marched to the polls accompanied by the briber, each one holding up in plain sight the ballot which has been given him, so that the purchaser may see that it has not been changed until actually deposited in the ballot-box. When that has been accomplished they proceed to some appointed place of meeting and each receives the price of his disgrace, \$2 or whatever has been decided on. Of course, if the law required that each voter should prepare his ticket in secrecy and vote in such a manner that no one but himself could know how he voted, there would, practically, be an end to bribery, because no one would pay money to a man contemptible enough to sell his vote upon no better security than his word.

Having thus brought before the mind of the reader some of the ways in which corruption of the ballot is worked, he will readily see how important it is that the most rigid safeguards be thrown around the ballot-box, in order that the will of the people may be fairly expressed and that fraud and corruption may not be able to prevent that expression and gain their own nefarious ends.

The question of how to prevent these frauds is becoming of general interest. Bills have been introduced into the legislatures of many States, and, in some, laws have already been passed to secure the purity of the ballot. The form of all these ballot bills has been derived from the Australian statute-books, and it is this Australian ballot system that is so much talked of and so little known. It is certainly worthy of note that one of the youngest nations should have devised the most effective means of accomplishing this grand object.

According to the system set out in the Australian statutes, the ballots are printed by the government and distributed by its officials at the polling places; they must be prepared in compartments where the voter retires alone, and the ballot so prepared by him must be voted before he leaves the polling-room. This system compels secrecy and thereby prevents bribery; for people who will sell their votes will not be trusted by their briber to vote as they are paid to

do. This was the first entire provision, but fraud found a way to evade it. The way it was accomplished was this: A bribed voter was handed an unofficial ballot or blank piece of paper, and was promised pay on condition he would vote the paper handed him and give up the official ballot. The briber would then prepare the official ballot and hand it to the next bribed voter, and receive from him his unmarked official ballot. In this way the corruption of voters could be continued until the close of the polls. This was called the Tasmanian dodge and suggested the necessity of a means of identifying the official ballot, and provision was made for the written indorsement of one of the election officers. A later provision requires the stamping of official ballots with an official seal of a sworn officer who distributes the ballots.

The printing of the ballots at the expense of the state is alone a great stride in the desired direction. The enormous expense attending an election at the present time prohibits many honorable and worthy men from competing for offices of trust. As an example of the cost of a canvass in a populous center, it is stated that in a municipal election in New York the printing bill of each of the organizations is no less than \$25,000, and to secure a distribution of the party tickets about \$60,000 more are spent. Add to this the amount spent in actual bribes, and what chance has an individual even to enter a contest independent of party organizations. It is only such as can command large amounts of money that can aspire to political position, and thus the doors are closed to honorable qualification, and open only to money and fraud.

Thus it will be seen that the provision of the Australian system for the printing of tickets at state expense reaches further than one would suppose at first thought. The names of all candidates are printed on each ticket, and the tickets are distributed by sworn election officers at the polling-places. Thus they go directly into the hands of the voters, and the occupation and emoluments of the ticket-peddler are gone. They are prepared in a private compartment, so that none can know how the individual votes, thus relieving him of any fear of evil results to himself by voting contrary to the desires of an overbearing employer, oppressive creditor, or ill-deserving friend.

There is a great deal of importance that it would be well to set before the reader, but it is impossible to do so in so short an article. The vital points which should be included in a ballot law may be reduced to four heads: First, the ballots should be printed and distributed at public expense. Second, the names of all candidates for the same office should be printed on the same ticket. Third, the ballots should be delivered to the voters within the polling-places on election day by sworn public officials; the ballots should be identified by his signature or official stamp, and only such ballots should be counted. Fourth, the voter should be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot should be made compulsory. These four heads cover all the provisions of

the Australian system, and if fully provided for will insure honesty in elections.

The laws already under discussion in the various States involve all these provisions, but it is impossible to review each of them. The nomination of candidates is an important matter, and provisions should be made for nominations, both by individuals and organizations; but it should be so provided that a host of candidates who would have no probable support could not cumber the tickets; this is a matter for local consideration. Each ticket should be indorsed by an election official before it is deposited, and such indorsement should only be made upon recognition of the official seal of the duly-sworn distributor at that polling place. The Kentucky law now in force provides fully for perfect secrecy, which is so important to provide against intimidation and bribery.

It provides that compartments with doors be provided which the voter must enter when furnished with a ballot by the proper election official, and after closing the door of the compartment he must prepare his ballot. The official ballot is identified by the official ballot-clerk, whose name must be indorsed upon the ballot before being handed to the voter, and the ballot must be deposited before the voter leaves the polling-room.

These provisions appear very simple, and yet they are of vast and vital importance. Bills are now before the legislatures of various States, as has been said, and there is a general interest excited throughout the Nation on this important question. A review of the various proposed laws would probably be of interest, and may be given in a future article, but sufficient has been said to give the reader a general idea of the much-discussed Australian ballot system.

Is the Wheel-Alliance Dying?

Missouri has 1,500 wheels; Tennessee 1,422 white and about 510 colored. October 13, 1887, Missouri had only 199. There are a few croakers, however, that still say "the Wheel is dying."

The desire father to the thought—their statements are not founded on reason. The unvarnished truth is, never since the foundation of the world did any farmers' organization make such wonderfully progressive strides forward or gain such financial victories as has the Farmers' Alliance and Agricultural Wheel.

The signs of the times, based on the successes attained, justify the prediction of still greater and grander victories to be achieved in our fights against unjust extortion and robbery by wrongful combinations. Farmers are making

history for unborn generations to read and reflect over—history that will be an honor to the manhood, courage, and intellect of an army of veterans who are so nobly and determinedly resisting the efforts of combined capital to enslave a free and independent people. The God of truth, justice, and mercy is on the side of the oppressed, and if we but stand firm and learn to "labor and to wait," we are sure to win. The possibilities of the future are beyond our present expectations. —Nashville (Tenn.) Toiler.

Political Economy.

The doctrine of the division of labor as applied to agriculture is a subject on which most of the writers upon political economy have had very little to say. They have generally been content to affirm that it could not apply to agricultural pursuits because of the isolated manner of living in the country and the necessity, as a consequence, of one man having to perform plowing, sowing, harvesting, threshing, etc., in season. With few exceptions, they seem to have taken it for granted that agriculture and field work were synonymous; whereas field work is only a portion of the work and duties of the agriculturist. In his employ may be found the field-hand, the fence-builder, the stock-feeder, the dairymen, the butcher, the merchant, the doctor, the blacksmith, the tailor, the carpenter, the painter, and many others. Some of these employes he boards at his house and pays a stipulated price by the month; others maintain themselves and sell him the product of their labor by the piece as he may require it; but they are none the less engaged in agriculture, since all their customers are agriculturists and it is a matter of choice whether they be paid by the piece or by the month. It is, as we have seen, a universally admitted proposition that man would have made no advancement in material progress without individual co-operation; as indicated by the doctrine of a division of labor, that he would in fact have always remained in the most primitive condition. It has been shown, also, that individual co-operation is practiced to a greater extent in all other occupations than in agriculture, and the effect of this is plain to even the most casual observer, and that agriculture has made no advancement in this direction over customs of two hundred years ago. And, lastly, this condition and this difference is attributed by the most eminent writers and observers to the isolated manner of living practiced by the agriculturist.

One of the leading features for which the latter half of the nineteenth century must ever be conspicuous is, reformers. There are reformers in everything and reformers of all kinds, and there are so many visionary theories offered as reforms that the honest producer is frequently bewildered and is sometimes disposed to turn away in disgust from all proposed reforms. But there are honest and worthy reformers as well as pessimists, who complain at everything; there are true and necessary reforms as well as visionary and worthless schemes; there are philanthropic efforts to effect changes that will benefit a needy people as well as reform schemes calculated to replenish the attenuated purses of their instigators. Amid such a profusion of good, bad, and indifferent there is danger that worthy plans for the good of the people may, for a time, be overlooked; hence the necessity for a careful examination of such as seem meritorious, and if indorsed the indorsement be published to the world to the end that all may see the advantages. In advocating reforms calculated to neutralize the depressed condition of agriculture and benefit the farmer, the Economist would be derelict in its duty were it to follow the example of many of the

modern self-constituted reformers and shout itself hoarse urging the farmer to pitch into this class and that class and abolish them in order to improve his condition, or to advocate changes in the occupations of other classes as the sole remedy necessary to bring about the desired end. The present condition has been long developing and depends upon many causes, and must be met intelligently, and to do that all the responsibility rests on the farmer himself—he has the power and must insist on the correction of abuses by other classes; and at the same time he must look into his own ranks with that breadth of intelligent judgment that will make him willing to give up old prejudices, if needs be, in order to keep up in the modern march of progress; and, having found a change necessary in his own class, advocate it and secure its adoption, showing to the world that he will make sacrifices for right and therefore has a right to demand that of others.

All teaching, all experience, and all history tends to show that the advancement made in material progress and development is commensurate with the existing knowledge and application of the principles of individual co-operation.

If, then, individual co-operation is one of the most powerful factors in promoting material progress, and the business of farming is not susceptible of having the principles of individual co-operation applied to it on account of the isolated manner of living and conducting it, the question resolves itself into a plain statement.

The issue is between the isolated manner of living and conducting the business of agriculture and individual co-operation. Which is best, that the isolated manner of living practiced by the primitive agriculturists be preserved when it clogs the wheels of progress and compels material progress to stop its march at the threshold of agriculture; or by giving up some old prejudices and accepting the principles of individual co-operation, even at the expense of the isolated manner of living, and thereby cause agriculture to take on such a degree of advancement as has never before been witnessed, which will place it in the front rank in the march of material progress and cause it to be recognized as second to no occupation in material development?

There is, then, no denying or disquising the fact that individual co-operation and the isolated manner of farm life are directly opposed to each other, and that agriculturists without a proper conception of the issue have been choosing the latter, regardless of consequences, for years. A systematic examination reveals the issue in an astonishingly clear and plain light.

THE FACTS.

1st. All branches of production, except agriculture, are producing according to highest possible development of the doctrine of the division of labor, as indicated, promoted by individual co-operation.

2d. This renders them many times more productive, and therefore enables them to consume on a scale far in advance of their forefathers.

3d. The agriculturist alone has made no advancement from primitive customs in the use of in the next paper.

of a division of labor; in fact, he uses upon the farm less individual co-operation than his ancestors, but improved machinery has given him some of the benefits of individual co-operation and prevented an actual retrograde movement, and enabled him to produce slightly in excess of a hundred years ago.

4th. His tastes have rightly and unavoidably developed with the times. The advent of machinery, steam, electricity, and all modern improvements has created in him new wants and desires that make things necessary to him that were luxuries beyond the reach of his ancestors; therefore he is consuming according to the most modern degree of development of individual co-operation.

5th. Producing according to a primitive degree of development in the art of agriculture, and consuming according to all of the wants created by the very highest degree of development of the doctrine of the division of labor in manufacture and commerce, he finds himself, as a class, every year becoming poorer and more beholden to other classes.

ECONOMIC AND HISTORICAL DEDUCTIONS.

1st. Since no material progress could have been achieved without individual co-operation, the benign influence of this principle must be regarded as the chief factor in progress, prosperity, and development.

2d. Since the application of the principle of individual co-operation to agriculture has been found impracticable on account of the isolated manner of living and conducting it, the question resolves itself into a plain statement.

The issue is between the isolated manner of living and conducting the business of agriculture and individual co-operation. Which is best, that the isolated manner of living practiced by the primitive agriculturists be preserved when it clogs the wheels of progress and

compels material progress to stop its march at the threshold of agriculture; or by giving up some old prejudices and accepting the principles of individual co-operation, even at the expense of the isolated manner of living, and thereby cause agriculture to take on such a degree of advancement as has never before been witnessed, which will place it in the front rank in the march of material progress and cause it to be recognized as second to no occupation in material development?

3d. Since agriculture is consuming, according to a more advanced stage of development than the one in which it is producing, it follows that it must either curtail its consumption or increase its production, otherwise it will soon find itself in the direst straits.

