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foretold a grand Republican victory, he would have been nearer the truth if he had said that the people of Oregon knew Senator Dolph and D. P. Thompson and are becoming fully aware of their little game and do not propose to "stand their work." The people have rebelled and the crack of Satan's whip and the drum beating and bugle call of the Oregonian are heeded no longer. We are the people, and the people's rule has been stamped on every ballot in letters too plain to be misunderstood. Pennoyer was elected for the reason that he was the friend of the people and they have confidence in him. Thompson was defeated because he was a banker, a friend to monopolies that feast and fatten at the expense of the public. It was not on account of what either party had written in its platform that elected Pennoyer or defeated Mr. Thompson. The people have too long been dealt with falsely by voting for expressed sentiments in platforms that were made to catch votes. They remember even now the position of the Republican party on the silver question at Chicago and compare it with Mr. Harrison's threatened veto now as they contrast the sentiments of Senator Dolph with the Republican national platform.

The Texas Labor Journal gives a truth with a moral in a sententious way:

Conscience is what education makes it—the canibal feeds upon his victims without scruples because he feels there is no wrong in so doing.

#### FROM CORRESPONDENTS EVERYWHERE.

Beach City Alliance, No. 216, of North Carolina, inclose resolutions of thanks to President Polk, Messrs. Macune, Wardall, Livingston, and others for the able manner in which the sub-treasury was presented before the committees of Congress.

Bloomdale F. A. No. 433, Collin county, Texas, sends the following resolution: "That we heartily endorse the manly efforts of the Alliance Legislative Committee at Washington, D. C., in behalf of the people in their labor to have the sub-treasury bill passed."

E. Shorkley, of Lewisburg, Pa., sends a memorandum of what the census enumerator will have to report of a sample farm in that township: "A loss of \$22,000 on 200 acres of farm property is boldly and officially recognized, since held by present owner, in seventeen years. The property is in every way but in valuation greatly improved. Who or what class has my money? And where is redress for my children and family?"

F. A. Missinger, editor of the Howitzer, Granby, Colo., writes: "In THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST for June 7, 1890, I find the following: 'Here is the situation. In January, 1889, there was estimated to be \$704,608,169 gold and bullion in the country, of which, after a most careful search and liberal allowances, \$275,000,000 can not be accounted for.' I think if the matter of English ownership of gold and silver mines, lands, irrigating ditches, manufacturing establishments, fire and life insurance offices, mortgage and loan companies, railroad stocks, etc., belonging to English capitalists in Colorado, be considered, the amount of gold now *not* estimated, to some extent, be accounted for."

Nathan Hiatt of Exeter, Mo., expresses the opinion that there will never be a proper system of money until the metals are done away with and a system of paper money introduced. The brother says: "There is no danger of getting too much. What is not needed can lay in the public Treasury until the business of the country demands it, when it can be put in circulation. The Government should furnish money at every county seat, fix the amount of interest at 6 per cent, and accommodate all with money who can give good security. This system of money will perpetuate a true republican government, supplying all need for money and giving all a chance to make an honest living." Space precludes publishing the entire letter, but it proposes to reduce taxes and expenses in various ways, among other things abolishing courts of law.

J. C. Byers, lecturer of Carter Alliance, No. 705, Calhoun county, Miss., incloses a sample of journalism clipped from a paper in that county. The sample is a pair of those inbred party lies lately circulated in the South as Democratic thunder against the Alliance and will do no harm. One repeats the story of the \$300,000 furnished by the Republicans to sustain THE ECONOMIST, and the other a reproduction

from a western newspaper congratulating the Republicans upon the incidental help furnished by the Alliance in overthrowing the Bourbons in the South. Lies of the same litter circulate through the Republican States colored to work on Republican prejudices. The Alliance depends upon the intelligence of its members. THE ECONOMIST must have faith in the confidence its tone and character inspire in its readers. Time and space can not be given to dirty controversy.

Mr. Davison, Mica, Ga., is strongly in favor of an independent party. He concludes: "I am irresistibly impelled to the belief that National reform by the ballot must be secured by a national party, organizing as such, setting forth clearly its principles and cutting entirely loose from all prejudice, sectional and partisan, placing a leadership of tried and true men in the van and drawing the lines so firmly that all friends will keep inside and enemies on the outside. If this work is not commenced *now* we will fail to elect a Congress this year to pass the substitute for the sub-treasury bill, and we will be compelled to lay aside our partisan and sectional prejudices and organize directly under the fire of all the enemies' mud batteries in 1892. The veteran reformers of fifteen years now working as a unit in the Union Labor Party invite our co-operation. This will unite and give confidence in our council, and retaining our locks (sovereignty) we can as easily break asunder the old party ties as Sampson did the new ropes with which he was bound."

M. A. Vinson, Lockhart, La., writes to inquire as to the constitutionality of the sub-treasury plan of the Alliance. The avowed objects of the framers of the Constitution "were to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Whatever can be shown to aid in any of these objects can not be within the limits of prescribed acts, and as yet no one has shown that the purpose of the farmers is different from any of those set forth above. As to any operation of the sub-treasury plan which contravenes the Constitution, there is a standing challenge to any caviler to point it out. Its underlying principle is justice to the producers, and if any detail is wrong that can be amended. As yet none of the Congressmen who have attacked it have more than their personal declarations, unsupported by detail, to back their assertions. Singularly enough nearly or quite all the congressional letter-writers are on record as identified with legislation closely analogous to the sub-treasury plan.

Mrs. W. E. Davis, of Dubberly, La., gives an object lesson to the quasi statesmen who establish conditions for the people:

"Will you permit a farmer's wife to tell Mr. Flowers that he need not wait for the passage of the sub-treasury bill to see woman working in the field. If he will come South he can see them both in cotton chopping and picking time in the fields with every child that is large enough to handle a hoe or carry a small sack of cotton. I am sure if the government would furnish a warehouse with a safe keeper for those children who are not large enough to work so that they would neither burn, drown, or break their necks their mothers would be thankful. When our children ask why we plant crops so large that it keeps every one at work from before day until after dark, we explain that those who should regard the rights of the wealth producer have proved recreant to their trust; that they have placed us in the hands of gamblers in futures; that dire necessity compels us to labor until life becomes a burden that those future gamblers may make millions out of what, if allowed to remain in the hands of the proper owners, would make millions of happy homes. Oh! we are being educated and educating our children. In homes where a few years ago the father knew no more than to vote the party ticket, political economy is now discussed until boys of twelve are better informed than were their fathers a few years ago. The time is past when the bloody shirt will be such a factor in an election. We have learned that our northern friends do not desire to put black heels on white necks; while they have learned we do not desire to keep the negro in semi-slavery, but are glad to see him prosper. If those who have it in their power to give us justice fail to read the handwriting on the wall the interpreters are coming in the persons of our sons who will proclaim the meaning in terms so loud that the thunder will be heard over the land. It will be neither North nor South, but a solid North and South, united against common oppressors."

Official Organ of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

Volume 3.

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1890.

Number 16.

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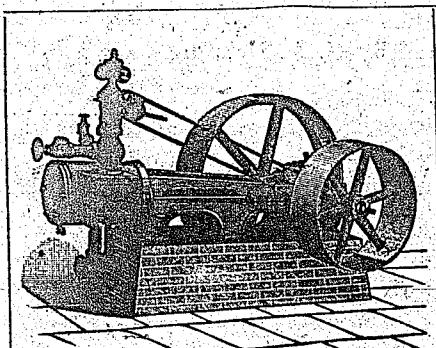
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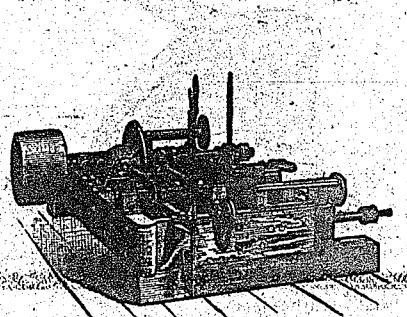
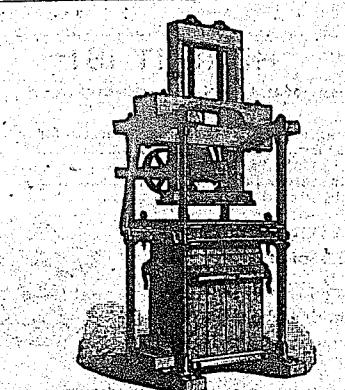
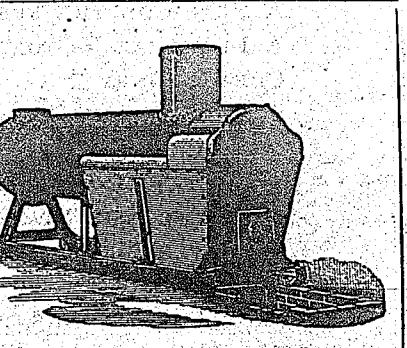
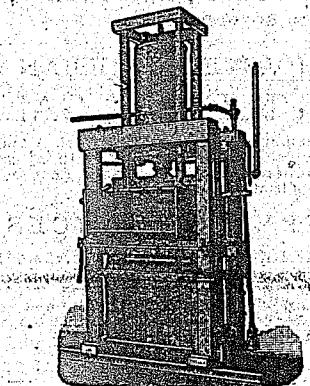
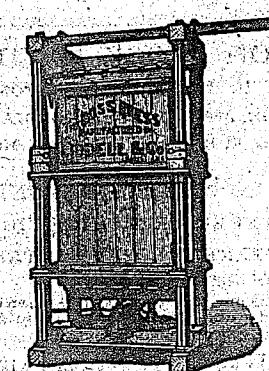
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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 3.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 5, 1890.

No. 16.

POLITICAL.

Those who are managing the great political parties now have a task upon their hands that seems more complicated than for years. There must always be a head or central figure in each party that has more influence in shaping the policy to be pursued than any other. This prime mover may not always be recognized and known, but he must exist, because a divided management would soon develop inconsistencies that would in time prove fatal. There is, therefore, and must ever be a "managing editor" in each party. He is the central figure who touches the button that starts or stops all the machinery. If the reader will for a few moments imagine himself to be occupying that position in one of the great political parties of the day, the following thoughts will be very interesting.

The party will succeed that secures the greatest number of votes. Money has heretofore been the most potent agent or auxiliary to secure votes. True, the great common people are becoming aroused as never before to a study of economic questions, and the study and research given the subject is sure to result in a loss of power on the part of money for election purposes. The donation of millions by Wall street to each of the parties is now and must, for a time at least, be an adjunct to the party canvass that neither party is willing to lose. Absolute free coinage of silver as a party measure, by either party, would lose that and place the other party in the ascendancy in 1892, provided the people in the balance of the States could be as equally divided as they have now been for sixteen years. It is like a game of chess, and there is a pressing necessity for a move in the interest of the people. The party that wins will have played for and won a position that secures the approbation of a majority of the people; but, as above shown, neither can afford as yet to take that position independent of capital and both are making important concessions to placate capital. They leave the center of the board vacant and confine the operations to a gambit upon the extreme of one side the board, moving nothing but tariff pieces. There is very little difference between them on the tariff; one favors tariff for revenue only and the other favors using the tariff as a measure of protecting our various industries. The rapidly increasing intelligence of the masses

upon the subject threatens to secure the discovery that there is so little difference in the two positions that they are unworthy the great effort and expense necessary to maintain them. Both are beginning to realize that the people will not long be diverted by this sham battle of tariff pawns. Yet both seem to be afraid to make a move in the true interest of the people, and exert themselves to the utmost to get up some enthusiasm over the stale old game, when a sensation is produced by the "managing editor" of one side making the long-looked for and long-hoped for move in the interest of the people. He simply reaches over into the king row and places his castle of "reciprocity" in a commanding position, where it can knock the tariff gambit into a "cocked hat." Reciprocity means that we will say to Mexico and the other American Republics, we will remove our tariff from your sugar, rice, and wool, if you will remove your tariff from our cotton, wheat, flour, and bacon. By this means we can secure a market for our farm products that will augment prices and be an important step in the interest of the producers of this country. This is one of the finest and shrewdest political moves made by either party in twenty years, and threatens to checkmate the opposite party. In fact, there is only one way to avoid a mate. The party making this play have so much confidence in the strength and probable success of the position that they leave their center in deference to Wall street in the same exposed position it occupied for some time. They think they have strength enough to stand the losses that will follow a refusal of free coinage of silver, and will depend upon the reciprocity castle to carry them to success by whipping the tariff fight. They can, however, be defeated in this, and easily mated if the opposite party continue to play a feint in the tariff gambit, and bring their royal pieces to bear upon the enemy's center in a financial reform gambit by advocating the principles of the sub-treasury plan for a flexible volume of money, and any plan for an increase of the volume. Whichever party first brings into action its royal pieces bearing upon the enemy's center in support of these measures may be absolutely certain of a permanent success.