4th. Since to stop the wheels of progress and curtail its consumption by a retrograde action in material development is a task so near impossible that it can not be accomplished except by a destructive revolution of brute force, which must ever be regarded as the "negation of all hope," it follows that he must apply the talismanic principles of the division of labor as developed by individual co-operation, and thereby develop agriculture to its proper rank and render the independence of the agriculturist equal to any.

5th. Since the gist of the issue is the conflict between an isolated manner of living and individual co-operation, it follows that development and progress have decreed that the isolated manner of living must be given up, and it is only a question of time, if this is true, when all will realize this fact and govern themselves accordingly.

The consideration of these facts and economic and historical deductions brings so prominently to the front the principles, from an economic standpoint, involved in the isolated manner of living, that the subject will justify a digression for the purpose of giving them ample consideration. They will be treated

History and Government.

No. 6.

It would be well here to note the contrast in time required to develop the conditions that existed at the time of Lycurgus, and that comprised from the Declaration of Independence to the present date. The founding of Athens was 1556 B. C., just fifteen years after the birth of Moses. Sparta was founded 1489 B. C., and the Amphyctonic Council was established 1450 B. C., while the Israelites were wandering in the desert. From this time to the establishment of the republics under the Amphyctonic Council was nearly five hundred years, and from the founding of the republics to the time of Lycurgus, about two hundred years. From

this time to the establishing of the code of Solon in Athens, about two hundred more. From this it will be seen that it required centuries to reduce the Greeks to the condition in which we find them at the time of Lycurgus, which is still a striking parallel to present conditions with us, and yet our country is only a century old. Suppose now a continuation of present developments in the same direction for two centuries more and is it not highly probable that our people would be in even a much worse condition, if such a thing were possible, than even those of Sparta or Athens?

The government of Sparta, as Lycurgus found it, was not purely democratic as we understand the term, although the people virtually had the conduct of affairs in their own hands; yet there were two kings (as they were called) on the throne, or rather at the head of the nation. But these kings were, more properly, merely military chiefs, although they and their favorites had assumed and monopolized a vast amount of power and were supported and encouraged by the wealthy classes.

To counteract this aggregation of power was the first step taken by Lycurgus as the best means to avoid armed revolution and insure the peaceful establishment of his system. He therefore continued the kings in their succession merely as executive heads, similar to our President and Vice-President, but diminished their authority by establishing a senate.

The kings held their nominal rank and outward dignity. They had seats of honor in every public assembly; in voting they were allowed first to give their opinion; they received ambassadors, and overlooked public buildings and highways and commanded the armies in the field. They were not, however, supreme in command even in war, as they received their orders from the senate, and were thus as entirely under the control of the senate, even while commanding armies in distant fields, as our generals are under the control of our Executive and his advisers.

The senate was composed of twenty-eight members, chosen from among the people, but no one was eligible who was under sixty years of age. The senators were chosen for life, and could not be removed except for crime. The senate was the supreme court of judicature; though there lay an appeal finally from them to the people, yet for ages their decrees were just and so satisfactory that there is no

instance of such appeal having been taken. However, to anticipate a little, this great power of the senate was, about a hundred years later, modified by the erection of a superior court, called the court of the *ephori*, which consisted of but five members, who were chosen annually. They were elected from the people, and had the power of arresting and imprisoning even their kings if they acted unbecoming their station. There were also, beside the senate and the *ephori*, the assemblies of the people, consisting of citizens only, which were the final court of appeal, and had the power of deciding on all questions of public interest. In these assemblies there was no debate allowed, but the questions were put by the senate and the people decided them by vote.

Lycurgus, having thus established the machinery of his government, next set about the extreme reforms he had determined on. He, as has been stated, determined that the great distress among his people had arisen primarily from the monopolization of the lands, and through it of the labor and its products. He therefore determined to begin his reform at the root of the evil and return the lands to the people free from any incumbrance or extraneous claim.

We have seen that Lycurgus had made a study of all the existing forms of government, and this idea of the danger from land monopoly may have been derived from the Mosaic law establishing the jubilee, to which we have already referred and which had been in existence for over five hundred years, as Lycurgus began his reforms about the time of Elijah and Jehoshaphat. Moses had thus foreseen and provided against just such misfortunes as Lycurgus was endeavoring to remedy. He seems to have comprehended fully the giant evils growing out of land monopoly and provided against its possible occurrence. The next step, then, which was taken by Lycurgus was to provide for a new division of the lands. This was an undertaking of no little magnitude, as those who enjoyed a life of luxury and ease from the income of their vast landed estates if not probable readily gave up such great advantages. History does not give us in detail the manner of procedure by which Lycurgus accomplished his object, but merely states that he, by force of argument and reason, prevailed on a sufficient number, to insure the success of his undertaking, to give up their lands to the state. Then, by show of force, he compelled others, and so virtually confiscated to the state all lands of every kind.

Plutarch says of the conclusions of Lycurgus, that "having found such prodigious inequality, the city overcharged with indigent persons, who had no land, and the wealth centered in the hands of a few, he determined to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, the causes of those distempers so fatal to states, extreme poverty, and riches. He persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land and to make new ones, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living. Hence, if they were ambitious of distinction, they might seek it in virtue, as no other difference was left between them but that which arises from the dishonor of bestowing."

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Next, in order to crush the desire for display and consequent useless extravagance, he excluded all useless and unnecessary arts. This seems to have been an unnecessary step, as such products as these demanded could find no purchasers after the iron money was adopted, as it was of no value out of the country, and consequently the Spartans could not purchase any foreign articles of luxury. Plutarch says "there were not even to be found in all their country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold and silver trinkets, because there was no money."

Of course such a division did not consume the entire domain of the state, and it is probable that the surplus was held by the state to be divided among the children as they grew to maturity and the population increased. The principal object held in view seems to have been that no one should hold more land than was necessary for the support of his family, and that land should be used exclusively for its producing capacity and not as a commodity of trade or security.

Having made an equal division of the land, Lycurgus saw the necessity of regulating or reforming the entire financial system of the country, recognizing the fact that the division of the lands would accomplish no good if the money were allowed to accumulate and the established system of trade continued. He saw that an attempt to divide the movable property would excite revolt and possibly end in strife and bloodshed. He therefore determined to sap the very foundation of avarice. He did not strip the wealthy of their movable possessions or money, but with the shrewd penetration of a modern speculator he recognized the power and influence of the currency in the social organization and made his attack on that.

First he stopped the currency of gold and silver-coin, and made iron money alone a legal tender and the currency of the state. He in fact demonetized both silver and gold. This iron money he made so heavy, and fixed so low a value on, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to transport ten minæ, or a sum equal to \$100 of our money, and a whole room was required to keep it in.

Lycurgus, desirous to entirely exterminate effeminacy, luxury, love of riches, vice, and all the evils following in the train of wealth, made a third regulation, which Plutarch says "was wisely enough and ingeniously contrived. This was the establishment of the public tables, where all were required to eat in common of the same food. All were forbidden to eat at home upon expensive couches and

tables, to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, or to fatten like voracious animals in private. For, so not only their manners would be corrupted but their bodies disordered; abandoned to all manner of sensuality and dissoluteness, they would require long sleep, warm baths, and the same indulgence as in perpetual sickness. To effect this was certainly very great; but it was greater still to secure riches from rapine and from envy, or rather by their eating in common, and by the frugality of the table, to take from riches their very being. For of what use or enjoyment of them, what peculiar display or magnificence could there be, where the poor man went to the same refreshment with the rich? Hence the observation that it was only in Sparta where Plutus was kept blind. It must be further observed that they had not the privilege of eating at home, and so to come without appetite to the public repast; they made a point of it to observe any one who did not eat and drink with them, also to reproach him as an intemperate and effemi-

nate person who was sick of the common diet." Historians affirm that the wealthy class were more offended with this than any of the new institutions, and went so far as to attack Lycurgus with stones, so that he was compelled to take refuge in a temple; but even this opposition was finally overcome and the institution became permanent. It may be interesting to know how these "public tables" were supplied and managed, although it is outside of the limits of our subject, and digression so far will probably be excused. There were fifteen persons to a table, or a few more or less. Each of them was obliged to bring monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy meat and fish. Even the kings were compelled to eat at the public tables, but were allowed extra portions, one to each, not that they were allowed to eat more than others, but that they might divide one portion with some brave man as a mark of honor. Plutarch says that "children were introduced at these public tables as so many schools of sobriety. There they heard discourses concerning government, and were instructed in the most liberal breeding." There was a great deal of jesting and sharp retort, but no scurrility or rudeness allowed, and if one's patience failed he had only to request them to cease and they left off immediately. When they first entered the door the oldest man present pointed to the door and said, "Not a word spoken in this company goes out there." The individuals composing each group were chosen by ballot and new admissions made in the same way by the group. It is, however, impossible, as well as unnecessary, to go into each one of these institutions in detail, but one more requires especial mention, as it had the most lasting and powerful effect of all, and that was the education of the youth.

Lycurgus looked upon the education of youth as the most important object of a legislator's care. His grand principle was that the children belonged more to the state than to their parents; and, therefore, should not be brought up according to their humors and caprices, but the state should be intrusted with the care of their education in order to have them formed upon fixed and uniformed principles, which might inspire them early with the love of their country and of virtue.

His institution with regard to rearing of youth shows his thorough appreciation of the power and influence of education; and the stability and power of the state he erected, and the enthusiasm, devotion, and patriotism of the people who grew up under it, proved the correctness of his judgment.

The record of these people is a striking example of the importance of early training; and should be heeded by all, even in this day and advanced civilization. Indeed, the great honor and high renown won by the Lacedemonians in after years rested on this particular feature of the institutions of Lycurgus. As at this early stage of civilization all institutions were tinctured with the savagery of the times, it is not remarkable that the Spartan system of training seems to us cruel and in many respects barbarous. But it must be borne in mind that

the first requirement of a state was a bold and enthusiastic soldiery, inured to fatigue, trained in athletic exercises, defiant of danger, and reckless of death; soldiers capable of wonderful endurance, and invincible in combat. Sparta was but a small state and subject to the assaults and invasions of all the surrounding states, as well as Asiatic conquerors. The disparity in the numbers of his people he hoped to equalize by the valor and endurance of his soldiers. The age was especially a military one, the military character of the people required especial development, and this all the institutions of Lycurgus were especially designed to give. His government was really a military commune, but the warlike character developed was an absolute necessity of the age, as without it the state probably could not have existed at all, much less achieved the wonderful record it has in history. Probably the influence and effect of education has no stronger illustration than that given by the history of the Lacedemonians, as they stand alone, without a parallel, a perfect illustration of what a people can be made by the early influences brought to bear upon them and persisted in a sufficient length of time.

The education of the young began practically at their birth. It was not even left to the parents to rear what children they pleased, but they were compelled to carry the new-born child to a place called *Lesche* to be examined by old men appointed for the purpose. If the child was strong and physically perfect they gave order for its education, and assigned it one of the shares of land; it was delivered to the parents to be nursed with severity and hardship, as from the tenderest age they were trained to make no choice in what they ate, not to be afraid in the dark, not to be peevish or fretful when left alone; to go without clothing winter and summer, to sleep on planks or the bare floor, and to fear nothing from any one. If the child was weakly or deformed it was ordered to be put to death, judging that its life could be of no advantage either to itself or the public. Great care was taken in the nursing of infants to give a free and full development to limbs and muscles, so that the Spartans were physically a perfect race.

At the age of seven years they were taken from their parents and delivered over to the classes for public education. Their sports and exercises were regulated according to the most exact discipline and made up of severe labor and fatigue. Indeed the whole course of their training was such as to make them athletes and soldiers, utterly devoid of fear and capable of superhuman endurance. There is not space to go into the details of this training, but it is sufficient to say that they were allowed only one garment at a time and that was only given once a year. They slept on beds of reeds gathered by themselves, without a knife, and in winter were only allowed to add to the reeds a little thistle down for warmth; they were allowed no covering. One of the best and ablest men in Sparta was elected inspector of the youth, and he appointed their trainers and instructors. Their principal amusement was in mimic battles, and their instruction was especially di-

rected, after military art, in the science of government, philosophy, and ethics. At the table it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys by asking them questions concerning the nature of moral actions or the different merits of the most noted men of the time. The boys were required to give quick, ready answers, accompanied with their reasons, and were taught to speak readily and with few words. Every appliance tended to harden the body and sharpen the mind for war.