WANTED—A certain test for the constitutionality of proposed legislation. Must be so simple that a non-professional can apply.

**STANDING BY THE ALLIANCE.**

The Toiler (Nashville, Tenn.) say:

We are glad to say to our readers that we have at least one Congressman in Tennessee, an able lawyer and jurist of established reputation, who says the sub-treasury bill is constitutional and that he intends to support it. It requires courage to take such a position with such men as Harris, Carlisle and Mills against him, but we rejoice to know that this rising young statesman has opinions of his own and the courage to advocate them. Senator Harris is an old man of acknowledged ability and has been in the United States Senate for fourteen years, but if he has ever introduced one single bill to prevent combinations of capital, reducing the prices of the products of the soil below the natural law of supply and demand and robbing the farmer of the honest reward of their labor, we would like to know it; and Senator Harris is a fair sample of our leaders whom we have trusted and looked to for years to check the aggressions of organized capital. They have not done so, and the condition of farmers have gone from prosperity and plenty fifteen years ago to that of abject poverty in many places, with thousands of farms covered over with mortgages and gradually passing into the hands of home and foreign syndicates. It is not surprising then that the people should desire and look for new leaders who can grasp the situation and apply the remedy? The friends of monopoly will no doubt make war upon Mr. Pierce for his honest opinion on the question, but the common people who compose a large majority of the voters will not only be driven nearer to him but will fight the harder to sustain him. We have no words of abuse for Senator Harris, Mills or Carlisle for their opinions. They have a right to their convictions, but the suffering people have determined to have relief and will support the leaders who lead them in that direction.

Mr. Pierce represents the Ninth district of Tennessee, is a lawyer, and served in the Forty-eighth Congress, being therefore now a second time a member. The extract is sensible, and it is time that the Alliance was searching after just such legislative timber.

THE people were warned by representatives of the agricultural commonwealths during the discussion which led to the adoption of the Constitution, that there was danger that maritime would rule staple interests to the ruin of the latter. These were the terms used then to designate what is now meant by commercial and agricultural interests. Then, as now, the maritime interests prevailed in the East and North, and though since the agricultural territory has immensely increased, the seat of commercial interest has remained unchanged, and the practical control of government by it is now as much a subject of warning as when the agricultural sections inveighed against it. With the inception and growth of the Alliance movement there has been a prospect that this unfortunate condition would be neutralized, and that the fraternal sentiments it engendered would unite agriculture in an effort to secure industrial emancipation. Recently the representatives of the commercial interests have devised a scheme, worthy of fiends, by which to sunder the South and West, and revive the animosities believed to have nearly disappeared amid the teachings of fraternity and equality so essentially the work of the Alliance. The caucus of the dominant political party, controlled by the commercial interest, has determined to pass beyond the limits contemplated

by the Constitution and enact an election law with the unconcealed purpose of arraying the South against the North and West. It means a revival of the hates and prejudices so fatal to reason and justice. By power of the party machinery, exercised through the caucus, it is expected to divide the brethren of the Alliance into hostile political camps, and defer answer to the demands of the people for reform until harmony among the depressed producers has been dissipated. It is a move to perpetuate sectional rule through party, and means that there is to be no reform so long as issues can be joined upon sectional alignment. Members of the Alliance in all sections should rebuke this desperate effort to control the Government in contempt of the rights of the people and in defiance of their demands for reform.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND said the Treasury was a member of the New York Clearing-House! It is well known that the government is endorser for the banks, but not generally believed that it is a partner. The correspondence in the article, "A Fraud on the Public," should be examined carefully by every honest American citizen.

THE lawyers, who are one-tenth of one per cent, fill nine-tenths of the legislative, three-fourths of the executive and all the judicial positions in the States and nation. These men denounce class legislation most unstintedly.

IN one of the North Carolina Congressional districts a farmer has actually declared himself a candidate for Congress. More than a hundred years ago the ancestor of this hardy producer declared his independence, joined with a number of other farmers, his neighbors, but in all the time since none but lawyers have represented his home in Congress. Is it a wonder the lawyers are scandalized?

By a cunning appeal to the sectional prejudices of the people, the South and West have been kept apart for a generation, when, indeed, there has in all that time been no real divergence of interest between them. Citizens of the two sections have much in common, and but for studied misrepresentation by political leaders, there would long ago have been an agreement among them by which national interests would have been advanced. A most happy solution of this sad condition seemed imminent but yesterday, as it were, when by an ingenuity born of the worst passions the dominant political party conceived a scheme which threatens to restore and intensify sectionalism and destroy whatever prospect exists of industrial freedom and fraternal feeling between citizens with so much in common, and so little save prejudice upon which to divide.

**A FINANCIAL HISTORY.**

**Course and Effect of Legislation Since 1861.**

No. 19.

The passage of this refunding bill placed the whole financial system of the country in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury, the national banks and the bondholders. This bill was passed for the avowed purpose of reducing the interest cost of the national debt. Under this pretext, aided by an array of figures showing the amount that would be saved in interest, this funding scheme was passed. This was considered a final settlement of the bonded indebtedness of the country, that these bonds would be paid in accordance with the terms of the contract. Section one of the act provides that \$200,000,000 shall be payable *after ten years*, \$300,000,000 after fifteen years, and \$1,000,000,000 payable thirty years after date of issue. Read this carefully and discover, if possible, a single feature favorable to the government. A more binding, iron-clad contract could not have been made. No other nation on earth would have entered into such an agreement. It was criminal neglect if it was a mistake, and a crime worthy of the penitentiary if done knowingly. A national debt of \$1,500,000,000 payable in coin, a currency then at a premium, and made into these absolute payments without option. Such an obligation under similar conditions never was made before. It is the construction placed upon that agreement which puts the premium on bonds and forces the government to purchase its own obligations at the price placed upon them by their holders. Right here comes in the question of what is known as the bond forgery. In making an examination of the records of this act Hon. Ralph Plumb, of Illinois, made some startling discoveries. He found that the word "for" had been erased and the word "after" substituted in its place in the enrolled copy of the act on file in the office of the Secretary of State from which the published statute is taken. The word "for" appears in the journals of both House and Senate. Consequently, there is no doubt that the erasure was made and the word "after" put in the place of "for." But a committee to whom the matter was referred made a hasty examination and in their report claimed that a typographical error was found in the conference report, and this error had been copied in the journals of the House and Senate, and that, doubtless, the Enrolling Committee had made the correction. This, in substance, was the report of the committee of investigation, and upon it the resolution for further examination was laid on the table. This was considered very unsatisfactory at the time, and that feeling has intensified as the matter has been discussed. It is a matter of some doubt that the question of forgery could be brought home to any one or more persons, as a long time has elapsed since the event, but if the Supreme Court would pass upon it as critically as it has upon much less important matters, the 4 per cent bonds would, no doubt, be declared void. Excuses and surmises are not, as a rule, considered by that court, and the plain fact of the present condition of the records, together with the measures, precedents and discussions bearing upon that point, would certainly vitiate that issue. I believe the whole truth concerning it will yet be made known, and when it is the people will discover that the hand that wrote the Public Credit Strengthening Act, the act which demonetized silver, and committed this forgery, is one and the same. Either this view of the case must be taken, or Congress at that time considered the Public Credit Strengthening Act as operating as a safeguard for the government. With that act recognized as governing the issue of bonds, the terms, conditions and unusual provisions can be accounted for, but upon no other hypothesis. There is a growing belief that such is the case, and the people may expect at no distant day to see the power of the court asked to enjoin the further payment of premium on bonds. It would be an easy matter to do this, and the question is being quietly discussed with a view to beginning a suit of this character. When it is realized that no other outlet is possible for the \$100,000,000 of gold, and the \$65,000,000 paper money now held in the treasury and not expected to be let out except through the purchase of these bonds, it requires but little foresight to see that the bondholders can place their own price on the bonds and the government must pay it or keep the money locked up away from the people. It is not the interest on the bonds that makes them valuable, or that gives them the premium; it is the advantage the bondholders have over the government. The bond owners have manipulated the law, and control the financial branch of the government so completely that no money, save for national expenses, can be got out of the treasury except by the purchase of their bonds. Congress should at once declare these bonds due and payable under the Public Credit Strengthening Act and begin at once to call them in. If the people fairly understood this question it would at once become a factor in every election. The time will come when the folly of paying these enormous premiums will be seen. These bonds were made payable in coin, and so particular were the bondholders to have their pound of flesh of just such a quality, that they demanded that the gold or silver used in payment should be of the same standard of fineness as in 1870. Now they are unwilling to take silver in payment, notwithstanding it is so stated on the face of the bond, as coin does

not mean gold—it means gold or silver. Here is a copy of one of the bonds:

FOUR PER CENT CONSOLS OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, July 1, 1877.

The United States of America are indebted to \_\_\_\_\_, or assigns, in the sum of \_\_\_\_\_.

This bond is issued in accordance with the provisions of an act of Congress entitled "An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt, approved July 14, 1870," amended by an act approved January 20, 1871, and is redeemable at the pleasure of the United States, after the first day of July, A. D. 1907, in the coin of standard value of the United States on said July 14, 1870, with interest in such coin from the day of the date hereof at the rate of 4 per centum per annum, payable quarterly on the 1st day of October, January, April, and July in each year. The principal and interest are exempt from the payment of all taxes or duties of the United States, as well as from taxation in any form by or under State, municipal or local authority.

{ Transferable on the books of the office.

Entered:

Recorded: } .....

It is proper here to say that there has never been a single dollar of silver paid on a bond. That during President Cleaveland's term over \$5,000,000 in gold was borrowed to prevent its being done, and at the present time President Harrison threatens to veto any bill that points that way. Silver is good enough for the farmer, the mechanic or the laborer, but will not do for the bond owner.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE DECISIONS.

A most interesting report by the interstate commerce commission has been transmitted to the Senate in compliance with a resolution passed by that body February 19, 1890. The entire document comprises thirty-five pages, and treats of prevailing rates between points east of the Rocky Mountains and the principal food distribution centers of the East. The syllabus is as follows:

1. The rate of compensation which railroad companies may lawfully receive for transportation services can not be so limited that the shipper may in all cases realize the actual cost of production.

2. Charges for transportation service should have reasonable relation to cost of production and to the value of the service to the producer and shipper, but should not be so low on any as to impose a burden on other traffic.

3. In the carriage of great staples, which supply an enormous business, and which in market value and actual cost of transportation are among the cheapest articles of commerce, rates yielding only moderate profit to the carrier are both necessary and justifiable, and where the carriers frequently put in force and continue for considerable periods of time tariffs of rates and charges, it is a fair inference that such rates and charges are profitable.

4. Transportation charges now made on corn and oats between the Mississippi river and eastern cities, based on twenty cents per hundred pounds from Chicago, and twenty-three cents from East St. Louis to New York city, are less than four and four-tenths mills per ton per mile, and are not excessive.

5. The charge of twenty cents on the hundred pounds of corn and oats from the Missouri river to Chicago, and five cents less to the Mississippi river is excessive, and to be reasonable should not exceed seventeen cents to Chicago and twelve to the Mississippi river, east side.