The discipline of the Lacedemonians continued after they arrived at years of maturity, for no man was allowed to live as he pleased, but all were grounded in the idea that he was not born for himself but for his country. Every idea of self was lost in a fanatical devotion to the state. When the men had leisure they employed themselves in teaching the boys something useful, or in learning of those who were older than themselves. It was an imperative law that no Spartan should ever turn his back on an enemy, and when they went into battle there were only two alternatives, either to conquer or to die, and death for them had not the least terror; consequently they became invincible.

The training of the girls was equally severe, and the women were as solely devoted to the state as the men. There was no sacrifice they were not ready and anxious to make, and their patriotism was, if possible, greater than the men's; but it is impossible for us to go any farther into detail. However, sufficient

has been said to enable us to readily understand how every means was brought to bear from infancy to age to enthuse the entire people with a devotion to the common interest and neglect of self, to destroy selfishness and develop patriotism.

Everything tended to inspire the love of virtue and hatred of vice—the actions of the citizens, their conversations, their studies, their daily life, and even their public monuments and inscriptions. It was hard for men brought up in the midst of so many living precepts and examples not to become virtuous so far as heathens were capable of virtue, or the savagery of the age would allow. It was to preserve these characteristics that Lycurgus prohibited the people as a rule from traveling, for fear that they should bring into the country foreign ideas dangerous to the happiness of the people, or return infected with the licentious customs of other countries, which would create, in a little time, an aversion to the hard and simple mode of life common in the country. He also prohibited any strangers remaining in the country unless they came for some useful and profitable purpose and not out of idle curiosity, fearing that they would bring with them the vices of their own country, considering it, as Rollin says, "more important to shut the gates of a city against depraved and corrupt manners than against infectious disease."

It has been considered necessary to go thus fully into the details of the institutions of Lycurgus (although the review is very meager even as it is) because his was the first radical reform history gives us an account of. He was the first law-giver who had the actual developments of monopoly to deal with, and his means of curing the evils growing out of

Answers to Questions.

Can your paper not be printed so as to be sewed and cut by its subscribers and then read consecutively through?

Answer.—It can and is so intended in its present form. The margins are left wide so that they will bear trimming at time of binding, and by reason of this all the rough edges produced by use will be trimmed off, and when bound will produce a neat and even book with good margins. Each number should be sewed and carefully cut as soon as received.

What salary does the officers of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America receive for their services?

Answer.—The president and vice-presidents receive no salary whatever and have never asked or received any. There are no salaried officers in that order except the National secretary and the National lecturer. The salary of the National secretary was set at \$1,350 per year at the first session of the National body, and that of the National lecturer was fixed at \$500 per year at the last meeting. This is not sufficient to keep the National lecturer in the field all the time, but it is all he receives, with expenses paid by the State calling for his services.

How should application be made to secure the services of the National lecturer?

Answer.—Make application to him direct. Address, Mr. Ben Terrell, care NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and the letter will always reach him. He is now filling a number of appointments in the State of Georgia.

Does the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America need any more lecturers or organizers?

Answer.—It does need them badly, and all who can afford to devote the time and are competent to explain the order and its workings should get a commission to organize, and devote themselves to the work, as the demand is very great but the laborers are few. In order to get a commission to organize, you will have to stand a personal examination by competent

Alliance officers in the State in which you live, and send the result of that, together with proper credentials and recommendations as to character and ability, to the National secretary, E. B. Warren, at Caldwell, Tex., or to H. C. Saffell, assistant secretary, Washington, D. C., care NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The Government of the United States is classed as a republic, and so is that of Mexico. Will you please point out the main points in which they differ?

Answer.—The two systems are almost alike, as will be seen from the following:

"The present Constitution of Mexico bears date February 5, 1857, with subsequent modifications down to October, 1887. By its terms Mexico is declared a federated republic, divided into States—nineteen at the outset, but at present twenty-seven in number, with one territory and the federal district—each of which has the right to manage its own local affairs, while the

whole are bound together in one body politic by fundamental and constitutional laws. The powers of the supreme government are divided into three branches—the legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative is vested in a Con-

gress, consisting of a House of Representatives and a Senate, and the executive in a President. Representatives are elected by the suffrage of all respectable male adults at the rate of one member for 40,000 inhabitants, and hold their places for two years. The qualifications requisite are to be twenty-five years of age and a resident in the State. The Senate consists of fifty-six members, two from each State, of at least thirty years of age, who are returned in the same manner as the députés. The members of both houses receive salaries of \$3,000 per year. The President holds office for four years, and, according to an amendment of the Constitution in 1887, may be elected for two consecutive terms of four years each. The Senator who presides over the Senate by monthly election acts temporarily in default of the President of the Republic. Congress has to meet annually from April 1st to May 30th, and from September 16th to December 15th, and a permanent committee of both houses sits during the recess. General Porfirio Diaz was installed President of the Republic, as successor to General Manuel González, December 1, 1884; re-elected and entered his second period of four years on December 1, 1888. The administration is carried on, under the direction of the President, by a council of six secretaries of state, heads of the Departments of Justice, Finance, the Interior, War and Navy, Foreign Affairs, and Public Works. Primary education has been declared compulsory, but the law is not strictly enforced."

What is Money?—A Criticism.

BY ROBERT J. WILLIAMS.

I have read the ECONOMIST dated April 20, 1889, and on page 72, in the last column, I find that the third sentence of the longer paragraph has these words in it: "The fact is, that although money is a necessity to all and constantly before the attention of all, it is a thing all understand less than probably any other commodity we come in contact with."

As I hold that money is not a thing or commodity, permit me to state that money is a conception! It is an abstraction! It is a thought of value!

Proof: The money of each nation is a legal tender within the limits of its maker, and nowhere else. This is a fact and I hold that a fact is the best of authority as well as proof!

But should it be questioned by your readers it can be established by the testimony of judges, lawyers, writers, and books.

I will also state that the money of the United States of America is worthless as a legal tender more than three miles at sea or even one foot beyond the line between Canada or Mexico.

Money is a creation of law, and hence must

of necessity be a conception and not a com-

modity.

It has been held that although Congress has

power to create the money of the United States of America it was necessarily compelled to adopt a commodity instead of a conception as its unit of exchange.

Now if the first act of Congress in relating to the coinage of the money of the United States of America could be placed before your readers they would see very clearly these words: "ten dollars or ten units of value," "one dollar or one unit of value," etc., etc., showing conclusively that those law-makers knew that "money is a conception" and that it is not a commodity and, demonstrating unquestionably that Congress did adopt a conception for the unit of legal values in the United States of America.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.
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of America.

C. W. MACUNE, EDITOR.

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furnished on application stating character of advertisement
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—
THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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

In another column will be found the pro-
ceedings of the called session of the State Alli-
ance of Georgia.

If the Nation has made any progress in the
past twenty-five years it has not been through the
wise provisions of the law-making powers, but
rather in spite of the obstacles thrown in the
way of labor, industry, and enterprise through
the machinations of the speculators and gam-
blers who have perverted government to their
own nefarious ends.

The energies of the Ameri-
can people are without parallel or they would
long ago have been crushed, nor is their for-
bearance any less astonishing.

ACCORDING to the reports of the R. G. Dunn
& Co.'s commercial agency, the failures for the
first quarter of 1889 number 3,394, as against
2,948 for the corresponding three months of
1888. The liabilities for the first quarter of
1889 are \$49,786,000, as against \$38,834,000 for
the first quarter of 1888. Continuing in the
same proportion the failures for the year will
aggregate \$199,144,000, excelling any previous
year in the history of the Nation. Is there
nothing significant in this? Let present condi-
tions continue and what may we expect as the
ultimate mathematical result?

It is gratifying to the ECONOMIST to present
its readers with the able article from the pen of
J. Burrows, of Filley, Nebr., president of the
National Farmers Alliance as organized in the
great grain-growing States of the West.
Whether the Alliances fully concur in his
remedy or not will make no difference, as
they must see that the trend of his faith is to-
ward ameliorating the condition of the great
common people, and that his reasoning is log-
ical and shows great research and ability.
With such appeals in behalf of humanity from
within, the Alliance the doom of sectionalism
is sealed, because it can not be long till the
honest hands of farmers North and South will
clasp in fraternal grip and eyes that know no
guile will meet in the friendly gaze of brotherly
love, where each will decide what prejudices
he will sacrifice to the end that all agriculturists
may pull together morally, financially, and
politically.

We talk of overproduction, and wealth goes
for purchasers to the ends of the earth, and yet
millions of mouths that production should fill
are empty, the backs it should clothe are naked,
the heads it should shelter are homeless, the
brains it should feed dull or criminal, and the
souls brutish and neglected. Surely it is time
that science, intelligence, patriotism, religion,
justice, should speak in unison, and in the name
of humanity demand a change that will bring
conditions more in harmony with the boasted
civilization and enlightenment of the age. The
stolid indifference of the people of America is
criminal. It must be overcome! The great
conservative agricultural masses are awakened,
their legions are being formed, the glow of
their camp-fires may be seen on every hill-top.
They invite their brothers of the industrial
masses to join them in the grand assault upon
the powers of evil. Let them hear, and strike
hands in the common cause of humanity and
justice. Then the banner of universal liberty
will be flung to the breeze, the invincible
phalanx will be put in motion, the bugles will
sing the song of liberty, oppression will flee in
terror before the mighty array, and justice be
at last enthroned.

The present race of Americans need to be
brought to understand that there are other
things necessary to be studied and learned than
the art of money-making, which seems now to
absorb the entire mind and ability of every
one. To put it in no worse form, we are be-
coming a Nation with only one idea—in a sense,
a Nation of monomaniacs.

There are subjects connected with money
getting, and closely allied to it, that are equally
as important, and which are entirely overlooked
so far as any just or practical results are being
developed. The getting of wealth, in order
to insure a safe and satisfactory enjoyment of it,
involves the getting of it by just and hon-
orable means, with a due regard to the rights
and interests of others. This due regard can
not be given unless those rights and interests
are thoroughly understood and kept constantly
in mind, in order that injustice may be avoided.
Wealth so acquired may be enjoyed in perfect
security and without exciting envy. It may be
easily protected, and need fear few sources of
danger. But wealth acquired by means not
having these ends in view can bring little satis-
faction, because it is enjoyed, as it were, over
a volcano that is likely to burst forth at any
moment and overwhelm the trembling posses-
sor. The American people possess the privi-
lege of modeling their own institutions, and it
behooves them to study closely economic ques-
tions that will not only qualify them to get
wealth but to get it in a just and legitimate
way, which insures the least difficult means of
protecting it and the safest and most satisfac-
tory enjoyment of it after it is acquired. There
never was a time when it was so important that
the people should make a study of social, finan-
cial, and political economy, nor was there ever
a people to whom such study was of such vital
importance as the people of the United States.
This is the science of the age and all should be
familiar with it.

THE population of the United States in 1880
averaged 13.92 per square mile. In Belgium,
which has the densest population of any Euro-
pean country, it is 481.71 per square mile, and
Canada, which is the most sparsely populated,
has 1.35 per square mile.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE communication in this issue from Bro.
N. B. Ashby, lecturer of the State Alliance of
Iowa, shows that the great farmers movement
will not long lag behind in that State.

STATISTICS show that more than 94 per cent.
of our population live in districts where the
rain-fall during the spring and summer months,
or the agricultural season, ranges between fif-
teen and thirty inches.

THE County Assembly of the Farmers Mu-
tual Benefit Association of Gibson County, In-
diana, met in Princeton on the 2d instant.

Bro. Thomas J. Robb, secretary, writes that;
besides the regular business transacted, the fol-
lowing special action was taken:

Resolved, That the F. M. B. A. folks will bind
their wheat with straw rather than pay over a
stated price for binder twine.

All of the old officers were re-elected for the
ensuing term, to wit: President, W. T. Still-
well; vice-president, Joseph Neeley; secre-
tary, Thomas J. Robb; treasurer, J. F. Brown.