6. The rates on corn and oats in force from stations in Kansas and Nebraska to the Mississippi river, east side, and to Chicago, are two cents in excess of reasonable rates.

7. Any transportation charges between the Mississippi river and New York city on wheat and flour, based on a higher rate than twenty-three cents per hundred pounds from Chicago to New York city, is unreasonable, and any

rate on wheat and flour carried from any one place to another which is more than fifteen per cent above the rate on corn and oats between the same places is unreasonable.

8. The rate of forty-six cents per hundred pounds on grain and fifty-one cents on flour and meal between the grain region in Kansas and a large district in Texas is the same for distances shorter than two hundred and fifty and longer than eight hundred miles, and are unreasonably high for the longer and grossly excessive and extortionate for the shorter distances.

9. In fixing reasonable rates the requirements of operating expenses, bonded debt, fixed charges, and dividend on capital stock from the total traffic are all to be considered, but the claim that any particular rate is to be measured by these as a fixed standard, below which the rate may not be lawfully reduced, is one rightly subject to some qualifications, one of which is the obligations must be actual and in good faith.

The primary error which has poisoned other decisions of the commission, that classification of service should be based upon the ability of the traffic to pay, thereby taxing regardless of the cost of the service, seems to pervade the conclusions in this investigation. As the just value of all service is the labor performed, there can be no final settlement of the questions involved in the interstate commission until that truth is recognized. Meantime it is advisable for all who are interested in railroad regulation to secure and examine this report, a limited number of copies of which can be had by addressing the secretary of the interstate commerce commission, Washington, D. C.

FORTUNE, fame, and the benediction of this and future generations await him who will write a work on modern political economy. At present the same rules are applied to the theory of production, as when pins and needles were made by hand and a steam engine unheard of. The same rules are applied to distribution as before the days of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones. The same economic calculations are made regarding consumption as when the present necessities of life would have been considered the vainest luxuries. The same ideas of accumulation obtain now as were taught before the age of millionaires. People seem to forget that economic principles change with economic conditions; that one must follow the other. The Malthusian theory of the population of the earth, the Gresham law of currency, and Ricardo's theory of rent will hardly apply in these times of whirl and haste. There is not a single proposition, or but few at most, of the old school of political economy that has not been abandoned or is now taught for the purpose of oppressing one class for the benefit of another.

The Southern Messenger (Buchanan, Ga.): Yes, why not?

Why not the farmers take a hand in politics? Are they not subject to all laws enacted by our law makers? Every farmer should vote, and vote intelligently, too; and for the farmers to vote intelligently is for them to vote solidly, looking to the best interests of all equally. We say for the farmers to vote intelligently is for them to vote solidly, because are not all laws of equal application to all farmers? Then if they would be successful in having their interests represented right, they must vote solidly for men who are able and will advocate their interests under all circumstances when it becomes necessary.

Some Objections to the Sub-Treasury Answered.

BY J. M. WHITEHEAD.

The sudden advent of the sub-treasury upon Congress had about the effect of the unexpected descent of a hawk in the barn-yard—great commotion and no little flutter. The statesmen have not been so thoroughly shaken up since the war. The National Bank Act was a pygmy by the side of it. Nobody then stood up to declare that law unconstitutional, or rushed into the House or the Senate to make a speech against it, even before it had been reported by the committee! This is singular!

Not so with the sub-treasury bill. No sooner was it proposed—introduced—that straightway members of Congress were interviewed by the ever irrepressible newspaper correspondent, who stands ready at all times to assist the statesman in placing his "views" before the public! Others rushed home to look after their fences, and counteract, if possible, the rapidly growing public sentiment in favor of a measure, supposed by some, if enacted, to give relief to the depressed condition of their agricultural constituency. Others rose in their places in Congress and delivered (?) elaborately-prepared speeches against the sub-treasury plan, filled with statistical tables gotten up, as one of them ingeniously admits, by employed "experts!" These speeches are forthwith printed in pamphlet form, and scattered broadcast, like "bread on the waters," to be gathered presumably, at the next election! They are as thick throughout the country districts and country stores and post offices, as are the autumn leaves after the November frost!

I propose answering briefly some of the objections urged by these aroused statesmen against the sub-treasury bill.

Mr. Culberson, of Texas, in discussing the constitutional feature, sees—or thinks he sees—a very great difference between the national banking system and the subtreasury plan. The former, he says, is constitutional, "because it is one of the instruments to be used to aid the Government in the administration of an important branch of the public service," and the Supreme Court has so decided, not because the court undertook to say that it was in fact an "instrument" thus to aid the Government; but that Congress had said so by enacting the law, and of this "Congress was the sole judge of the necessity of employing such instruments in the aid of the administration of the public service!" This is the language of the court, and is precisely the position taken by this writer in a former article in the ECONOMIST in the constitutionality of the sub-treasury. I said that Congress was the sole judge as to whether the sub-treasury was for or against the general welfare.

The theory on which the national banks are said to be aids to the Government is because they create a demand for Government bonds. Now, if the bonds could be sold as well without as with the aid of the banks, then the banks would be of no assistance. We know that the bonds of all solvent corporations are in demand, and eagerly sought after. The United States Government is the most solvent of all institutions on this continent. But Congress has said that the banks were a necessity, and the court say they are the sole judge. But a subsequent Congress could say that they are not a necessity and refuse to ex-

tend the charter, and this is what it ought to do! Now, I want to put this question at these constitutional Congressmen. If Congress is the sole judge of the necessity of the national banks, then why should not Congress be the sole judge of the necessity of the sub-treasury, as an instrument to aid the Government in promoting the "general welfare" for which it is authorized to collect taxes by the express terms of the Constitution? I would like to see some of them crack this nut without winking or blinking or making a wry face! Mr. Culberson believes that the Government alone should control the volume of currency, and he is opposed to the national banks, and yet he defends them on the ground that they aid the Government in an important branch of the public service! Strange inconsistency! If the Government can do better without the banks than with them, how, I ask, can they aid the Government in any service whatever?

Another Congressman opposes the bill, because it would be putting our property "at the mercy of the Federal Government," and right upon the heels of this proceeds to argue that the Government will suffer great loss under the plan! Great Scott, what logic! We claim that the bill would prevent the fluctuation in prices that their tables show have heretofore occurred. The crops when harvested can only be moved by something circulating as a representative of value. At present the banks furnish this in quantities to suit themselves and on their own terms. The farmer's harvest is also the banker's harvest. Interest is high because money is scarce; scarcity of money makes it high, and when money is high everything else is cheap. Thus the farmer must sell at a time when this condition of things is at its worst. When the crop is off the stringency subsides, money goes down, and other commodities correspondingly up. Then the farmer spends all of his money in the purchase of what he must have! Pass the sub-treasury bill, and the banks will no longer be master of the situation. The farmer will take his produce to the warehouse, if he must have money, and then get 80 per cent. With this his immediate wants will be supplied. The demand for cash money will not be so great; consequently, it will be on the market at reasonable interest. Money will then be cheap. The factories must have cotton, the world must have grain, and the farmer will be able to realize reasonable compensation for his produce. Gradually it will be moved and consumed to meet the demand for it. As it is withdrawn the 80 per cent will be returned to the Government, leaving the country, not as some contend, without money, but with all the money we now have, and the holders of it eager to lend at a low rate of interest.

One of the Congressmen raises the oft repeated cry of over production. He fears that one abundant harvest upon another will be piled up in these warehouses, and thereby the Government suffer fearful loss. In the very district represented by that Congressman there are thousands of people who cannot afford to put flour bread on their table more than once a week, and many not once a week. If money were more plenty, and they could get better prices for their cotton, they could afford to buy more flour, and help consume the surplus. This is but one instance; it might be extended to all the rest. But suppose the Government did sell off, now and then, a

little cheap corn and oats and flour and tobacco, wouldn't it be a god-send to the poor, even if the government should lose a few dollars by it. Would to God Congressmen were always as careful about spending the public money! But one says the speculators would come in and buy it all. If so, they would pay full value (which they never do,) and where would be the loss? But, it is said, it would be put up in large lots so that the poor could not buy. That is exactly what the Alliance would keep them from doing. The Alliance, with money in bank and in pocket, would buy it for their own needy members! Congressmen need not trouble themselves over this. The good that the Alliance could do along this line would so far eclipse the "garden seed" racket, that Congressmen could take a rest!

The experiment of the old State bank of Alabama is referred to as an actual experiment. It advanced money on cotton to be made. Political favorites came in, got the money and ruined the bank; and who wonders! Lending money to politicians on cotton to be made is put forward as an example by which to test the sub-treasury! If it had been exactly identical in substance and form with the sub-treasury bill it would illustrate nothing, for the simple reason that no one State can manage a business, that of necessity, covers the whole Union. But this is a sample of the argument indulged in by these (so-called) farmers' friends!

Mr. Herbert, of Alabama, scintillates this brilliant specimen of financial wisdom—or paradox rather, as it certainly is. "There can be no greater blessing than a sound stable currency." \* \* \* A careful study of this question has convinced me, however, that the volume of currency, ought, by some means, and within reasonable bounds, to be made more flexible than it is." Now, if there can be no greater blessing than a stable currency, I would be glad if some wise statesman would inform the world how it is that it ought to be flexible! Some of our Congressmen who were so terribly exercised at the prospect of a surplus of grain on the hands of the government under the sub-treasury, would do well to study the story of Joseph, as related in Bible. If Egypt could furnish storage for the surplus for seven years, the United States ought to be able to take care of one! But there never has been a surplus in this country, for all that our own people are unable to buy or consume foreign nations stand ready to take at our price.

These Congressmen pester themselves very much because the haymakers and pork packers are not included. It is rather remarkable that the representatives of a constituency who raise cotton and corn and oats, and who do not raise hay and pork, but buy both of these commodities, should be kicking because these are left out of the bill, when the representatives of the interests are saying nothing! The cry is that the system will flood the country with too much money, and in the same breath complains that the system fails to provide for more than it does! The products provided for by the bill are the leading articles of agriculture in every section of the country, and almost every farmer. Prudence and caution dictate that the experiment should at first be made on a limited scale, and as the system begins to work and the machinery revolves with something like order additions may be made as the necessities of the case demand.

It has been attempted to arouse prejudice against the measure in the Southern States by contending that the warehouses would be managed by appointees of the Republican party, and in some instances by negroes. The fact is, the bill provides for their election by the people of the county. But if they can be appointed, the same argument could be made with greater force against post offices, for where there would be one warehouse there are fifty post offices, and we all know with what precision the post office business of the United States is carried on. The agent would have to give a good and solvent bond, and nine cases out of ten this would insure an acceptable man.

It is said under this system, "If prices were up what is to prevent farmers from rushing their produce upon the market?" Well, who wants to prevent them, I would like to know, unless it be the banker and his allies. If he rushes in and gets a good price, I suppose he will be glad that somebody didn't stop him. If he gets in too late and prices have tumbled, he can stop himself, and with 80 per cent of its value in his pocket, he will be in a condition to stop until his produce should take another rise. With the receipt in his pocket and the produce snugly stored in a warehouse he could sell at his pleasure, and select the time and place. It is said the poor man would not be able to pay back the 80 per cent, and as a consequence would have to make a sacrifice. Not so. He would already have 80 per cent, and could sell the receipt for as much more as he could get, and the transferee would simply have to refund the 80 per cent to get the deposit. It is so simple that it does seem that everybody (except, perhaps, a member of Congress) can understand it.

There is one point with regard to this sub-treasury law, that is the danger of involving the Government or the warehouse agent in vexatious litigation over produce stored on which third parties have a claim. It can be done, and should be carefully done. The enactment of the law would be a great incentive to farmers not to mortgage their crops, in order that they in common with their neighbors might reap the benefits of the act.

Let the friends of this measure lock their shields with the great mass of American farmers, and march upon Congress with a column as invincible as the Roman phalanx, and the victory will be theirs and prosperity dawn upon the country so gloriously that our children will rise up in years to come and call us blessed, for it will be one of the most remarkable epochs in the history of the world's progress, and all due to the intelligence of the agricultural classes, who had the sense to rise above every other consideration and strike the shackles from their hands.

#### The Wisconsin State Alliance.

June 3 and 4, at Baraboo, the Wisconsin State Alliance held its annual meeting. President Butts delivered an able address, from which the following is extracted:

Another year, the second since our State organization, is now numbered with the past. During this year the farmers of our State and generally of the nation have been blessed with abundant crops; plenty of such as the farm produces. But while this was the case, the farmer, so soon as he attempted to sell, found his

produce, like the money of ancient Sparta under the code of Lycurgus, so cheap that it took a yoke of cattle and a cart to haul enough to town to buy a dinner. That while his products were plentiful, which helped to make them cheap, money was scarce which made it dear. While the principal and interest on his mortgage remained nominally the same, it took 50 to 100 per cent more of his products to pay them. During this year you have read in our papers descriptions of the picnic, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners of the people of the larger towns and cities, set forth in blazing head lines; but what farmer's dinner has been sufficiently grand to receive even a notice from his editor? With this bountiful crop, do as he would, put up with the commonest necessities of life, and still the farm was behind. A man with half an eye and less of brains can see that something is wrong. We see the Government take the money unnecessarily from the farmer, and on which he pays interest, give it out to the banks, without interest or security, to be by them loaned again to the people, the banker pocketing the interest, under pretense of putting the money in circulation, while he, the man who made that money of any value, can not get a cent of it except through the banker, though he offers the best of security. We see the Government accept a deposit of whisky, furnish it storage at the people's expense, wait three years for the tax due thereon, while the farmer has to pay his instantly when due.

We now see over 2,000 millionaires in the land, while thirty years ago there were but two, while the bulk of our people are no richer, or but little more so, than then. And we naturally ask for a remedy. We have tried in vain for years to remedy this by acting in earnest with the men who produced this state of things and by letting them have their way. It is now time to look to some other source. It is the aim of the Farmers' Alliance to connect their coils, if possible, and to extend to the farmer the same protection and favors that others get. To better him by protection where possible, and where impossible and the protection of others is a damage to the farmer to remove that other's protection. But where others may be protected without damage to him, then to protect that other. We farmers see no reason why the Government might not use its credit as security for greenbacks, as it now does, and by issuing them to pay its debts and expenses, instead of using bank bills, and thus save the people both the interest on the bond and the interest on the bank loan to get the bills. Nor do we see a good reason why the Government should lend millions to favorite banks without security, to speculate on, and refuse the farmer a loan at a low rate of interest when he offers ample security.

We see no good reason why the bondholder or bullion owner may be permitted to use his wealth as a basis or security for banking and a means to make him wealthy, and the farmer be denied the use of his farm for the same purpose, except in cases where he gets down on his knees to the bondholder or bullionite and by begging and 10 per cent per annum is furnished with the means to relieve his pressing necessities, or pay a tax unnecessarily laid on him to make him poorer and the rich richer. Suppose ten farmers use their farms for a banking basis: they get \$50,000 in farmer bank bills, made legal tenders. Each needs or can use \$5,000; don't you see they have it from the day it is issued until redeemed without interest,

some of it a year or less and some, perhaps, for ten or twenty years. And it is a rule, co-existent in many banks, that about ten per cent of the bills issued never get back and is a clear gain. This, too, they would have. Yet this is what the national banker is doing to-day (except the last bills, and he is trying hard for those now), and worse, for he is getting of the Government interest on the bonds (banking basis) which the farmer would not get for his. And so on, we might go through all the ills above named. They are nearly all the results of laws made by Congress. Only a few exist without law, and these might be prevented by getting proper laws to bear on them. This is our object.

#### A SAMPLE NEWSPAPER FALSEHOOD.

Following is a letter from Dr. C. P. Atkinson, organizer for New Jersey:

I clip an editorial item from Farm and Home which I enclose—a paper you had occasion to criticise a few weeks ago. This paper has quite a large circulation in New Jersey, and though not a subscriber at present, it is regularly sent to my address. Every number of the paper contains articles hostile to the sub-treasury bill, but the editor possesses an undoubted right to criticise this or any other measure of public moment. What I wish to know is, has the sub-treasury plan been repudiated by the farmers of the South, as well as the North and West, as he avers it has, and are Texas farmers, especially, severe in their condemnation of what he is pleased to call this impracticable measure, or is the editor of Farm and Home simply lying, and publishing his lies for a consideration of so much per square inch, paid from the proceeds of those who grow rich by despiling farmers? I have carefully read all of the arguments presented in favor of the bill before the different committees in Congress and have failed to discover anything impracticable in the measure. The editor of Farm and Home has advanced no argument to sustain his position; apparently his *ipse dixit* is sufficient. The farmers of New Jersey, and especially Alliance farmers, have a favorable opinion of the sub-treasury plan. They regard its provisions as well adapted to protect and advance their interests without impairing any other legitimate interest, but the farmers of New Jersey are not generally enrolled in the Alliance organization, and when they read in a paper professedly committed to their interest that this plan is being repudiated in those States where the organization is strongest, and most strongly condemned where the Alliance had its birth, and all this in a paper they have been reading for years and has, in a measure, secured their confidence, they are ready to inquire why this change? If the South and West have and are gradually repudiating the sub-treasury, and Texas emphatically condemns it, what is the cause for such action? We want to know all about it, and supposing the editor of THE ECONOMIST to be in possession of the facts, we respectfully ask him to submit them.

Farm and Home prefices his thrust at the sub-treasury this time by referring to the jubilant attitude of the old line Democratic papers over the defeat of the Alliance candidate in Alabama, but the Republican organs have been equally jubilant; they argue it will give a quietus to the growing propensity in the Alliance for independent political action. In response to numerous earnest inquiries for the truth, will you give the facts bearing on the question involved through THE ECONOMIST at an early day? By doing so you will render an efficient service.

The following is the clipping referred to:

Another thing that hindered the cause was Mr. Kolb's advocacy of the ill-starred sub-treasury scheme, which is being gradually repudiated by farmers throughout the South as well as in the North and West. Texas farmers, especially, are severe in their condemnation of this impracticable plan.

Among the many thousands of petitions and resolutions that have been sent in from every State and Territory, excepting those of New England, regarding the sub-treasury bill, but one solitary resolution opposed its passage. This resolution was afterward discovered to be the work of one citizen and one alien,

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.  
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SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, - - - ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are twenty-five cents per agate line. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement required.

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

The following is the resolution unanimously adopted at the national meeting in St. Louis:

Whereas THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our adopted official national organ, has so boldly and fearlessly advocated our cause and defended our principles, therefore:

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

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.

J. H. TURNER, Secretary, 511 Ninth street N. W., has made arrangements by which he can send Alliance seals, prepaid, to every address for \$2.25.

We desire to obtain a few copies each of Nos. 22, 23, and 24 of Volume II of THE ECONOMIST. If any of our readers have these copies in good condition and, willing to spare them, will send them to us, we will advance their time on subscription one, two, or three weeks, as the case might be; or for the three numbers we will send one Almanac, or for one or all the numbers we will send the worth in Tracy's speeches, as may be preferred.

## CHEAP MONEY.

Senator Sherman stated in a recent speech that "those who wanted more money wanted cheap money in order to pay debts with a currency of less value." Senator Blair added "or with less days' work." These statements were made as an argument against the silver bill and casually suggest the idea of repudiation. Such assertions in the past have closed the mouths of many good men, but failed to convince their judgment. That, however, was during the flood tide of national bank rule, when to doubt was to be destroyed. The ideas of the people have changed somewhat since that time, and the infallibility of past and present legislation is being challenged throughout the entire country. The condition to which these Senators referred in derision the people are demanding in earnest. It is a cheaper dollar and a dearer day's work that they must have or become enslaved. It is not a cheap dollar in the offensive sense in which it is used by plutocracy, but a cheaper dollar as compared with all honorable ideas of fairness and right.

Which is nearer the line of justice, a cheap dollar worth 72 cents or a dear dollar worth 200 cents, and which carries with it the greater power to oppress? Money is bought with the products of labor; consequently, the dearer this money is the more labor is

required to purchase it. It is the few who own the money, and the many who must work to earn it; therefore cheaper money benefits the majority, and is in strict accord with the teachings of the Constitution. What the people need is a dollar that carries with it a just proportion of labor and no more. The present dollar distributes the products of labor unjustly; it is to neutralize this unfairness that a cheaper dollar is demanded. It is claimed by the advocates of a dear dollar that a cheaper dollar has and always will be the workingman's abiding curse; that the purchasing power of this dollar would be less, and therefore operate against labor in production. The first and last propositions are absolutely untenable, and can not be sustained either by precedent or argument. But the proposition that the purchasing power of the cheaper dollar would be less is true, and it is primarily upon this fact that labor is demanding a less costly dollar. Labor in production never prospered as during the period of cheap money from 1863 to 1867. All labor was employed at remunerative wages, tramps were unknown, and failures in business the exception and not the rule, as at present. Even Secretary McCulloch was enabled to state that the people were comparatively out of debt, and not obliged to labor incessantly for a living. To confound cheap money with worthless money is unfair, and discloses a want of better arguments. It will hardly frighten the people as it once did. Cheaper money than the country now has is a necessity, and is sure to come in the near future. Cheaper money means more money, and that in turn means higher commercial values and better times. It means that the farmer can pay off the mortgage with less days' work; that the mechanic can finish paying for his little home with less hours of labor, and that labor, wherever it may be and of whatever kind, will be enabled to pay less tribute to those who own or control the money. Labor demands a cheap, flexible volume of currency, that will eliminate the speculator and the usurer by establishing a price that is reasonable and will not fluctuate.

AMONG the resolutions passed by the North Dakota State Alliance is one renewing the evidence of esteem in which this paper is held by its friends of the Northwest. THE ECONOMIST returns thanks, and promises to make the greatest possible effort to merit the high regard the resolution proves to exist:

*Resolved*, That we heartily indorse our national organ, THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and recommend it as the greatest educator in the nation for the farmers; and we would recommend that the secretaries of our local Alliances use their best efforts to place the paper in the hands of our members, and that the local Alliances procure at least two copies for the use of the Alliances.

The Pacific Union (San Francisco) gives a sound political pointer:

If the Democratic party will drop forever the idea of looking to New York for a candidate for President, and turn its attention to the live, earnest, progressive West, they will save what little character they have left, and increase materially their prospects of future success. New York is never again to be the pivotal State.

## "A FRAUD ON THE PUBLIC."

During Senator Teller's speech on the silver bill, he was interrupted by Senator McPherson, who said:

The Senator is probably aware of the fact that in the past two years it has been necessary for the Treasury Department to make large loans of gold in the city of New York for the purpose of maintaining its obligations, which the Treasury Department received to be payable in gold? At one time no less than \$10,000,000 was borrowed by the Treasury Department from the New York Bankers. Therefore we have been pretty near the point when we should have been obliged to pay some of the obligations of the Government in silver.

After making a thorough search through the reports of the Treasury Department in which no mention could be found of a single loan spoken of by Mr. McPherson, a letter of inquiry was sent to the Secretary of the Treasury in reference to the matter which brought the following reply:

DEAR SIRS: I am in receipt of your recent letter, referring to a statement to the effect that the Treasury Department has found it necessary to make large loans of gold in the city of New York for the purpose of maintaining its obligations, and that "at one time no less than \$10,000,000 was borrowed by the Treasury Department from New York bankers," and asking to be furnished with "information regarding the amount of gold borrowed, together with the rate and amount of interest paid from and including July, 1885."

The only transaction which resembles the subject of your inquiry occurred, I learn, in July, 1885, when the then Secretary of the Treasury and the Treasurer of the United States made an arrangement with the associated banks of New York to take from the Treasury subsidiary silver in exchange for gold coin. The total amount so exchanged was \$5,915,000, as shown on page 32 in the inclosed report. No interest was, however, agreed upon or paid for this exchange, and in the latter part of October, 1885, a re-exchange of the whole sum was made.