The Co-operative State Trade Board met
also at Princeton on the 5th instant. The
name for this effort was changed, and is hence-
forth to be known as the State Assembly
"Provisionary." The officers elected were
W. T. Stillwell, president, and Henry Steel-
man, secretary.

The General Assembly of the F. M. B. A.
annual meeting will be held at Mt. Vernon,
Ind., in November, 1889. The F. M. B. A. is
growing rapidly in Illinois, Missouri, Ken-
tucky, and Indiana.

The following sensible letter from Hon. S.
B. Alexander, president Farmers State Alliance
of North Carolina, is copied from the Progressive
Farmer, and contains a valuable suggestion to
the State, county, and subordinate officials of
the whole order. State officials would find
their own duties lightened and their efficiency
augmented if they would insist upon every
county and subordinate organization taking a
liberal supply of both the State official organ
and the National official organ. The ECONO-
MIST has offered a club rate to all of the State
organs, and subscribers can save money by
taking both:

SUBSCRIBE TO YOUR ORGANS.

To the County and Sub-Alliances.

I receive frequent letters from officers of
county and subordinate Alliances, requesting
me to reply by mail, that they do not as yet
take our organ, *The Progressive Farmer*. This
should not be; the officers of an Alliance can
not do what they ought to do if they do not
keep posted in all that the Alliance is doing.
I earnestly request each county and subordinate
Alliance to subscribe for at least three copies
of *The Progressive Farmer* and three copies
of *THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST* (our National
organ, published at Washington, D. C.). Each
paper will be furnished at one dollar, and as
the president, secretary, and lecturer
perform important duties without pay, each
Alliance can well afford to subscribe for a copy
of each of these papers for each of them, thus
enabling them to qualify themselves better for
their work. Six dollars is not a high salary
for three officers who are expected to per-
form the duties required of the president, secre-
tary, and treasurer. Each member of the Al-
liance who can afford it should subscribe for
our State and National organs.

Fraternally,

S. B. ALEXANDER,
President N. C. F. S. A.

PROCLAMATION.

Call for an Important Meeting.

Whereas, the cotton-planters of the Southern
States were compelled to pay an extraordinary
high price for jute cotton bagging during the
year 1888 by a trust or combination on the part
of the manufacturers of that article; and,

Whereas, it has been currently reported that
some kind of a combination has been formed
by dealers to again raise the price of jute bag-
ging, in anticipation of a demand for that article
to wrap the coming crop of cotton; and,

Whereas, in order to resist the evil effects of
such combination, the president of the State
Alliance of Georgia did wisely convene the
State Alliance of that State in called session to
deliberate upon the best plan of resisting or
neutralizing the power of said trust; and,

Whereas, delegates from other States were
invited to participate in said meeting, and did
so participate, and the result of said meeting
was a definite conclusion and provisions made
for a plan of action; and

Whereas, this conflict if gained by the Al-
liance will require the co-operation of all the
cotton States, and all the cotton States desire to
so co-operate; and

Whereas, if they do so co-operate and the
entire cotton belt should decide to use a sub-
stitute for jute there may be some question as
to the availability of a sufficient supply in time
to meet so large a demand:

Now, therefore, I, C. W. Macune, president
of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-ope-
rative Union of America, do issue this my
official call for a meeting to be held in the city
of Birmingham, Ala., on the 15th day of May,
at 10 o'clock A. M., said meeting to be com-
posed as follows:

Each State business agent;

Each State Exchange, one delegate;

Each State executive committee, one delegate;

Each president of State Alliance to appoint
one delegate;

The object of said meeting to be—

1st. To decide upon the necessity of all the
States co-operating in the conflict with the
jute-bagging trust.

2d. The ability of the order in each State to
assist in the conflict.

3d. To ascertain whether, in the adoption
of a substitute, a sufficient supply can be se-
cured for all sections; and, if not, of one sub-
stitute to determine how many substitutes will
be necessary, and what quantity of each.

4th. To adopt measures for the guidance of the
brotherhood throughout the season and select
appropriate committees to carry out their plans.

For the purpose of rendering this move still
more effective, and to further cement the
friendly relations and prospective union with
the National Agricultural Wheel, Hon. Isaac
McCracken, president of that order, is hereby
invited to send like delegates from the various
State Wheels.

For the purpose of utilizing time and assist-
ing the work, a committee, composed of Dr. J.
T. DeJarnette, of Georgia; H. P. Bone, of
Alabama; T. A. Clayton, of Louisiana, is
hereby appointed to collect data as to supply
and cost of the different substitutes and report
to the meeting as soon as convened.

Vice-President L. L. Polk is appointed a
committee of one to extend an invitation to
the jute-bagging trust to present anything they
may have to say to this meeting, if they so de-
sire, either written or oral, and to extend the
same invitation to the various jute, cotton,
pine-straw, or other bagging manufacturers.

Delegates are requested to post themselves
thoroughly as to the condition of their con-
stituents and the extent of their ability and
willingness to co-operate.

C. W. MACUNE,
President N. F. A. and C. U. of A.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

WHICH IS THE CONTROLLING FACTOR,
INTEREST OR RENT?

The Single-Tax Theory.

BY J. BURROWS,
President National Alliance.

That Henry George is a sincere man earnestly desirous of improving the condition of society, there is no room for doubt. That the method he proposes as a panacea for the ills that afflict society will prove as efficacious as he seems to believe, is, to say the least, not established. The prime factors of production being land, labor, and capital, and the prime factors of distribution, rent, wages, and interest. Mr. George practically assumes rent to be the controlling factor, and that its confiscation by society for the use of the people in common, instead of leaving it, as now, the private property of those to whom society has conveyed the title to its lands, would be the grand cure-all for nearly all the ills to which society is heir. These two statements are perfectly fair to Mr. George. On page 292 of "Progress and Poverty," he says:

I do not propose either to purchase or confiscate private property in land. The first would be unjust; the second needless. Let individuals who now hold it still retain, if they want to, possession of what they are pleased to call their land. Let them continue to call their land. Let them buy and sell, and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent.

On the same page he says:

What I, therefore, propose, as the simple yet sovereign remedy, which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, elevate moral and taste and intelligence, purify government, and carry civilization to yet nobler heights, is to appropriate rent by taxation.

Two things may be incidentally remarked of the above: 1st. The noble frankness of the statements is admirable. 2d. The one who could accomplish in one generation even half that is proposed in the second quotation could go down the coming ages hand in hand with the Divine Man.

Will the expedient proposed by Mr. George accomplish it? On a superficial view what does this expedient do? It simply transfers income from rent from private individuals to society at large. As an economic proposition, does it make any difference to the payer of rent who the payee may be? Will the burden of my rent be diminished if I pay it to C instead of B? But this is, after all, a superficial view; because, in addition to confiscating rent, as proposed by Mr. George, he proposes by taxation of land values to the point of speculative rent, wherever that might be, to destroy such rent, so that no one could hold land for speculative purposes, thus opening to all persons under the law of competition the natural opportunity of access to land.

In connection with this idea two questions at once present themselves: 1st. Would rent be increased or diminished? 2d. Would the burden of it be transferred from the shoulders on which it now rests? These are the vital questions raised by Mr. George's theory, and upon their solution depends our rejection or acceptance of it.

Under our present system taxation has one object, which may be generally stated as the payment of the legitimate expenses of the Government. Under Mr. George's proposal taxation would have two objects—the one above stated, and the additional one of the destruction of speculative rent. Now, it is apparent that rent to-day largely exceeds any amount required for purposes of government. Will opening the possession of land at all points, and of course near those points where

its possession is most valuable, under the law of competition—i.e., the man who offers the highest rent to take the land—diminish rent? Mr. George himself seems to be enveloped in a haze on this question. His conclusions—or absence of conclusions—seem to be those of an enthusiast, instead of a reasoner, or perhaps of a reasoner reasoning to an *a priori* conclusion, especially when considering the factor of rent in connection with the factors of wages and interest. On page 316, "Progress and Poverty," he says:

But Mr. George more frankly and boldly covers this question of increased rent. On page 326 he says:

* * * There would be a great and increasing surplus revenue from the taxation of land values; for material progress, which would go on with greatly accelerated rapidity, would tend to constantly increase rent. This revenue arising from the common property could be applied to the common benefit, as were the revenues of Sparta. * * * We could establish public baths, museums, libraries, gardens, lecture rooms, music and dancing halls, theaters, universities, technical schools, shooting galleries, play grounds, gymnasiums, etc. Heat, light, and motive power, as well as water, might be conducted through our streets at public expense; our roads be lined with fruit trees; discoverers and inventors rewarded; scientific investigations supported; and in a thousand ways the public revenues be made to foster efforts for the public benefit.

The question whether rent would be increased Mr. George seems to have frankly and satisfactorily answered. We accept the answer as conclusive, rejecting the unsupported idea that it would not be in any degree at the expense of wages. Shorn of its rhetoric, we have simply the bare propositions:

1st. Transfer the revenues of rent from the private individual to the state.

2d. Increase those revenues so as to pay all the expenses of the state, and at the same time destroy speculative rent, which at the present time many times exceeds all public revenues.

3d. The result will be to "raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty," etc., etc., till a regeneration of society undreamed of by the wildest enthusiast has been accomplished.

These are the plain propositions, shorn of the confusion of thought and the benevolent glamour thrown around them by the charming rhetoric of Henry George.

Now, taxes of all kinds having been concentrated upon this single factor of distribution, rent-rent having been loaded with all the burdens of society, to the great relief of wages and interest—what is the result of that transfer?—or is the burden of rent lifted from the shoulders on which it now rests?

Let us suppose a condition of society where one class, comprising, say, one-fourth of the whole, pay all the taxes, the other three-fourths being entirely exempt, the ameliorating condition of this state of affairs being that the taxes are paid into a common treasury for the equal use and benefit of all, including the paying one-fourth. In such a state of society what would be the condition of the one-fourth? Undoubtedly that of servitors, or slaves, to the three-fourths. There can be no doubt of this whatever, unless we at the same time suppose a radical and miraculous change in human nature.

The three-fourths that were relieved from the labor of earning money for the support of government would monopolize the pleasure and usurp the power under such a condition of affairs.

Taxes being an element of price, and paid out of the products of current business, and not out of accumulated wealth or capital, must necessarily be paid out of the products of current labor. This is a natural law, and can not be evaded or changed. We may transmute taxes into rent, or rent into taxes, the result will be the same. If any additional charge is placed upon the land, it must first be taken from the land by current labor before the land can pay it.

Unless the day of miracles return this can not be done without increasing the burden and diminishing the reward of labor upon land. And yet this proposition is made in behalf of the overburdened laborer.

Suppose, with a view to distribute taxation

over the largest area, we impose all taxes upon dry goods, nearly every member of society using dry goods. What is the result? The tax is added to the price, as an element of cost, and every consumer of dry goods pays his share in proportion to his consumption. Now, to the consumer, as such, it makes no difference whether this tax is levied on the manufacturer, the jobber, or the retailer. It is the consumer who pays, and to evade the tax consumption must be avoided. Only those persons who can avoid using dry goods can escape taxation.

Now let us apply the same rule to rent and see whether it is equally just. Here is a building, let us suppose, standing on land the rental value of which, under Mr. George's new system, is \$100,000. The building is occupied by lawyers, doctors, brokers, railroad and telegraph offices, dealers in all kinds of products, and manufacturers. Each has his allotted part and pays his proportion of the rent. In making up the price of his goods or his personal services, as the case may be, each tenant estimates his time in wages, the cost of his goods or raw material, the interest on his capital, the cost of hired labor, fuel, light, rent, and profit. These added together constitute the price of his goods or his services. The consumer of the goods or services, in paying this price, pays the rent levied upon his proportion of consumption. He, if a dealer, adds this expense to the price of the goods he sells, and collects it in turn of his customer. But how is the actual tiller of the soil affected? As a consumer he pays his share of the rent of the building, and, as a user of land for purposes of cultivation under Mr. George's system, he pays his rent to society, composed first of taxes for the support of government, and second of the levy necessary to destroy speculative rent. As tillers of the soil do not set a price upon their products, he can not make the tax levied upon him as a consumer, nor upon the land value of the land he tills, an element of price, and, hence, can not unload them on any one below him. In fact, forming the basis of society, upon which the superstructure rests, he has no one upon whom to unload his burdens. Does not the tax upon land values make him the servitor of all other classes of society to a much greater extent than under present conditions? Is he not, as a consumer, equally taxed with all other consumers for the \$100,000 rent, and does he not pay an additional tax as a tiller of the soil which he has no power whatever of transferring to any other person? If this is true—and there is no logical escape from it—the single tax upon land values would simply tend to increase the burdens of the actual tillers of the soil, and make them serfs and slaves.