During the present administration no gold has been borrowed by the Treasury Department from the New York bankers or elsewhere, and the case referred to is the only instance within the time you name when any such transaction has occurred.

Very truly yours,

W. WINDOM.

Not being satisfied with this a further letter of inquiry was written Senator McPherson, which is given in full:

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ult., with a copy of a letter of the Hon. Secretary of Treasury, both of which refer to a remark made by me during the delivery of the speech of Senator Teller on the 17th of May.

In reply I beg to say briefly that my remarks were not correctly reported in the Record. Instead of using the words "in the past two years," I used the word "few" instead of "two," so as to say "in the past few years," which, it seems, was not distinctly heard by the reporter—a mistake likely to occur, as you will readily perceive.

I knew of the arrangement with the associated banks of New York shortly after it was made, and, as I understand, the arrangement, it was for \$10,000,000, and until the receipt of your letter I had not been informed that the full amount had not been exchanged.

I had no intention of conveying the impression that this exchange was made under the present administration, or any administration within two years, which the Record apparently makes me say, but which is a mistake of the reporter.

Yours very truly,

J. R. MCPHERSON.

Senator McPherson's communication was still less satisfactory, and a letter was addressed to Senator Teller upon the same subject, which elicited the following reply:

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of yours of the 13th instant, and in reply would say that I know of no loan except the

one mentioned by me in my speech, and that was a fraud on the public.

Yours truly,

H. M. TELLER.

Having exhausted the sources from which the proper information should have been obtained, and receiving nothing definite, it becomes necessary to resort to the report mentioned by the Secretary of the Treasury, and draw such deductions as may seem reasonable. The facts surrounding this dark and unlawful transaction are fully explained in the following sent by Secretary Manning to the House of Representatives in response to a resolution of inquiry:

TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, January 23, 1886.

SIR: I am in receipt, by reference, of the letter of \_\_\_\_\_, requesting copies of correspondence in regard to the exchange of gold or silver coin with the banks in New York last summer; of the certificates issued in the transaction, and a brief statement as to the character of funds in which the certificates were redeemed, and if all have been redeemed.

In reply, I beg to say that no correspondence passed between the banks and myself in the matter, it having been arranged verbally at a conference in New York. Copies of the certificates, of which two denominations were used, (\$5,000 and \$10,000); as well as the circular of the New York Clearing-House, are transmitted.

I also transmit a copy of the circular issued by the American Bankers' Association, which with the circular of the clearing-house was sent to about seven thousand banks and bankers in the country by the association. A copy of the letter of the Assistant Treasurer at New York, advising me of the completion of the exchange and covering a copy of the certificate issued by him to the clearing-house, has been already furnished.

I beg to say further that the certificates were redeemed in United States notes, and that all of them have been redeemed.

Very respectfully,

C. N. JORDAN,  
Treasurer of the United States.

Hon. DANIEL MANNING,  
Secretary of the Treasury.

NEW YORK CLEARING-HOUSE,  
NEW YORK, July 20, 1885.

At a meeting of the associated banks of this city, held on the 13th instant, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

WHEREAS, After careful inquiry into the operations of the United States Treasury, it is ascertained that with the continued purchase of two million of silver bullion per month the probable receipts of gold currency will be insufficient to meet the demands upon it until the meeting of Congress in December next; but that the Secretary will be compelled to make his payments in silver dollars, which will become a most disturbing element in the daily business of the country; therefore

Resolved, That to avert this threatened danger and in the confident belief that Congress will take early steps to prevent the deterioration of the present commercial standard of value, the banks hereby tender to the Government, from their gold reserve, ten million dollars in exchange for that amount in fractional silver coin, or for such other currency as the Clearing-House Committee may approve, the same to be apportioned among banks in the clearing-house, pro rata of their deposits and gold reserve.

Resolved, That should this amount be insufficient, a further sum, not to exceed ten millions, be offered, and that the banks of Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and other cities be invited by the Clearing-House Committee to participate in carrying out the objects of these resolutions.

The undersigned committee appointed under these resolutions respectfully invite co-operation in securing the object in view. Since the resumption of coin payments on 1st January, 1879, the banks throughout the country, together with the Government itself, have practically maintained the gold standard then re-established, and the business of the nation has been carried on upon that basis in harmony with all the leading commercial nations of the world. The varied products of industry and the natural operations of its trade,

have since furnished this country with superabundant supplies of gold, so that the surplus money reserves held by all the banks, now greatly exceed anything ever known in our history. With all these favorable financial conditions, we are suddenly called upon to confront the fact that the resources of the Government have become unnaturally absorbed by the purchase of silver bullion converted into dollars of inferior value, to such an extent, as to constrain the officers of the Treasury to force them upon an unwilling people in payment for public dues, and these coins, or their representatives, now threaten to invade and poison all the channels of trade by being introduced as commercial equivalents into the clearing-houses of the country.

To temporarily arrest this danger, and to avert premature agitation of the subject until Congress shall convene and amend the law, the banks have offered from their reserves to supply any deficiency of gold in the Treasury to the extent of ten or twenty millions, and in so doing they desire at the same time to promote all natural and healthful demands throughout the country for silver coins. It is an undeniable fact that a silver coin of the size and denomination of the dollar is not in popular demand, and is not a convenient form of money for ordinary use, but that the fractional coins may more largely circulate. For this reason the committee cordially invite all banks and bankers throughout the country to unite with them by lending their aid in disbursing, as far as they are able the fractional silver coins, of which there are now lying in the Treasury some thirty millions of dollars. Whatever portion of this amount can be put in circulation will so far relieve the present exigency.

This committee can not better serve the purpose of their appointment than by reproducing the letter of the President of the United States, written just before his inauguration, wherein he expresses his own views upon the silver question with great clearness and force, and in doing so he also reiterates the opinions of his predecessors in office.

It does not seem possible that these views, so strongly confirmed by the experience of the country, can fail to secure a revision of the present law. With this hope we earnestly solicit the aid of all banks, commercial bodies, and good citizens in every section, in promoting the desired result.

WILLIAM DOWD,  
President Bank of North America;

GEORGE S. COR.,  
President American Exchange National Bank;

JACOB D. VERMILYE,  
President Merchants' National Bank;

GEORGE G. WILLIAMS,  
President Chemical National Bank;

EDMUND D. RANDOLPH,  
President Continental National Bank;

*Clearing-House Committee.*

In response please address William A. Camp, manager New York Clearing-House, New York.

MR. CLEVELAND'S LETTER REFERRED TO ABOVE.

The following is the reply addressed by President-elect Cleveland to the silver coinage advocates in Congress:  
*To the Hon. A. J. Warner and others, members of the Forty-eighth Congress.*

GENTLEMEN: The letter which I have had the honor to receive from you invites and, indeed, obliges me to give expression to some grave public necessities, although in advance of the moment when they would become the objects of my official care and partial responsibility. Your solicitude that my judgment shall have been carefully and deliberately formed is entirely just, and I accept the suggestion in the same friendly spirit in which it is made. It is also fully justified by the nature of the financial crisis which, under the operation of the act of Congress of February 28, 1878, is now close at hand. By a compliance with the requirements of that law all the vaults of the Federal Treasury have been and are heaved full of silver coins, which are now worth less than 85 per cent of the gold dollar prescribed as "the unit of value" in section 14 of the act of February 28, 1873, and which, with the silver certificates representing such coin, are receivable for all public dues. Being thus receivable, while also constantly increasing in quantity at the rate of \$28,000,000 a year, it has followed, of necessity, that the flow of gold into the Treasury has been steadily diminished. Silver and silver certificates have displaced and are now displacing gold, and the sum of gold in the Federal

Treasury now available for the payment of the gold obligations of the United States and for the redemption of the United States notes called "greenbacks," if not already encroached upon, is perilously near such encroachment. These are facts, which, as they do not admit of differences of opinion, call for no argument. They have been forewarned to us in the official reports of every Secretary of the Treasury from 1878 till now. They are plainly affirmed in the last December report of the present Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the present House of Representatives. They appear in the official documents of this Congress, and in the records of the New York Clearing-House, of which the Treasury is a member, and through which the bulk of the receipts and payments of the Federal Government and of the country pass. These being the facts of our present condition, our danger and our duty to avert that danger would seem to be plain. I hope that you concur with me, and with the great majority of our fellow-citizens, in deeming it most desirable at the present juncture to maintain and continue in use the mass of our gold coin, as well as the mass of silver already coined. This is possible by a present suspension of the purchase and coinage of silver. I am not aware that by any other method it is possible. It is of momentous importance to prevent the two metals from parting company; to prevent the increasing displacement of gold by the increasing coinage of silver; to prevent the disuse of gold in the custom-houses of the United States in the daily business of the people; to prevent the ultimate expulsion of gold by silver. Such a financial crisis as these events would certainly precipitate were it now to follow upon so long a period of commercial depression, would involve the people of every city and every State in the Union in a prolonged and disastrous trouble. The revival of business enterprise and prosperity, so ardently desired and, apparently, so near, would be hopelessly postponed. Gold would be withdrawn to its hoarding places, an unprecedented contraction in the actual volume of our currency would speedily take place. Saddest of all, in every workshop, mill, factory, store, and on every railroad and farm, the wages of labor, already depressed, would suffer still further depression by a scaling down of the purchasing power of every so-called dollar paid into the hand of toil. From these impending calamities it is surely a most patriotic and grateful duty of the representatives of the people to deliver them.

I am, gentlemen, with sincere respect, your fellow-citizen,  
GROVER CLEVELAND.

ALBANY, January 24, 1885.  
A meeting of the bankers was held in New York which United States Treasurer Jordan attended. At this time a plan was devised and a loan arranged for by the Government from the banks. Mr. Jordan says he was not there in his official capacity, but he afterward stated that no further arrangements were made regarding the loan. Consequently he acted in his official capacity and was therefore a party to a transaction, for which he should have been impeached. The letter from ex-President Cleveland was written before his inauguration and shows how anxious he was to have his views known on the silver question.

The remaining correspondence regarding the loan is given in full below:

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT TREASURER UNITED STATES,  
NEW YORK, N. Y., July 27, 1885.

SIRS: I hereby certify that I have this day received from the associated banks five million nine hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, in gold, and that I have set aside the same amount, viz., five million nine hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, in subsidiary silver coin, in a vault of this office, under seal, which I agree to hold subject only to the order of the chairman of the clearing-house committee and the manager of the New York Clearing-House.

THOS. C. ACTON,  
Assistant Treasurer United States.  
To Mr. WILLIAM DOWD,  
Chairman of the Clearing-House Committee, and  
Mr. WILLIAM A. CAMP, Manager.

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT TREASURER UNITED STATES,  
NEW YORK, July 29, 1885.

SIR: I have to report the receipt of \$5,915,000 in gold certificates from the associated banks (one of the banks to which was apportioned \$85,000 declined to respond), in exchange for the same amount of subsidiary silver coin (half-dollars), which I now hold in one of the vaults, under seal, for the purpose of exchange if desired by the banks.

I have not taken up the amount in the Treasurer's general account as a receipt and disbursement, but as an exchange of one kind of money for another. Thus I have reduced the amount of subsidiary coin to that extent, and correspondingly increased gold coin. It will appear in Form 544, in the receipts in "gold certificates" and in the payments in "fractional silver coin," and in Form 42, in the report of the liabilities and assets, and on none other of the accounts.

Very respectfully,  
THOS. C. ACTON,  
Assistant Treasurer.

C. N. JORDAN,  
Treasurer United States.

NEW YORK CLEARING-HOUSE, 14 PINE STREET,  
NEW YORK, October 30, 1885.

DEAR SIR: You will remember that the banks of the city of New York deposited with the Assistant Treasurer of the United States the sum of \$5,915,000 in gold, receiving in exchange a like amount in fractional silver coin. Since that time, though active efforts have been made to distribute it through the country, as our original intention was in making the deposit, we have been unable to do so by reason of the competition of the Treasury, which pays the express transportation to all interior points. This has operated as an effectual bar to any attempt on our part to effect the same purpose. We submit, therefore, that we be permitted to avail ourselves of a right which we possess by the terms of the law in regard to the redemption of the fractional coin, and that we deposit in the Assistant Treasury at New York the sum of, say \$4,500,000, (or 4,000,000, as you, in your judgment, may deem best,) and receive in exchange therefor either silver dollars, silver certificates, or such other form of currency as you may deem advisable. In making this proposal we do not propose to waive any of our legal rights in the matter, but to carry out, as far as practicable, our original intention, which was to aid the Treasury in retaining its gold balance, in order that the business of the city of New York should be kept exclusively upon a gold basis as between the Government and the banks.

We see from the present condition of the Treasury no cause for apprehension of its not having gold enough for some time to come, and while making the above request can only reiterate our entire willingness to again come to the aid of the Government, whenever, in the opinion of the banks, the exigency requires that aid should be afforded in order to protect the banking interests of this city, and through them the financial and commercial interests of the whole country.

Awaiting your favorable reply, I am, your obedient servant,

J. D. VERMILYE,  
Chairman Clearing-House Committee.

HON. DANIEL MANNING,  
Secretary of the Treasury.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 31, 1885.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th instant, submitting that the banks of the city of New York be permitted to deposit with Assistant Treasurer of the United States in exchange for lawful money, a large portion of the amount of fractional silver coin, which they had previously received from that officer in exchange for a like amount of gold, the banks being unable to distribute the silver through the country as originally intended by them.

In reply you are informed that no special permission of the Department is required in this case, as under the provisions of the act of Congress approved June 9, 1879, the holder of any of the silver coins of the United States of smaller denomination than one dollar may, on presentation of the same in sums of twenty dollars, or any multiple thereof, at the office of the Treasurer or any Assistant Treasurer of the

United States, receive therefor lawful money of the United States.

Very respectfully,  
C. S. FAIRCHILD,  
Acting Secretary.

MR. J. D. VERMILYE,  
Chairman Clearing-House Committee, New York City.

The above transaction would not have been made public, but that one bank that refused to go into the plot and gave the whole thing away. It was intended as a secret usurpation of power and an unlawful evasion of statute law. The Treasury Department became a party to this transaction without any authority of law whatever. This being true of one transaction, may it not be true of many others of similar character? When the Treasury Department conspires with the banks to violate the plain provisions of law, where shall the people look for honesty in the public service? The entire breach of trust was committed for the purpose of avoiding the possibility of paying silver as interest or principal on the bonds. The law provides they are payable in coin of a certain standard of fineness. This means either gold or silver, as the bill was passed in 1870, and silver was demonetized in 1873. If men in high places are permitted to commit such crimes and escape punishment, what may not be expected from those occupying mere subordinate positions? A careful examination of all the facts connected with this transaction, its motives and probable results will doubtless convince any person that the desires of Wall street is the supreme law of the land. On June 30, 1885, just twenty days prior to this transaction, there was held in the Treasury to redeem greenbacks, contrary to law, \$100,000,000 in gold, and at the same time there was loaned to the banks without interest \$10,924,418.47. What possible excuse can be given for this unlawful proceeding?

If the people were permitted to vote upon the question of free coinage, there is not a single State in the Union that would not favor it. Outside of New England there are not ten Congressional districts but would give a majority for it. By comparing these facts with the recent vote in the House upon that proposition, a fair estimate can be made of the number of districts misrepresented in this Congress. Calculations of this character will be in order very soon.

CONGRESSMAN OATES seems to be a consistent doubter as regards the legality of measures which benefit the farmer. He declares the sub-treasury plan unconstitutional, and even goes so far in his opposition to their interests as to vote against creating a Department of Agriculture, whose chief should be a Cabinet officer. The vote upon that measure stood 236 in the affirmative and 13 in the negative, one of which was Mr. Oates. In his judgment it is contrary to good law to do very much for the farmer.

## APPLIED SCIENCE

## In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## RACE CHARACTERS.

Not only is it a popular notion, but it is also a scientific idea, that the distinctions which define the lines of demarcation between races are different in kind and less in degree than those which outline the groups which naturalists regard as specifically distinct. Confusion of data and vagueness of statement in this behalf have been fruitful of error. A series of interesting papers on the race characters of negroes by a Hopkins professor, in the Baltimore Sun, has suggested this subject as one of those which is least understood. That is to say, the line of distinction between social and specific characters. Anthropologists do not agree among themselves whether all the different groups of mankind are races, or whether there is more than one species of a genus homo. Notwithstanding all that has been said, the fact remains that the distinction between races of known descent from a common parentage are the same in kind and much greater in degree than those which mark the separation between some natural species, and even genera. Nor is this true of low organisms only, but of those higher in the scale. The differences in the morphological characters of different races of man are more sharply defined than those which exist in different species of anthropoids. Differences, moreover, which apply to the most important parts the organism, including cranial and facial characters and brain development. Yet races of man differing most widely in every morphological detail are fertile *inter se*, and produce a mongrel offspring mutually fertile *inter se*, and with either parent race; and if thereby their descent from a common ancestry be not proven, its possibility is established. On the other hand, natural species exist so closely resembling each other in structure and habits as to be distinguishable only by expert morphologists, but are sterile *inter se*, or produce completely sterile hybrids.

This, if it does not prove the two groups aboriginally distinct, does establish that the possibility of their descent from a common parentage can only be shown by distinct proof, which is unquestionably in every such case wholly wanting. Appeal to what we do not know, and in the nature of things can not know, is insufficient to cope with actual facts capable of demonstration. The writer is of opinion that known facts, without exception, tend to confirm the view of the ultimate unity of all races of mankind in a single aboriginal group, and he does not himself in the least doubt this unity. He admits his entire belief that the negro differs from his own race by racial distinctions only. We have with them a common origin in a primitive race, and the racial characters which are now so sharply accentuated are matters of development. The probability of this view is made strong by every known fact, and there is no fact opposed to its possibility known. Nevertheless, the racial differences and distinctions extend to every morphological detail, and are even more indelibly stamped upon the psychical characters than upon the

color of the skin and the nature of the hair, which are ocular demonstrations of racial distinction very striking and profound. Yet more profound are the psychical distinctions of which the physical indices are the small receding cranium and the massive protruding jaw of the negro. As compared with the white race, this means that the negro has more of the animal and less of the man in his nature than the white man. Hence, also, in that psychical combat with the flesh and the devil, which social and industrial progress and intellectual development implies, the odds are heavily against the negro. We, then, being the elder brother to whom much has been committed and of whom much shall be required, may not and must not surrender our position. We can not, if we would, make the weaker and inferior race equal with ourselves in opportunity, and hence in responsibility, and we have not the right to admit him to equal power and influence over the destinies of mankind. In pursuance of the plan and purpose of omniscience and omnipotence, the lot of the two races has been cast in one place in this country. The man and brother whom we do not hesitate to say is obviously inferior and weaker than our race has his place in our civilization; his work to do as we have. In the sight of Heaven and in the fear of God, it is ours to help and not to hinder him, knowing that we shall be called to account for every failure to deal justly and wisely and kindly by this weak and inferior brother. Moreover, superserviceable zealots, demanding extremes in his behalf, are his enemies and not his friends; they are not helping his advance, but they are hindering the mutual progress of both races in the path of modern civilization.

PERHAPS the Democratic members of Congress who have denounced the sub-treasury plan will discredit the Democrats of Wayne county, North Carolina, who declare in their platform:

7. That we favor the abolition of the national banking system, and the substitution of a better system that will take the control of the money of the country out of the hands of the few, a system that will give us an elastic and flexible currency, one that will contract and expand exactly with the annual products of the country, thereby furnishing a just and fixed measure of their value; and that the sub-treasury bill lately introduced in both Houses of Congress comes more nearly effecting this than any other measure yet offered, and that we approve of and endorse said bill.

This county convention indorsed Charles B. Aycock for Congress from the third district.

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

Mr. Seaborn Wright, a lawyer of Rome, Ga., in a speech (on June 21) said, "that the Southern members in Congress had held a caucus on the sub-treasury plan made by the Farmers Alliance and agreed to abide by a majority vote in caucus. The argument was made before that caucus that if they accepted the sub-treasury plan it would displace them. The majority voted against the acceptance of the plan, hence the universal combination by Southern Congressmen." This accounts for the sameness of all letters coming from these Congressmen to their constituents condemning the plan. Now to all who want more money and cheaper money, to all who would like to see universal prosperity among all classes, we bid you to seriously consider how your Congressmen decide matters pertaining to your interest. Their first question is, can I get back to Congress on this plan? Self-interest and a caucus has proven the downfall of several nations that sleep in oblivion, and if not checked by the people of this country will sweep from under them the last vestige of liberty and prosperity.

## SOUTH CAROLINA VIEWS.

The sub-treasury seems to be an issue in South Carolina politics, despite the fact that the candidates have as yet not been asked to declare their views upon it. The Greenville News says that Mr. Tillman, the farmer candidate, favors the repeal of the lien law, and argues that he must favor the abolishment of the homestead law, else how would the farmer of moderate means be able to secure credit? The News adds that the sub-treasury plan would render either unnecessary, but pronounces it impracticable. This paper wisely refrains from further discussion.

Recently Senator Butler spoke at Leesville, detailing the material workings of the plan proposed in the sub-treasury rather lamely, closing with an argument as to the right of Congress to pass the measure, as follows:

Now, I maintain in the first place that Congress has no more right to build an operate a warehouse than it has to send and have your and my cotton hewed. The treasury has no right loan money to individuals on interest. It is not a bank. Its powers are like those of the State treasury, limited to the collection and disbursement of funds. There are many other objections to the bill, but the constitutional one is sufficient.

Following in line Senator Hampton visited his State from Canada to speak in Columbia a few days later, and among other topics finds time to say something about the sub-treasury. He mixes it up in a jumble with other matters, giving his opinion on the lot with an assurance which indicates that he expects his opinion to be accepted as orthodox by all good Carolinians, and caring not a stiver what indifferent Carolinians may think:

My friends, you have seen that they have proposed in Congress some measures that they call the sub-treasury, the warehouse system, and our distinguished Senator from California, Stanford, introduced a bill the other day by which he proposes to lend money to the farmers on a mortgage of 1 per cent, and then he very innocently said that the farmers could make money by lending it out at 6 or 7 per cent. I hardly think that Stanford, when he was a railroad president, would have conducted his business on that line. I hardly think the scheme is a good speculation. But it can not pass, because both measures are absolutely unconstitutional. You would hardly expect that any of your Representatives should violate the Constitution, which they swore to obey, by voting for these bills.

The Charlestown News and Courier publishes a letter from Colonel Ellison S. Keitt, a prominent planter, taking issue with Senator Butler, giving an argument upon the measure:

I have read with surprise the speech of Senator M. C. Butler delivered at the Leesville Institute, occupying the position that he does and coming direct from the seat of government where the chosen leaders of the Alliance have just completed the exhaustive arguments upon the sub-treasury bill before committees of each branch of our National Legislature. It might have been expected that in discussing the bill he would at least have touched upon matters that affect its merits. Judging from his speech any intelligent Alliance man in the State could have given the Senator valuable information upon the bill. The arguments he used are trite—threadbare from repetition—the parrot's talk to Congressmen's constituents. It is indeed, humiliating to Alliance men to be told by a United States Senator that the sub-treasury bill upon which so much hope is centered—a measure that has engaged the earnest thought of the leaders

of more than three millions of agricultural voters—advocated by Polk, Macune, Livingston, Robert Beverly and a host of other patriots—resembles the "offspring of a crank." It is surprising that one holding the highest political position in the gift of the State should, with so much assurance, undertake to advise upon a measure of such magnitude, when it is evident that he has not given the subject even an ordinary investigation. Alluding to the warehouses, the Senator says: "When built the products of my friend Jack Bates, and myself, corn, cotton, wheat, oats and tobacco, can be placed in one of them, we receiving a certificate to the amount of 80 per cent of the value of the products stored, and that we can send the certificate to Washington and get treasury notes at one per cent interest." This statement is entirely erroneous. The plan provides that upon receipt of the products a certificate of deposit shall be given, showing amount, quality, etc., and that 80 per cent of value in legal tender notes has been advanced; these notes to be paid at the sub-treasury, not at Washington. The Senator exhibits much prejudice against the scheme. The Alliance does not claim that either bill is perfect, and our Congressmen are so informed. It is however, the best that the ablest men of the Order could prepare, and any improvement upon it will be readily accepted, provided the principles set forth by the Supreme Council at St. Louis are retained. It is admitted that the Cotton Belt enjoys superior agricultural advantages, but the farmers of South Carolina are subject to the same conditions that force the Western farmer to sell his corn at 12 cents per bushel, and it is mockery when the honorable Senator intimates that there is no cause for complaint that cannot be remedied by the tariff.