Mr. George advocates the confiscation of rent for the benefit of the community, because the community belongs to the land. The present system of land ownership is based on this principle, all land titles tracing to grants or deeds or patents issued by the Government or its legal representative. So there is no need to make any issue on this point. All advocates of land reform claim for the Government the largest powers in relation to it. But if the resumption of its possession, as practically proposed, is to accomplish such wonders—is to "raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty," etc., etc., its rent must be the controlling factor in our social fabric—all other elements and agencies must be subordinate to it and dominated by it. Let us examine the point.

Under our present system of private ownership what principle determines rent? Undoubtedly the value of money capital; the amount of annual interest which the money value of the land will command has more influence than any other element in determining the amount of rent. Will the resumption of the possession of the land by the community through the confis-

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that the accumulating power of money increases in a geometric ratio with the increase of interest. To illustrate this, loan \$20,000 at 6 per cent. interest. The interest is \$1,200. Loan the \$1,200, and it will accumulate in the ensuing year \$72. Now loan the \$20,000 at 12 per cent., and the interest is \$2,400 for the year. Loan the \$2,400 at 6 per cent., and the interest for the ensuing year will be \$288, just four times \$72. Thus the value of the income at 12 per cent. is four times greater than at 6 per cent. ("Labor and Capital," by Edward Kellogg.)

In "Labor and Capital" the author supposes one hundred families, worth \$250,000 each, or a total of \$25,000,000, to be colonized by themselves, and loaning their money at 6 per cent. interest. He allows each for expenses \$3,000 per year. He allows for a natural increase of population of 25 per cent. every twelve and one-half years, and gives each couple upon marriage \$50,000 out of the common fund and the \$3,000 per annum for expenses. He allows twelve and a half years for money to double at 6 per cent. interest, though it actually doubles in about eleven and three-quarter years. He carries the details of this computation forward for a term of five generations of thirty years each, or one hundred and fifty years, with all the liberal allowances I have named for expenses and increase of population, and the sum then accumulated, and on hand to continue accumulation, amounts to \$75,131,750,000!—a sum one-third larger than the total estimated wealth of the United States.

A comparison of the accumulative power of rent, reinvested in land, and interest reinvested at interest, illustrates at once the dominating power of the factor of interest over that of rent. This arises from the power of money to fix values. When the interest on money is doubled, the value of every dollar received as interest is doubled; for each dollar of interest will buy double the property that it would before the rise. But if the rent on land rise to double, the land itself will sell for double its former price; therefore the rent will not double its principal of land in any shorter time. When rent rises it continues to hold the same relative value to its principal of land. But when the interest on money rises, the relative proportion of it to the principal also rises.

The volume of money determines the exchangeable value of all wealth and fixes approximately the price of all commodities. It is said by the economists that these things are controlled by the law of supply and demand. I do not hesitate to admit this, because supply and demand are controlled by extraneous circumstances, no one of which has such power as an inadequate supply of money. The power which lowers prices of products in the hands of the producer destroys effective demand by destroying the power to buy. So there is a power back of supply and demand which regulates both, and that is the power over prices exercised by the volume of money—rent is determined by interest.

The relative influence of rent and interest upon the welfare of the masses of the people is well worthy of consideration. There is no known agency among men by which wealth can be so rapidly and surely accumulated in the hands of a few as by that of interest. Remarkable illustrations of this accumulative power of interest are given in "Labor and Capital" (Lovel's Library) which every one interested in this subject should read.

Let me give one or two illustrations of this accumulative power. Interest at 6 per cent. will double the principal in eleven years eight months and twenty-eight days. Let us call it twelve years. Place one dollar at interest at 6 per cent., compounded half yearly, and compute its interest for thirty terms of twelve years, or three hundred and sixty years, and the product is \$1,073,741,964.

It is also a practical and mathematical law

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securities; so they demonetize silver and reduce the volume of money until, to preserve the same relative level between wheat and money, the former falls to 50 cents per bushel. It now takes two hundred bushels of wheat to pay the farmer's interest, though this remains nominally the same—viz., 10 per cent. By this process the value of the mortgage has been doubled, and the value of the farmer's labor halved, interest now having a power of accumulation four times greater than the farmer's labor.

Whoever has followed me thus far with candor must concede that interest is more the controlling factor of the products of land and labor than rent, and that money capital has more power over the products of labor, the welfare of individuals, and the destinies of society than land.

The community has for ages adopted the principle or policy of ceding its title to land to private individuals—wisely or unwisely I do not say. It has never parted with its right to issue money, and can not part with nor divest itself of it. But, by unwise laws, it has delegated to agents, behind whom it stands as sponsor, the power to fix the volume of its currency and regulate the interest upon it. That Mr. George should have failed to attack this as the controlling factor in our social system, and should have attacked rent, which is not the controlling factor, has long amazed me. If he had proposed that the Government should issue legal-tender money in a volume proportioned to increasing populations and production, and sufficient to effect the exchanges of the country upon a cash basis, this being alone a Government function, and should base the same upon the land of the nation as security, the land being the common property of the nation, he would have shown great wisdom, and could much more safely have predicated the regeneration of society upon the result than upon the expedient he proposes.

Let us compare the changes which would result from the two systems. Mr. George proposes to confiscate the land. He does not state it quite so bluntly, but says: "I do not propose to confiscate land, but only to confiscate rent." * * We may safely leave them the shell if we take the kernel. He proposes to subject the possession of land and the privilege of access to its "natural opportunities" by the myriads of poor people of the world to the ruthless law of competition—the man or association of men who offer the most to have possession. I desire to imagine nothing as to the results of this, but to state only what must actually take place. Of course the ownership of land would be impossible. Land to be held as a refuge for old age—a home after the toils of life were past—would be impossible. The home, as we now understand it—the one spot on earth which we own and which no man could invade—would be impossible. Do we realize what ruthless competition means? Under its operation in this country have we not seen, year by year, the weak swallowed by the strong, and centralization of commercial and political power fastening its poisoned fangs upon the vitals of our Republic? Mr. George's proposition would subject the possession of land to this power, which invariably gives the strong dominion over the weak, and he makes it under the pretext—sincerely, I believe—of advocating the rights of the weak against the strong. But every year, under the blight of this ruthless power, the shadow of impending eviction would darken every household in the land. Isn't this enough? We need imagine nothing. The establishment of this one idea would effect a total revolution of the foundation principle of our social system.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the other changes which would be inevitable. But the proposition to relieve all the productions of

labor from taxation, in the interest of labor, and at the same time leave in full operation a financial system by which capital absorbs three-fourths of the products of labor as soon as they have an existence, seems to me philanthropy gone wild. Capital to-day is absorbing four-fifths of our production, but Mr. George proposes to "increase the earnings of capital" at the same time that he "abolishes poverty" and "extirpates pauperism."

What change is involved by the other proposed system? The abolition of all banks of issue, the full resumption by the Government of its proper function of issuing all money, and the issuing of such money direct to the people upon land security.

At first glance many would suppose that this would involve a great increase of Government machinery, but the opposite would be the case.

As far as coin money is concerned, the Government now holds the absolute monopoly. It also prints at its offices in Washington all paper money. It keeps an account with nearly four thousand National banks, and its officers can take possession of any of these banks at any day or hour. Each bank is a fiscal agent of the Government. Under the proposed system of issuing money on land security not more than one issuing office would be needed in each Congressional district. The county recorders or clerks would become fiscal agents of the United States, and the same machinery for recording mortgages and determining titles would exist then as now. The number of fiduciary agents would be greatly lessened.

At present the power to charge a high rate of interest is delegated to the banks, and incidentally they have the power within certain limits to contract or expand the currency at will. This is a dangerous power. The banks are operated by an association as one machine, and their interests as money loaners are directly opposed to the interests of the masses of the people as money users and as producers. Under the proposed new system interest would be fixed at a low Government rate; the amount of money loaned in any district would be justly proportioned to the population and production of that district; the volume of the currency would be placed beyond the interests, caprice, or quest of individual bankers or an association, and would be almost invariable; the supply would be proportioned to the demand for use and the natural law of interest, now entirely perverted by artificial methods, would have free play; prices would be stable, labor employed and well rewarded, "the earnings of capital increased, morals, intelligence, and taste elevated, government purified, and civilization carried to yet nobler heights."

My review of this subject has been necessarily hasty and superficial. I have only aimed to indicate the leading points through which a solution of the question may be found, and have written this article not so much to combat the theory of Mr. George, for whom I have the sincerest respect, as to indicate the real point where I think a remedy may be found, for the melancholy fact that as material progress and wealth increase poverty takes a darker hue. If I have directed attention or inquiry toward this point my object is accomplished.

Reply to Henry George.

BY T. D. HINCKLEY, HOYLETON, ILL.

The Standard editor in the issue of that paper, April 6th, criticising my comments on "Progress and Poverty," which appeared in your paper sometime since, says: "It is clear that if the town of Hoyleton should establish a system of water distribution, Mr. Hinckley would protest against any man paying for the water that he used. He would prefer to see one man own all the water, supply it in such quantities as he saw fit, and charge for it whatever he

could squeeze out of consumers." I am very sorry if my ideas were so bunglingly expressed in the article criticised as to warrant the interpretation put upon them by the Standard editor. If there is any one thing that I despise more than another it is a monopolist, whether the thing monopolized be a "natural opportunity" or an artificial one. If I really did make it "clear" that I "would protest against any man paying for the water that he used" while favoring a system that would enable some monopolist to "charge for it whatever he could squeeze out of consumers," then I certainly owe and most humbly tender your readers an apology for having written in a style that made it "clear" that I believed them incapable of reasoning. What I attempted and shall continue to attempt to make "clear" was the utter fallacy of a course of reasoning which has for its object the proving that taxes can be collected in any manner without burdening labor. Mr. George not only attempts to prove that the tax on land values would not burden labor, but he actually says that such a tax would abolish poverty. Hear him ("Progress and Poverty," page 292): "What I, therefore, propose as the simple, yet sovereign, remedy, which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify government and carry civilization to yet nobler heights, is to appropriate rent by taxation." I said in a former letter that the glowing pictures painted by protectionists in the advocacy of tariff taxes could not begin to compare with the magnificent pictures painted by Mr. George in his description of the truly wonderful effect certain to follow upon the adoption of his land-values tax. Does not the above quotation bear me out in the assertion? If not, hear him again (page 326): "This revenue arising from the common property could be applied to the common benefit, as were the revenues of Sparta. We might not establish public tables—they would be unnecessary—but we could establish public baths, museums, libraries, gardens, lecture-rooms, music and dancing halls, theaters, universities, technical schools, shooting-galleries, playgrounds, gymnasiums, etc. Heat, light, and motive power, as well as water, might be conducted through our streets at public expense; our roads be lined with fruit trees; discoverers and inventors rewarded; scientific investigations supported, and in a thousand ways the public revenues made to foster efforts for the public benefit. We should reach the ideal of the socialist, but not through Governmental repression. Government would change its character and would become the administration of a great co-operative society. It would become merely the agency by which the common property was administered for the common benefit. Does this seem impracticable? Consider for a moment the vast changes that would be wrought in social life by a change which would assure to labor its full reward."

Did ever protectionists in their wildest flights soar so high? Life would indeed be worth the living, of a verity it would be a ceaseless round of pleasure. What with free libraries, lecture-rooms, gymnasiums, music and dancing halls, and the thousand and one other things all to be provided by the magical single tax on land values, surely none but the veriest, most incorrigible anchore could complain. But after it all, after having carried his readers to the seventh heaven of imaginary bliss, the illustrious author of "Progress and Poverty," the most brilliant and fascinating word-painter of the nineteenth century, as though himself dimly conscious of having "spread it on too thick," asks the question, "Does this seem impracticable?"