In the same issue of your paper, Mr. Editor, that contains Senator Butler's speech you quote Senator Plumb, in speaking on the silver bill, as saying that he believes the volume of money in circulation in this country is "less than \$500,000,000," or about \$9 per capita. In 1866 we had a per capita circulation of \$52.01. The volume since that time has been steadily contracted. The donation by Congress to the national banks of the exclusive privilege to issue paper money, the demonetization of silver, and the withdrawal from circulation of a large amount of the greenbacks, all operated to contract the volume of money. This contraction has not only enhanced the value of money enormously and produced a corresponding depression in the general prices of all agricultural products, but it has given to capitalists the power to exact further tribute from the farmer by speculating, without risk, on his products. Millions of dollars have been forced from the cotton producer since the war on account of corporate control of the money. The price of cotton instead of being regulated by the natural laws of supply and demand and fixed upon its actual value, has fluctuated every season. The price is depressed when the farmer is obliged to sell, and rises when the speculator has the cotton. The sub-treasury bill gives the farmer ample protection against this evil. Capitalists oppose it because by its enactment they lose control of "the power of money to oppress," and their money becomes less profitable. The tariff can not give the relief sought by this bill. Legislation upon it can not add one dollar to the circulating volume of money, neither can it protect the farmers against the manipulations of speculators to rob them by depressing the cotton market when they are obliged to sell. If the Senator has not yet learned that this condition exists, he may profitably inquire of his farmer constituents. If the Senator is ignorant that this condition is the result of national legislation, deliberately planned and secured by foreign and American capitalists, he can be supplied with proof. The farmers' demand for relief is imperative. Congressmen who are true to them will be remembered. But it is not within the power of man longer to deceive the people, or check the tide that is now rising to submerge every vestige of legislation that discriminates against them. We hope that further investigation will reconcile the Senator's conscience and he will support the bill. Some of the Senator's constituents would be pleased to know his reasons for pronouncing it unconstitutional. They can not believe it. It is human to err, and farmers are beginning to realize that it is safer to rely upon their own intelligence than upon faith. Besides, we remember the agitation of the road law a few years ago, when no less a personage than our distinguished Senator advised an increase of the poll-tax. The State press took it up, and Senator Butler was the hero of future good roads in South Carolina. The people were delighted, when lo! a trial justice in the State rises and explains that it is unconstitutional.

The editor of the News and Courier dismisses the matter with the following pert comment:

The folly of the sub-treasury scheme has been so fully and frequently set forth that comment on Col. Keitt's letter seems hardly necessary. That the bill has been indorsed by the Alliance leaders does not help the bill, but it is a serious reflection on the sagacity of the leaders.

Opposition certainly has been frequently set forth, but the folly of the scheme, or valid argument against it, has not. Now for a challenge. If the News and Courier will print an editorial showing its unconstitutionality, by any system of analogy which does not also condemn the existing system which lends money to banks, or that of warehousing at Government expense the product of distillers and the goods of importers, THE ECONOMIST will aid its circulation by republishing. Assertion and denunciation count for nothing in this discussion. The *ipse dixit* of any man identified with legislation which contains all essential precedent will have no influence. The people are thinking. There is a conflict of opinion imminent; reason, and not prejudice, must decide it.

CALIFORNIA is falling into line in splendid order. Brother Barbee, organizer for that State, telegraphs Brother Turner, national secretary, for one hundred outfits. The whole Pacific Slope will soon be fighting for the principles of the Alliance.

#### FROM CORRESPONDENTS EVERYWHERE.

The secretary of Greenville (Florida) Alliance writes that the wholesale merchants have ordered their salesmen not to sell to Alliance stores. A general war over the matter is brewing in that section.

F. X. Bruner, Basile, La., writes that he has received the circular asking for subscribers for THE ECONOMIST. He sends words of cheer, and promises to do what he can. He urges patience and hard work for the cause.

E. W. Robinson, Roberts county, Texas, writes that times are hard and some of the brethren are getting discouraged; but he hopes a revival will soon take place and good results follow. He takes great interest in THE ECONOMIST.

Hon. L. E. Lincoln, Sand Beach, Mich., writes an earnest letter, full of hope and confidence for the future. He says Michigan is ready for the Alliance, and believes it will swing into line and become one of the banner States of the Order.

Charles Vansickle, Magic, Kansas, writes to ask if it would not be good policy for the farmers to combine and refuse to receive national bank currency for produce. He thinks it would learn them a lesson in the science of money not easily forgotten.

W. J. Griffin, Moshat, Ala., writes: "John Griffin, Moshat, Cherokee Co., Ala., wishes information concerning his father, Kirk Griffin, his mother, Surrepha, or his brothers, Bob, Dave and Frank. When last seen were in Rome, Ga., in 1864. Any information will be thankfully received."

Justus Amir, Twelve Mile, Kans., writes: The Alliance men mean business in that section; that nearly every farmer belongs to the Alliance, and they are determined to stick together. He says they have worked for the good of the party long enough, and are now going to take care of themselves.

Little Bill, Buckner, Ark., thinks the day of deliverance will come. He believes an All-wise Providence will not permit the wealth producers of this country to be much longer oppressed as they are at present. His faith is not only above the average in this respect, but his works are also in accord with his faith.

J. F. Maxey, Pomona, Kansas, writes: "I am getting your valuable paper regularly, read it and pass it to some friend. It does my soul good to see our Western people united with our Southern folks in this grand organization of the great common people. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder, brethren. We are now getting at the work that should have been done years ago. Its true we were a long time getting at it,

then let us do our work well. Let not one think of faltering till the work is completed. Ours is the work of good citizenship—the work of humanity."

A friend writes from South Carolina: "It is contended that the sub-treasury plan would be generally of more benefit to the Western grain raiser than to the Southern cotton farmer. Should his grain spoil in warehouse, or should prices decline more than 20 per cent, which often occurs, he has made money at the expense of the government. Or should prices be raised by the plan it will be largely at the expense of the Southern cotton farmer, as he is largely a consumer of those products. Has it not been necessary to reform the Supreme Court (judges) in measures heretofore, before such measures were pronounced constitutional? Are there not instances to be found touching this very matter of currency?" The sub-treasury might generally more benefit grain than cotton farmers as the expense of handling, storing and selling is proportionately greater, not at the expense of the consumer, but as an economy in handing and by eliminating the speculator. It is expected that the price to consumers will not materially vary, save as an increase is made in the volume of permanent money, and as all products would participate all would share in the gain. But it will be made possible for the producer to receive very nearly the price paid by the consumer. The variation which occurs under the present system rarely falls below 20 per cent at different times of the same year. That is the evil intended to be remedied, and that fact creates the greatest necessity for the sub-treasury warehouses and advances. With no urgent pressure to sell, the cotton farmer would receive May prices in November, less actual expense of carrying over. The government insures and charges a sufficient fee to cover risk. As to the last question, it has been charged in each of the several instances when the Supreme Court was increased that an eye was had to some important party measure in dispute likely to come before that body. The internal revenue law is one instance, and the panel was exactly divided as to the legality of the system, leaving the law in force by decision of the lower court not reversed. In the first legal-tender cases the same charge was made, but the panel showed but one dissenting member in the last decision. The big parties, perhaps truthfully, charge each other with many things concerning the highest court that would disgrace a police tribunal.

Thomas Howie, of Vinita, I. T., writes: "Will you please explain in some future issue of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST how the surplus crops are to be disposed of if we have to depend on the home market in the event of the sub-treasury becoming a law, as I am of the opinion that it will give such an impetus to farming that every available acre will then be put under cultivation, and eight hundred warehouses would then fail to hold the produce? If your answer is free-trade, then demand it, and dispense with the sub-treasury. Being in the dark, I ask for light." The sub-treasury plan proposes to secure money to the farmer on such terms as will enable him to control his product and receive the price paid by the consumer, less actual expenses of transportation, handling, etc. It will not necessarily increase price to the consumer, but will eliminate the speculator, who now gets the lion's share of the profit on all agricultural production. Just now cotton sells for 35 per cent more than was paid for it by speculators in November, and the spinners are just in the middle of their year's work. But because of scarcity of money the planters sold four-fifths of the crop before the rise in price was material. So every year, farm products are sold on a glutted market to men who in turn hold and sell to the consumers as demanded. That an impetus will be given to farming by its passage is certain, but that is no argument against the bill. This impetus will be based upon the improved condition of farmers. Other producers, with the subsidiary aid given by cheaper money and more fixed prices, will participate in the advance, and the great army of workers be more independent. But a small part of the product will be warehoused, under ordinary circumstances, and as the warehouses will fix the charges this will be no disadvantage. Nobody not needing the money will take it. The cost of warehousing will not be greater than at present, though the system will be much better. The plan does not involve the question of taxation at all, so is neither a free trade nor a protection scheme. It is to be hoped that the principle will be recognized by all Alliance men, that no excuse can be given for any tax which is unnecessary. This plan will add to the farmer's means of paying any tax which may be levied against him, direct or indirect.

#### THE REFORM PRESS.

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

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

Each existing Alliance and each of all other labor organizations is but the voice of the bone and sinew of this nation that the Constitution of the United States has been ignored by the law-making powers. Every law made by this nation should reflect the image or spirit of the Constitution. If such a policy had been pursued in this country, the people would to-day have plenty of money, be out of debt, and happy. There would not be one trust or combine, no monopolies or national banks.

Alliance Advocate (Indianapolis, Ind.) comes to hand as bright and clear as a new dollar. This new venture in Alliance work has an excellent field, and will no doubt succeed if the initial number is a sample of that will follow. It says:

In addition, each number will contain editorials, contributions from prominent members of the Order, discussions, addresses, etc., upon Alliance topics, the legislation the Order demands, the reforms they advocate, and all such matters as well informed members of the Order desire to possess. The Alliance Advocate will be for the Alliance in the State of Indiana what THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST is for the Alliances of the United States, a champion for the cause, advocating its principles in all legitimate directions. The editorial management of the paper is in the hands of a competent and well-approved member of the Alliance, and the paper will be made to conform as nearly as possible to the requirements of the members of the Order in the State.

The Farmers and Laborers Union Journal (Batesville, Ark.), it has a similar appearance in other States. Let us hope it will learn better:

The Democratic party of Arkansas is opposed to the Alliance—it opposes the demands as impracticable, opposes Featherston's bill, which was indorsed by the National Alliance judicial committee, and it opposes the sub-treasury scheme.

The Southern Farmer (Raleigh, N. C.); right you are, and it will come sooner than many expect:

What is the remedy for hard times? We answer cheap money to pay off his mortgage, raise his supplies and equip his farm for higher production. A land which withstood the destructive shock of the greatest war of modern times for four years, and the merciless extortions of the usurer for twenty-five years, and still survives, deserves cheap money to rebuild its homes and farms, and a just political economy of the nation will grant it.

Texas Labor Journal (San Antonio, Tex.) says:

All civilizations which have been of benefit to mankind have had their origin in liberal government and the general prosperity of the masses, and have been destroyed by the few obtaining control of all the wealth and subjecting the masses to slavery.