Without directly answering the question, and

arguing from the assumption that the tax on land values "would assure to labor its full reward," he asks his readers to consider for a moment the wonderful effect of such a change.

It would indeed be a wonderful change that would assure to labor its full reward; a change so stupendous, so all-transforming, so far-reaching in its consequence as to take upon itself the character of the miraculous; a change from a hell of poverty to a heaven of abundance; a change that would dull the wits or soften the hearts and consciences of merchant princes, lumber barons, railway kings, and "captains of industry" generally, and yet this change is to be brought about, how? Simply by changing our form of taxation.

It is not even essential that taxes be reduced; on the contrary, from the feast which Mr. George has spread before us, the expense of which is to be defrayed out of the public revenues, it will be essential that public revenues should be largely increased. Does any one believe this can be done by a system of taxation which will assure to labor its full reward? Let us see. But before beginning the inquiry let me premise, by way of an apology in advance for any muddled statements I may make, that I am a farmer and that my education, so far as the schools of the country are concerned, ceased when I was fifteen years old. This fact may account for my failure to make it "clear" to the Standard editor that I conceive the fundamental error of "Progress and Poverty" to be not its advocacy of the taxation of land up to its full rental value, but in the assumption which trails all through it that taxes can be collected without burdening labor. In the course of my farming operations my three boys and myself plowed, harrowed, dragged, and rolled one hundred acres of my land preparatory to the seeding of it to wheat. We labored on that hundred acres full three months, and when we were finally done we not only had our labor invested, but we also had one hundred and thirty bushels of seed wheat, worth at least one hundred dollars, invested in the enterprise. The wheat came up and started to grow very nicely in the fall, but the winter came and it was a bitter one. The spring with its alternate freezing and thawing came. The chinch bugs came and the end of it was when harvest time came around but thirty acres of the crop would pay for the harvesting, and off of that thirty acres I thrashed only one hundred and fifteen bushels, or fifteen bushels less than we had used for seed. Will Mr. George, or, since he is absent, will the Standard editor, or Louis F. Post, or Thomas G. Shearman, or any other single-taxer who may have enjoyed the exquisite pleasure of having "seen the cat," kindly explain to me the process by which the "single tax on land values" would have assured to me and my little boys the full reward of our labor? Or do the "single-taxers" not class farmers as laborers? Very well, then let us follow the inquiry until it takes us among men whom even "single-taxers" acknowledge as laboring men. The blacksmiths and wagon-makers of Hoyleton have labored diligently during the year making harrows, wagons, and other implements of agriculture which they expected to sell to farmers, but the farmers' crop having failed they are not able to buy, and the consequence is the Hoyleton mechanics are obliged to keep their goods. How will the single tax "assure" them the full reward of their labor?

Let us follow the inquiry still further. The mechanics, having failed to realize on the products of their labor, are not able, even if they are willing, to invest in the raw material needed in their calling. Will this not curtail the product of iron manufacturers and iron-ore miners, and is there any way by which the "single tax" could be made to operate as a palliative for this curtailed production and still "assure to laborers remunerative employment and a full reward for their labor?"

Mr. Louis F. Post, in the last issue of the Standard, says Mr. George has shown that "private ownership is not merely a robbery in the past; but is a tax levied on the produce of the past, but is a tax levied on labor constantly and continuously, that it is robbery in the present, a fresh robbery every year."

Can anything be more explicit and emphatic than the above? Rent is "a tax levied on labor constantly and continuously, and is a fresh robbery every year." Mr. Post is an earnest and honest believer in the single tax, and has correctly interpreted "Progress and Poverty." But what is the cure proposed by Mr. George? I quote Mr. Post again, and any one who doubts that he has correctly interpreted Mr. George is respectfully referred to the bottom line of page 290, "Progress and Poverty."

"Mr. George's practical proposition was not to make land common property, but to make rent common property." Mr. Post's highly practical and eminently correct interpretation of "Progress and Poverty" then, when analyzed, means, "Mr. George denounces rent as a tax levied on labor constantly and continuously, and declares it to be a fresh robbery every year, and, as a cure for the misery and pauperism of the world, which he charges directly and wholly to the fact of this robbery, he proposes not that the robbery shall cease, but that the United States Treasury shall become the receiver of the stolen goods."

If rent under private ownership is robbery, what is it under public ownership? What difference will it make to the robbed whether the stuff of which they have been despoiled goes to an individual or to the public? Mr. George says it would be used to establish "free libraries, museums, technical schools, etc." Would that be a benefit? Would it help a poor man to know that a portion of his rent was being used to pay for these things any more than the knowledge does that a portion of the rent he is now paying goes for free libraries, public parks, and even \$10 charity-ball tickets? Is there any essential difference between the following propositions:

"Land is a superhuman production, the use of which is absolutely necessary to the sustenance of man. In order that justice may be established among our citizens it is decreed that cheese-makers, wheat growers, coal and ore miners, hewers of wood and drawers of water, and everybody else shall be taxed to the full rental value of such portion of land as they may each use, said 'rental value' to be annually ascertained and in no case to be less than other citizens would be willing to pay for the same land. The revenue accumulating from this tax shall be used to defray all expenses of government, and the residue, if there be any, shall be used to establish free libraries, museums, dancing halls, public baths, etc., to the end that our citizens may be profitably and properly amused."

"H. George.

If there be any who doubt that the public domain is about exhausted, let him read the following clipping from the Indiana Farmer:

"The President's proclamation, opening Oklahoma for settlement at noon on the 22d instant, has already brought to the borders of that fertile territory twice as many people as can be accommodated under the homestead act. The woods of the territory are filled with 'boomers,' who have already selected their proposed claims and are in hiding, awaiting the time when they may take possession; while the border towns are so crowded with strangers that in some cases it is half a day's job to obtain one's mail from the general delivery window of the post-office. Railroads are guarded night and day by watchmen to prevent the destruction of bridges, etc., and are making extensive arrangements to transport the household goods of settlers. One road is said to have 400 cars reserved by colonists. Another will run six to ten specials on the 20th and 21st. The conditions are ripe for bloodshed, the strife being between the 'boomers,' who have for months been watching their opportunity to seize the best claims in the territory, and the 'tenderfeet,' or Northern and Eastern men now on the borders, who will make a determined effort to be first on the ground.

As there are thousands of men within and around Oklahoma who can not possibly secure claims, and as all are in earnest, it is easy to see that serious trouble may occur."

Alliance Matters in Iowa.

BY N. B. ASHBY, STATE LECTURER.

We are glad here, in Iowa, to have the ECONOMIST start out on its mission to carry light into the darkness, and make day where it is now night. The farmer needs a National organ above and beyond the control of centralized wealth, whose editors can not be corrupted nor made the mouthpiece of corrupt

corporations. In the Northwest our needs have not been so pressing as those of your people in the South, yet for years the movement in organizing has been progressing with success. The Alliance movement in Iowa is becoming one of power. In the month of March alone nearly one hundred new organizations were added to the State organization. We have no regularly incorporated business organization, nor anything approaching the Exchange of your Southern Alliances, but we have our State and county purchasing agents, and through these much co-operative buying is done. We experience very little difficulty in arranging for a direct trade from the mine or manufactory. Price lists upon all kinds of farm machinery are now in the hands of the various local secretaries, quoting prices on machinery and oils fully 25 per cent. below the ordinary retail price.

The binding-twine trust is greatly agitating our Alliances and calling out vigorous action. The disposition to let twine alone is fast becoming a stern determination. Iowa will not use half the twine commonly required and demanded in the usual harvest. The twine combine not only will suffer, but manufacturers of binders as well. Our farmers will not greatly commiserate them. Under the patent laws they have a grinding monopoly which has caused the farmers of the Northwest to pay from \$150 to \$250 for binders which cost the manufacturer \$50. The tendency of the resistance to the twine trust is to cheapen binders greatly.

In Iowa co-operation among farmers is most wide-spread in mutual insurance against losses by fire and lightning. Almost every county has its Farmers Mutual. Sixty million dollars of risks are carried in this way and at less than one-half the cost at usual stock rates. We have also a State mutual windstorm, cyclone, and tornado, carrying about \$5,000,000 risks.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Economic Evolution:

BY J. A. TETTS, BOSTON, I.A.

As the human mind is continually progressing toward perfection, so the economic principles are tending in the same direction, though there may be no positive evidence that at any particular epoch the whole human family are in a much happier condition than at a previous one. Every effect must have a cause, even if that cause be the effect of some other cause, back to the beginning of the history of man.

At this particular time it would seem that all the causes necessary to the enslavement of the workingman were in full blast, and that it is only a question of a few short years when it will be found that he who helps to give happiness and liberty to one class is himself the only one who does not have the opportunity of enjoying them.

It would seem that all the machinery of our legislative branch of the Government is being run for the purpose of destroying the liberties of those who labor, and in building up a moneyed despotism upon the ruins of our temple of liberty, built by our forefathers when they made one step in the progress spoken of in the beginning of this article. Yet, when we see the effect produced by the liberty allowed money, we can not help being hopeful for a brighter future. When trusts and combinations bear too hard upon the people it arouses them to a sense of their oppression, and they begin to look about for means of resistance; and, as sure as God rules the universe, so sure this general movement for reform among the toiling millions is an instrument set in operation by his eternal laws of progression, and so sure will it bring blessings upon the mass of the human family.

It is to be hoped that new economic laws may be developed that will be of use to the race as long as human governments are necessary.

The very oppression now felt by the masses of the people will develop manhood and arouse the spirit of liberty which has had nothing to stir it into life for twenty-five years. Unjust laws that have acted like slow poison on the prosperity of our country are now showing their effects. The result is that millions are now demanding relief, and their demands will not cease until that relief comes, and it is to be hoped that the experience gained and the progress made in the science of government will make it impossible for a repetition of the same mistakes by the people. The giant trusts and monopolies that are now oppressing the people are the authors of their own destruction, for in their greed and ambition they have overstepped the bounds of prudence and their victims have been aroused from their slumbers and now are devising means to meet them in the conflict. It may take years of struggle, but the days of monopoly are numbered, and when once the power has been crushed the people will have become so much wiser that it will be long before the same species of oppression can exist.

All goods have their opposite evils. So it is with monopolies. Once corporations proved to be blessings to this land of ours, for where individuals could not build steamships, railroads, etc., corporations came to the rescue and by combining their capital and wisdom blessed the mass of mankind in furnishing means for the cheap distribution of the products of labor and the laborer could enjoy the comforts and luxuries produced by the labor at the other extreme of our continent; but the people, through their representatives, did not throw the proper restrictions around these whilom friends of ours, and corporations which were formerly obliging friends have assumed the role of despotic masters. Instead of dividing in fair proportion the wealth produced and giving labor comfort and encouragement, they now demand

all but a bare subsistence. This has aroused at last the sluggish and confiding mind of labor, and the evil complained of has become the parent of a child that will no doubt destroy its ancestor's power. Monopoly is the outgrowth of a beautiful principle of combination, which, if properly directed, can become of inestimable blessing to our people. If the principle had been governed by benevolence and justice the wealth of our country, so rich in resources, would be divided among its citizens who have the industry and frugality to deserve it; instead of now being amassed in the hands of the few, and what is now an oppressive tyrant could have been made a beneficent benefactor.

It is not yet too late to give it a chance to relieve us and bless us. We can now, by combination and co-operation, overcome the injury done and shed prosperity, like light, all over this broad land, and future generations may yet bless our names and labors.

Whatever we may do in the way of co-operation let it be based upon justice, and let us see to it

that it be made impossible to make our co-operative institutions engines to crush out the liberties of our people or make them slaves to any power beneath the heavens.

Co-operations upon the plan of justice to all will be the means of distributing wealth equally, upon merit; in other words, a just system of co-operation sees that none is taken from the individual but that part he contributes to pay his share of the benefits he receives from the society and its conveniences. This would imply that he should pay no more freight than is necessary to keep the transportation lines in repair and a reasonable hire for the capital invested in the road. In buying and selling he should pay no more for the exchange of the values he has produced than is necessary to pay those who handle them, and a reasonable hire for the money while in use, and so on in every phase of his dealings with the balance of the world.

As a proof to the unthinking that monopolies and trusts are past robbing the people of all opportunity for prosperity, I will give a few figures which I hope you will study and you will see that this Alliance and Wheel movement is not based on a mere hallucination of the mind, as some of our would-be masters would have you believe:

I buy 100 pounds of sugar, the Trust makes me pay extra for it \$1.00
I buy 100 pounds coffee, I pay trusts 2.00
I buy 1,000 pounds bacon, I pay trusts 10.00
I buy 1,000 pounds beef, I pay trusts 20.00
I buy 10 barrels flour, I pay trusts 10.00
I buy 5 tons coal, I pay trusts 10.00
I buy 40 gallons coal-oil, I pay trusts 2.00
I buy 2 gross matches, I pay trusts50
I buy 1 gross spool cotton, I pay trusts 1.25

I pay trusts on these articles \$45.75
10,000,000 families pay the sum \$457,500,000
This annually, besides the power of combinations to bear down the prices of the raw material when purchased from the producer. If it were possible to comprehend the amount of robbery done by combined capital in the hands of speculators, and a panoramic picture of the misery, want, starvation, and suffering from cold inflicted on the bodies of the poor, and of the mental anguish inflicted on the souls of the men made poor through this power, no man who had a single spark of the soul God breathed into the human race could take a hand in it. I say that if it were possible for men to comprehend the misery entailed on their fellow-men, and they contained in their bosoms a single atom of the milk of human benevolence, they would never become partners in transactions that must have received their inspiration from the dark chasms of hell and been conceived by the spirit of evil as the best means of circumventing the love of God toward his creatures.

GEORGIA STATE ALLIANCE.

Cotton Bagging Wins—Important Action of the Georgia Alliancemen.

In the State Alliance on Thursday, the committee appointed to consider the subject of baling cotton reported as follows:

We recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1st. That we recommend the use of cotton only as a covering for cotton.

2d. That we recommend no change in the size of the cotton bale.

3d. That a committee of ten of our best business men be appointed to take in hand the matter of a supply of cotton bagging and make the best possible arrangement for the coming season.

4th. That we prefer bagging forty-four inches wide, if it be practicable to obtain it.

5th. That the subject of ties be referred to the same committee.

6th. That said committee use their best endeavors to make arrangements with the Cotton Exchange of the world with reference to tare on bales packed in bagging lighter than jute.

7th. That we pledge ourselves to stand by the committee in its action.

After thorough discussion the report was adopted.

COMMITTEE ON BALING COTTON.

President Livingston appointed the following committee of ten to take in hand the matter of a supply of cotton bagging, and to make the best possible arrangement for the coming season:

Dr. J. T. DeJarnette, of Putnam; Hon. R. W. Everett, of Polk; Hon. W. J. Northern, of Hancock; Hon. W. A. Wilson, of Sumter; Hon. O. H. Porter, of Newton; Hon. T. E. Winn, of Gwinnett; Hon. W. R. Gorman, of Talbot; Hon. W. E. H. Searcy, of Spalding; Hon. J. P. Jones, of Coweta; Hon. R. M. Brown, of Clay.

THE INIQUITOUS BAGGING TRUST.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the farmers' organizations of the South, and all the farmers of the South, be requested to co-operate with us in this effort to defeat the ends and aims of the iniquitous bagging trust.

This action means a great deal to the South.

It means independence of all trusts and success to our farming interests. It will utilize all the inferior grades of cotton at the prices paid for the best grades, which will add millions of dollars to the income of the Southern planters.

Now the Alliance begins to work on right lines. Success is bound to attend it.

As to the supply to be obtained, the Constitution says:

"The West Point mills can make 45,000 yards a day, and will run every day from now until January if necessary. It will take 5,600,000 yards to bale the Georgia crop, and the West Point mills alone can supply this. The looms for making this cotton, which should weigh three-quarters of a pound to the yard, are very cheap, and any factory who has room can put in a few of these looms and run them steadily on cotton bagging, making a good profit and helping the farmers and the people of the South."

"Have any prices been quoted?"
Mr. Odeneheimer quoted us 9½ cents. We have a committee, however, that will take this matter in hand."

A resolution by Hon. Thomas J. Lyon, of Bartow, recommended that the farmers of Georgia plant less acreage in cotton, much more acreage in grasses and grains, and devote more time and attention to the raising of cattle.

This resolution provoked considerable discussion and was finally adopted.

Mr. R. W. Everett introduced the following resolutions, which were carried:

Whereas reports have been freely circulated to impair confidence in our organizations and to deter parties from contributing to our enterprise; therefore be it

Resolved, by the State Alliance—

1. That the condition of the order throughout the State is more satisfactory now than at any period of its past history, and that we have implicit confidence in its ultimate success.

2. That we heartily indorse the efforts of Brother Terrell in assisting us to build up the State Exchanges, and hereby renew our pledges to do all in our power to further his efforts.

3. That the State Exchange is a necessity, and we will not cease to work for the same so long as a necessity for work exists, and we confidently hope that the day is not far distant when its benefits may permeate every section of our grand old Commonwealth.

On motion of Mr. T. E. Winn, a committee of twelve, consisting of one from each Congressional district and two from the State at large, were appointed to take into consideration the question of fertilizers.

President Livingston appointed the following gentlemen on the committee:

THE GUANO COMMITTEE.

First district—W. R. Kemp, Swainsboro.

Second district—E. L. Nell, Thomasville.

Third district—J. S. Anderson, Hawkinsville.

Fourth district—J. M. Kimbrough, Cataula, assistant secretary.

Fifth district—J. E. Nunnally, Monroe.

Sixth district—H. J. Marshall, Round Oak.

Seventh district—T. J. Lyons, Cartersville, secretary.

Eighth district—G. T. Murrell, Winterville.

Ninth district—P. Strickland, Barnesville.

Tenth district—J. E. Carswell, Blythe.

State at large—Wm. A. Broughton, chairman, Madison; Pope Vason, Albany.

The committee will consider the guano question in its entirety; the supply, prices, test as to utility, adaptability to soil, etc., and after searching investigation, will submit a report to the meeting of the Alliance next August.

The drift of the discussion upon fertilizers was that farmers who are spending large sums of money for fertilizers should buy, not through the middle-men, but for spot, cash, or on good security, thus getting fertilizers at a far cheaper rate.

THE OLIVE BILL.

The following resolution having reference to the Olive bill was adopted after discussion:

Whereas the united strength of combined capital is being brought to bear upon the representatives of the people, and will be used to defeat the olive bill in the next session of the legislature, thereby destroying the sovereignty of our State constitution; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Farmers' Alliance is in favor of the constitution of Georgia against trusts and combines, and call upon our representatives in the State legislature to use every honorable means in their power to secure the passage of the Olive bill at the coming session of the legislature.

'Tis Better So

Is the title of a new and popular song, which will be sent, together with 100 other choice selections, words and music complete, to all who send 10 cents for a three months' trial subscription to the popular illustrated monthly journal entitled "Home Circle."

This is probably one of the most liberal offers ever made by reliable publishers, and should be taken advantage of by all.

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St. Louis, Mo.

Clubbing Rates.

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

	Regular Club-price	price of both
"Progressive Farmer," of Raleigh, N. C.; official organ of State Alliance	\$1 00	\$1 75
"Toiler," Nashville, Tenn., official organ Agricultural Wheel	1 00	1 65
"Southern Alliance," Atlanta, Ga.	1 00	1 50
"Dakota Ruralist," Huron, Dak.	1 00	1 25
"The Forum"	5 00	5 00
"Memphis Appeal"	1 00	1 50
"Georgia Farmer"	50	1 00
St. Louis "Home Circle"		1 10
"Sunday Democrat," Vicksburg, Miss.	2 00	2 50

LOYAL ALLIANCE MEN

CAN SAVE MONEY AND PRACTICE WHAT THEY PREACH BY USING

THE MARSHALL PLANTER AND FERTILIZER DISTRIBUTOR.

Read what prominent Alliancemen say about it:

"Having carefully examined the Marshall Planter and Fertilizer Distributor, patented December 25, 1888, manufactured by the Dallas Branch C. M. A., and offered for sale by Arthur Arrington, Louisville, N. C., General Manager, we take pleasure in recommending it to our brethren throughout the country, both because of its superior merits and the fact that it is owned, manufactured, and sold by Alliancemen."

"S. D. A. DUNCAN,
"Prest Exchange."
"J. B. REILLY,
"Sec'y and Treas. Dallas Branch C. M. A.
"E. NEWTON,
"M. Board.
"B. J. KENDRICK."

This Planter is cheap, light, simple, and durable. Besides planting corn, peas, sorghum, millet, and other grains, sowing cotton-seed in drills with the most satisfactory results last season, and distributing fertilizers to perfection, it possesses the pre-eminence of advantage of

DROPPING COTTON-SEED IN HILLS,
the seed having first been delinated by the NEWELL PROCESS FOR PREPARING COTTON SEED FOR PLANTING. These two new and useful inventions invite the careful attention of farmers and must eventually revolutionize cotton planting. Much expense and ten days saved by

NOT CHOPPING OUT.
Alliancemen of fitness wanted as agents. Address ARTHUR ARRINGTON, Gen'l Manager, [1-3m.] LOUISBURG, N. C.

SCRIBNER'S STATISTICAL ATLAS

Is a comprehensive digest of information concerning the United States. It contains 279 Maps and 969 Charts, all in colors, each illustrating in a graphic way—and without tedious columns of figures—important facts in the growth of the country not otherwise so readily accessible. They show the Political, Social, and Industrial Development and Present Condition of the United States. The text is the work of experts, and the figures are from official sources. Sold by subscription only.

THE CITIZEN'S ATLAS OF AMERICAN POLITICS.

Containing new election maps showing Popular Vote for President by Counties in 1880, 1884, and 1888, with unique and valuable Tariff Studies, etc., is now ready.

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Live Poultry and Dressed Game,
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Potatoes, Vegetables, Flour, Meal,
Feed, Grain, Provisions,
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Beeswax, Seeds, Ginseng,
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General Produce Commission Merchants and Shippers.

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Gen. Passenger Agt. Western Maryland R. R.
J

WASHINGTON.
Its Public Buildings and Monuments.
No. 5.

Aside from the public buildings and their surrounding grounds, which are all beautifully kept and ornamented, and will be described further on, the parks, squares, and circles form one of the principal sources of attraction and ornament of the city. These small dots of verdure and floral color and perfume are strikingly attractive in their vivid contrast to monotonous walls and paved streets. In passing along a street bordered on both sides by towering brick or stone structures, one suddenly and most unexpectedly happens upon a perfect little Eden of verdure and floral beauty, where cooling fountains play in the sunlight and the murmur of gurgling waters whispers to one of the quiet and repose of some sylvan nook, where laughing brooklets babble and where nature smiles on rural ease; or among the waving foliage and parti-colored blossoms tower splendid statues, carved by the most skillful hands that have won the fame of American sculptors. These little gems of emerald verdure are reminders of Arcadian groves, where woodland nymphs held their revels amid the classic sculptures of an age that was a dream of artistic grandeur, and one almost looks instinctively about to see the wise philosophers surrounded by their pupils, or the poets reciting to delighted throngs the deeds of heroes and of demi-gods. This feature of the city is classic in its conception and effect, and the little plots gleam upon the breast of the lovely city like jewels upon the cloak of beauty.

The Government reservation has already been described, and the Botanical Gardens, which are located there, are worthy of a special description, which will be given in the proper place. The small squares and circles, which it is our present intention to describe, are so numerous that space will only allow a passing glance, although much could be said of each and still a very faint idea of their beauty and effect be conveyed.

In the very heart of the city, and immediately in front of the White House, is situated Lafayette Park. This reservation contains about seven acres, bounded on every side by elegant avenues and streets. It is inclosed, and shaded by a forest of ancient and stately trees. Beautiful lawns spread beneath the shadow of their branches, and beds of flowering plants of rare varieties and foreign growth greet the eye with masses of glowing color. In the center of the park stands a magnificent statue of Gen. Andrew Jackson, by Clark Mills. This statue was cast from bronze cannon captured during the campaigns of Jackson, and cost nearly \$50,000. The statue rests upon a marble pedestal, and is one of the most remarkable productions of American genius. It is of heroic size, and the weight is enormous; yet, so perfect are the proportions and true and delicate the details, that one has no conception of the great bulk and weight. The action is simply grand and the pose magnificent. The great weight is so nicely distributed that the enormous mass rests upon the two rear feet of the horse alone, and seems as

light and airy as a dream. To so poised this immense weight was no small triumph of mechanical skill, and yet it was done and the artistic effect and composition preserved, not a line distorted, not a detail wanting, but perfect and symmetrical it stands a monument to American genius as well as of the worth and heroism of the man it typifies. Around the monument is grouped a battery of old-fashioned brass field-pieces, covered with the verde antique that testifies their age and character. Seats are provided all through the park, where visitors may rest while enjoying the beauties and the fragrance of the resort.

McPherson Square is situated on Vermont avenue, and is much smaller than Lafayette Square, but very similar in other respects. This square is adorned by an equestrian statue of Gen. James B. McPherson, which was erected by the Society of the Army of the Tennessee. It stands on a granite pedestal, and cost nearly \$50,000. The statue was cast from cannon appropriated by Congress for the purpose. The sculptor was Louis T. Robisso. The height of the figure is 14 feet, and the horse is 12 feet long. The statue was unveiled October 18, 1876. It is a grand work of art, and one of the finest of the many splendid statues which adorn Washington. A detailed description of each statue would be impossible in the space at our command, and only a brief mention can be given; yet it may be said of all, that they are grand; each in its particular way, and are fine representatives of what Americans are capable of doing in the plastic art. No mere description can give any conception of the effect upon the visitor made by these colossal masses of bronze, touched with life by the hand of genius.

Thomas Circle, at the intersection of Fourteenth street, Massachusetts and Vermont avenues, is a beautiful spot, surrounded by palatial residences. In the center of the circle, which is a mound of verdure set with flowers, stands an equestrian statue of Gen. George H. Thomas. The pose, action, and detail of this statue are simply grand. The horse is all life and action, and, like the war-steed he is, seems to scent the battle afar off. The pedestal on which the statue rests is of granite ornamented with bronze tablets, upon which is the insignia of the Army of the Cumberland. The statue and pedestal are 32 feet high, and were executed at a cost of \$75,000.

Dupont Circle contains a bronze figure of Admiral S. F. Dupont, by Laut Thompson. The figure is of heroic proportions, and represents the Admiral in full uniform standing on the quarter-deck, marine glass in hand. The pedestal is of gray granite with a base of blue rock. The cost of the statue was \$10,500.

Iowa Circle, a most beautiful spot in one of the most elegant quarters of the city, has not as yet any memorial statue, but in the center there is located a beautiful fountain.

The Rawlins Statue stands at the intersection of Louisiana and Pennsylvania avenues; it is a bronze figure of Gen. John A. Rawlins, 8 feet high and rests on a granite pedestal 12 feet in height. It was modeled by J. Bailey and cost \$12,500.

In front of the Washington Post building, at the intersection of Pennsylvania avenue and D street, stands a marble statue of Benjamin Franklin; modeled by Jouvenal, and presented to the city of Washington by Stilson Hutchins, of the Washington Post.

This is but a casual glance at the many grand statues that ornament the city, but space will not allow a fuller description. The squares, circles, and parks are each entitled to a detailed description, but it is impossible, as there is still so much of great interest and importance to describe.

The statue was dedicated April 14, 1876, Frederick Douglass delivering the oration.

Franklin Park is in the heart of the northwest section, and is beautifully ornamented with trees, flowering shrubs, and plants, and is adorned with an elegant fountain in the center. The trees seem very ancient and many of them are extremely large.

Farragut Square is a small park in the center of which is a bronze statue of Admiral Farragut, modeled by Vinnie Ream Hoxie, who is a resident of Washington. It is 10 feet high and stands on a granite pedestal 20 feet in height. The figure was cast from metal taken from the bronze propeller of Farragut's flagship, the Hartford. Each corner of the pedestal is surmounted by a bronze mortar. The cost of this work was \$25,000.

Scott Circle, in the center of the fashionable quarter of Washington, is adorned by a magnificent bronze equestrian statue of Gen. Winfield Scott. It was modeled by H. K. Brown and cast in Philadelphia from cannon captured in Mexico. It represents the old hero of the Mexican war in the uniform of a lieutenant-general of the United States army. The horse is splendidly executed. The total height of the bronze is 15 feet, and it cost \$20,000. The pedestal is of granite from the Cape Ann quarries, and is composed of five huge blocks, said to be the largest ever quarried in the United States. The cost of the pedestal was about \$25,000.

Green Square, on Capitol Hill, contains an equestrian statue of Gen. Nathaniel Green, of the Continental army. The statue was cast in Philadelphia from cannon appropriated for the purpose. H. T. Brown was the sculptor. The pedestal is of granite, and is twenty feet in height. The total height of the statue is 33 feet, and its length 14 feet. The cost was \$50,000.

Judiciary Square contains the District court-house and Pension Building. A marble column surmounted by a statue of Lincoln stands in front of the court-house. There are about twenty acres contained in this square, laid out in handsome lawns and flower plots.

Washington Circle, at the western end of Pennsylvania avenue, contains an equestrian statue of Washington, intended to represent him as he appeared at the battle of Princeton. It is the work of Clark Mills, and is one of the greatest works of that great sculptor. The cost of the statue was \$50,000, which amount was appropriated for the purpose by Congress in 1853.

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Scott Circle, in the center of the fashionable quarter of Washington, is adorned by a magnificent bronze equestrian statue of Gen. Winfield Scott. It was modeled by H. K. Brown and cast in Philadelphia from cannon captured in Mexico. It represents the old hero of the Mexican war in the uniform of a lieutenant-general of the United States army. The horse is splendidly executed. The total height of the bronze is 15 feet, and it cost \$20,000. The pedestal is of granite from the Cape Ann quarries, and is composed of five huge blocks, said to be the largest ever quarried in the United States. The cost of the pedestal was about \$25,000.

Green Square, on Capitol Hill, contains an equestrian statue of Gen. Nathaniel Green, of the Continental army. The statue was cast in Philadelphia from cannon appropriated for the purpose. H. T. Brown was the sculptor. The pedestal is of granite, and is twenty feet in height. The total height of the statue is 33 feet, and its length 14 feet. The cost was \$50,000.

Judiciary Square contains the District court-house and Pension Building. A marble column surmounted by a statue of Lincoln stands in front of the court-house. There are about twenty acres contained in this square, laid out in handsome lawns and flower plots.

Washington Circle, at the western end of Pennsylvania avenue, contains an equestrian statue of Washington, intended to represent him as he appeared at the battle of Princeton. It is the work of Clark Mills, and is one of the greatest works of that great sculptor. The cost of the statue was \$50,000, which amount was appropriated for the purpose by Congress in 1853.

Dupont Circle contains a bronze figure of Admiral S. F. Dupont, by Laut Thompson. The figure is of heroic proportions, and represents the Admiral in full uniform standing on the quarter-deck, marine glass in hand. The pedestal is of gray granite with a base of blue rock. The cost of the statue was \$10,500.

Iowa Circle, a most beautiful spot in one of the most elegant quarters of the city, has not as yet any memorial statue, but in the center there is located a beautiful fountain.

The Rawlins Statue stands at the intersection of Louisiana and Pennsylvania avenues; it is a bronze figure of Gen. John A. Rawlins, 8 feet high and rests on a granite pedestal 12 feet in height. It was modeled by J. Bailey and cost \$12,500.

In front of the Washington Post building, at the intersection of Pennsylvania avenue and D street, stands a marble statue of Benjamin Franklin; modeled by Jouvenal, and presented to the city of Washington by Stilson Hutchins, of the Washington Post.

This is but a casual glance at the many grand statues that ornament the city, but space will not allow a fuller description. The squares, circles, and parks are each entitled to a detailed description, but it is impossible, as there is still so much of great interest and importance to describe.

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Taxation.

Of all vexed questions taxation is probably the most prominent, and while it is discussed more than any other it is generally very imperfectly understood. The modern system of raising revenues by a regular system of assessment supplemented by enforced collections has only been in vogue a few years, but from the earliest history governments and authorities have derived their revenues partly from within their own jurisdiction and partly by conquest from without. In all the records of the earlier efforts of governments to obtain funds from their subjects one conspicuous feature is that the weak were compelled to pay more liberally than the strong. In some a per capita tax was assessed upon captives and slaves only, and was, therefore, regarded in some degree as a disgrace, at least it was an enforced contribution beneath the dignity of a freeman. In later periods governments were supported by the rents from their realty, by fines, by bounties, tithes, and other means of exacting from the weak and defenseless, on various pretexts, payments to the government.

Mr. Richard T. Ely, Ph. D., in his "Taxation in American States and Cities," defines taxation thus: "Taxes are simply one-sided transfers of economic goods or services demanded of the citizens, and occasionally of those not citizens, but who, nevertheless, are within the reach of the taxing power, by the constituted authorities of the land, for meeting the expenses of government, or for some other purpose, with the intention that a common burden shall be maintained by common contributions or sacrifices." Mr. Ely explains this definition at some length and shows that it is moderately accurate; he also sustains quite conclusively his criticism of all definitions that yield to and partake of the reciprocal idea, or the fallacy of attempting to justify taxation from principle on the ground that it is to some extent a remuneration by the subject for protection received from the government. That view is clearly untenable because taxes are certain and fixed, and the amount of protection required by any individual is very uncertain and never fixed, and there is no way for him to avoid the tax on the plea that the government had not furnished him any protection even if he could prove a loss in consequence. Neither could he evade his tax by furnishing his own protection at his own expense; the taxes must be paid until it has become proverbial that there is "nothing sure but death and taxation."

Taxes are not debts or obligations in any sense of the word. Taxation does not depend upon representation, neither does a failure or inability to pay them create any legal disqualification. A careful examination from every possible point of view will show that they are purely and simply contributions, and that they are not voluntary but compulsory. The government forces a contribution from its subjects for the purpose of securing revenues to meet its expenditures of all kinds. A forced contribution, if enforced by individual authority, is robbery. There has, from time to time, been faint arguments offered trying to justify this violation of personal rights by the government on principle, and claiming that man was indebted to society for many things, and, therefore, as a matter of right, he ought to be made to bear his share of the burden of the government; but what a great responsibility rests upon the legislative branch of the government, that they will put every dollar collected by taxation from the people to a better use than the people would, had it remained in their pockets. If they fail to do this they make the government a robber. Taxation becomes criminal whenever it fosters monopoly, or when it tends toward the concentration instead of the diffusion of wealth, or when it promotes tyranny and despotism instead of equal rights. The framers of the constitution of Pennsylvania had a proper conception of this subject when they inserted the following provision in their organic law.

"Sec. 41. No public tax, custom, or contribution shall be imposed upon, or paid by, the people of this State, except by a law for that purpose; and before any law be made for raising it, the purpose for which any tax is to be raised ought to appear clearly to the legislature to be of more service to the community than the money would be, if not collected; which being well-observed, taxes can never be burthens."

This is a sensible and practical limitation to the use of the power by the legislatures.

Taxation was the cause of the revolutionary war, and was such a palpable violation of right that it was resisted in all its forms at first, in this country and the liberty-loving people, who founded this country refused to tolerate it as a fixture, and the present system was not successfully established until 1841, by the State of Maryland.

Taking this view of taxation, with its violation of a fundamental principle of liberty, and even the policy of its application and perpetuation dependent upon the use made of the funds raised; and the power given to the representatives in Congress to vote the funds for such purposes as they see fit, the people should be forcibly impressed with the importance of becoming thoroughly informed on the use and necessity of all expenses incurred and all appropriations made by Congress. They should elect competent and honest men, whose hearts throb with the people, and then hold them strictly responsible for every vote.

The great interest now so rapidly developing among the people in our social condition indicates results deeper and broader than casual observers conceive.