Iowa (Des Moines) Tribune, in its usual apt manner, says:

If ever there was a proposition spit upon and kicked out with ridicule, that is just the treatment which the Farmers Alliance sub-treasury bill has received at the hands of both old parties in Congress. At the same time that ridicule is heaped upon the proposition of the farmers that the Government shall issue money upon the non-perishable products of their farms, a bill is railroaded through to issue hundreds of millions of money upon the products of our mines. How much more worthy of consideration an American miner is than an American farmer.

Industrial Union (Quicksburg, Va.), a plain matter-of-fact statement that will do to read at least twice:

With corn at 8 cents a bushel and farmers paying 24 cents for the use of a dollar one year, in Kansas, it just takes three bushels of corn to pay interest for one year on one dollar. This is mighty hard on the farmer and his family, but it is nuts and tenderloin to the usurer. There is too much money in the country! There were too many greenback dollars in circulation; therefore, in order to make land, labor, and all kinds of property cheap and money dear, the Government

took in more than \$2,000,000,000 of money, destroyed it, and gave out an equal amount of interest-drawing bonds therefor. The farmer follows the plough with his eyes open. He follows the old party leaders with his eyes closed. He deserves to suffer for his assinine stupidity. Corn 8 cents a bushel and butter 10 cents a pound in Kansas!

Clark County Clipper (Ashland, Kan.); exactly so:

The partisan press is getting more thoroughly organized every day. They are rubbing and oiling up their machinery preparatory for the manufacturing of a large invoice of campaign lies. They have already sent out a great many small orders of the most dastardly and cowardly prevarications their inventive minds could turn out. The deep-dyed and baseness of the articles this mammoth institution is putting out for the inspection of the public shows the machinery to be operated in the dark and in some out-of-the-way places, by persons bereft of principle and working under the supervision of party bosses whose only ambition is their own selfish ends, with no regard for the truth or the future happiness and welfare of their fellowmen. These walking pieces of human mechanism are a blot to mankind and a disgrace to the name of our country. They seek through every channel to demoralize every organization that endeavors to combine together for their own protection that does not coincide with the workings of partisan press machinery.

Kansas (Newton) Courier; no one can doubt this:

The farmers of this country have at last realized the necessity of organizing and looking after their own interests and not waiting for others to do so for them. The time has come when every toiling son of America will have to be up and doing. We have been slaves of capitalists for many years, and our condition has been growing worse, and now we can look around us and see nothing but starvation staring us in the face. How long will this state of affairs last? We have but one way out of the trouble, and that is to band ourselves together and be true to ourselves, our families, and our God. We have a powerful foe to contend with, who are ever scheming and who will use means in their power to create discord in the ranks of the now organized toiling millions of this fair land, that they might so divide up on questions of reform, they will have no voice in local, State or national affairs, and will be kept under whip and spur in future as they have been in the past.

Labor Review (Gladebrook, Iowa); the true condition:

Our laborers, our producers, and our poor, constitute our points of non-resistance. Our people, while a few are growing immensely rich, the great mass are gradually growing poor, and less capable of resistance. The great masses are being made poor by excessive taxation and an insufficient money volume. Money is raised not only in excess of the wants of the government when economically administered, but millions beyond that amount which keeps Congress continually in a quandary to find how to most readily spend it, while those who produce the wealth are in hot water to know how to produce so much, and at the same time make a living.

The National Alliance (Houston, Tex.), national organ of the Colored Farmers Alliance, in commenting upon Mr. Mills' letter upon the sub-treasury plan, says:

The farmers want to know why they have been discriminated against, and while they create seven-eighths of the wealth and pay directly and indirectly seven-eighths of the taxes that they can't borrow one dollar from the government while the national bankers can borrow \$350,000,000 to loan to the people at from 8 to 20 per cent.

Mr. Mills will be compelled to make some explanations about these things in the future, for the farmers have "seen the cat." No doubt the tariff laws should be so amended as to bear equally upon all classes of our people, and no doubt many monopolies have taken the advantage of them to enrich themselves at the expense of the farmers and the people generally, and while wages have been kept up as much through the organization of the laboring people as through a system of protection, Mr. Mills, nor any one else will be able to hide from the people the fact that the contraction of the currency which has enabled those who control the finances to corner on the products of labor has been one of the prime factors in producing discontent among the people and plastering the finest country in the world with mortgages and debts.

The people will not much longer ask what the political bosses and rings believe, but will demand legislation in the

interest of the whole people and special privileges for none. They have discovered that partisanship is the curse of the age, politically, and the sooner the people learn to place principles above party, the better it will be for them.

A few years ago Mr. Mills' letter would have silenced the farmers of Milam county, but it will not have that effect now, as they see the administration of the government, so far as they are concerned, is a failure, and that they have taken the advice of those who are not interested in their welfare long enough.

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

The fact that Carlisle, Mills, or any other Congressman takes issue against the Alliance sub-treasury plan does not make that measure impracticable. It is simply their opinion pitted against the opinion of 3,000,000 farmers and laborers, many of whom are better qualified to fill the positions they now occupy than they are themselves, who are seeking to secure equal rights with other classes in this government. Those Congressmen have simply listened to Wall street's cry and their puny voices will be completely swallowed up in the people's demand for the passage of the measure.

The Alliance Farmer (Selman, Fla.); this comes pretty near the solid truth:

The defeat of Brother Kolb, in Alabama, last week has only confirmed the Farmer in its position that the Order should make no aggressive move until its numerical strength would assure success, because it represents the cause of the common people, and whenever this class dares to raise even a finger toward asserting, or demanding its just rights it calls out every town and city boot lick who stands ready to do the bidding of the relentless money power, and this too without regard to any political connection, or affiliation.

Dakota (Huron) Ruralist don't seem to regard a bank rascal better than any other:

The Bankers' Association of South Dakota have accepted the advice the criminal lawyer gives to every arrested criminal and have met and adjourned in dignified silence. Well, gentlemen, the world will make up its verdict. You are convicted by the testimony of your own secretary with having withheld your pledged offering to the sufferers of South Dakota because a bill was introduced in the legislature inimical to your interests. You kept back that \$10,000 either to intimidate or else to buy legislators. The execrations of thousands of destitute and wronged people will be upon you until this great indignity is cleared away.

St. Louis (Mo.) Critic; the difference:

You go upon the board of trade, where option dealers meet, and take some little options on January wheat. You watch the little ticker till the hands swing round the ring, then you find your little boodle has gone glimmering—that's business. You go into a faro bank and buy a stack of chips, and watch the cards come from the box which the dealer deftly flips. When your head is dull and aching at the breaking of day, you see that fickle fortune has gone the other way—that's gambling.

Logan County Index (Bellefontaine, Ohio) says:

The Farmers' Alliance is "Marching through Georgia." One hundred thousand voters of that State are members of the order, and they propose to take a hand in the political deal this fall. The entire vote of the State is only one hundred and fifty thousand, and the Alliance is certainly in a fair way to have their own way. Their State convention is called for the month of August.

The Advocate (Topeka, Kans.) has a way of its own. Here is a sample:

We are seeking information upon public topics, and with humility of spirit we ask our contemporaries to mention a few of the acts of Congress enacted during the past twenty-five years, that were intended for, and have resulted in any good to the industrial interests of America. We have been for some time asking what Senator Ingalls has done for his constituents, and as we can get no information on that subject, the thought occurred to us to ask something easier. Hence the above inquiry. It will not be necessary in answering, to publish the full text of the bill. Give us the titles, and we will hunt them up and read them.

The Advocate (Topeka, Kans.) says of school-book trusts:

The school-book trust writes us that it is not a trust, and asks us to co-operate in the effort to disabuse the minds of

the people upon this subject. If a complete monopoly in the publication and sale of school books, by which the price is kept at least 50 per cent higher than it should be, is not a trust we are at a loss by what name to designate it. "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." When this school-book concern gets ready to sell its publications at fair prices it will not need the co-operation of anybody to remove suspicion from the minds of the people. The people are not usually distrustful of a legitimate business; and the most successful method of securing and retaining confidence is by fair dealing. This is our first contribution for the disabuse of the minds of the people on this subject. If the aforesaid publishing house wants any more of this disabusing matter it will be freely contributed.

Kansas Farmer (Topeka, Kans.), in answer to an article in the Times, shows the exact difference between knowing what this fight is about, and making an awkward guess:

The Times will please bear in mind that what we are pressing upon public attention is not only the need of more money in the country, but the necessity of such a readjustment of our financial methods as will reduce interest rates to the actual cost of handling money, forcing it into use in the productive industries, thus securing it steady and continuous employment among the people where it is needed. Money is not a "measure of value," as the Times has it, but a medium—a vehicle if you please, to be used in exchanging values. Carts, wagons, railway cars, and ships are used as vehicles in the exchange of commodities; money is used as vehicle in the exchange of values. The circulation of money is to business what a highway is to commerce—a way of exchange, one used for the exchange of articles, the other used for the exchange of values.

Industrial Free Press (Winfield, Kans.) says:

The money kings hate the Alliance because it is educating the people, and showing the money kings up in their true light. The professional politician hates the Alliance, for in educating the masses it shows up the politician as a trickster and traitor, and makes him lose his influence. The chronic office seeker hates the Alliance, for it shows him up as the tool of the money kings, and they have no use for him. It hurts all their pocketbooks and that is the tenderest part about them. The partisan press hates the Alliance because it shows the masses how they have been duped by the press in the employ of the liberty assassins (the money kings). It also has a tendency to cut in on their financial outlook. None of those fellows want the farmers to join the Alliance or any other other labor organization, because they show those fellows up in their corruption and viciousness, and will cause all sensible men to abandon them. That takes the power to oppress away from them, and without that power they cannot steal the hard-earned wages of the farmer and laborer, hence no spoils, no money, no prestige, no influence, no slaves, but all equal. That is why they kick.

Alliance Herald (Stafford, Kas.) puts it this way:

The monopolists live in the cities, where it is easy to meet and unite their forces. The farmers live in the in the country where it is hard work to get together once in a week or two, to discuss matters of interest to themselves; but they are getting more in earnest every day—beginning to see and realize more fully that they must unite and stand together in order to save themselves, and the country from demolition. Heretofore they have allowed others to do their thinking, hereafter they will think for themselves, vote to please themselves, and if others do not like it they can help themselves the best way possible.

The editor of the Junction City Tribune is evidently popular with his brother editors in Kansas. The Signal (Manhattan, Kan.) says:

What's the matter with John Davis for Congress from this district? Unless he is wanted for senatorial duties the people could make no mistake in sending him to Congress.

The Crisis (Chillicothe, Mo.) reasons:

A higher range of prices, so that interest and taxes will not take so much property and labor, is absolutely the only thing that will bring good times. An increase in the volume of money is absolutely the only thing that will bring a higher range of prices.

Official Organ of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

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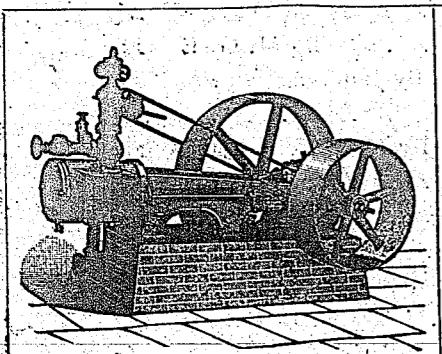
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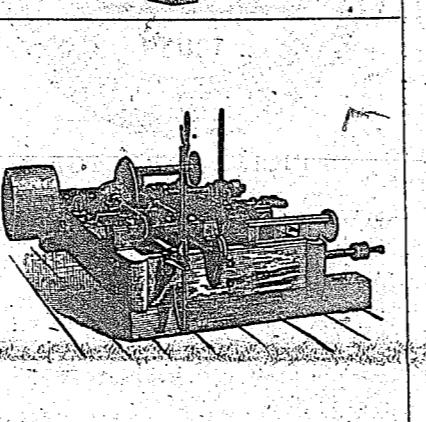
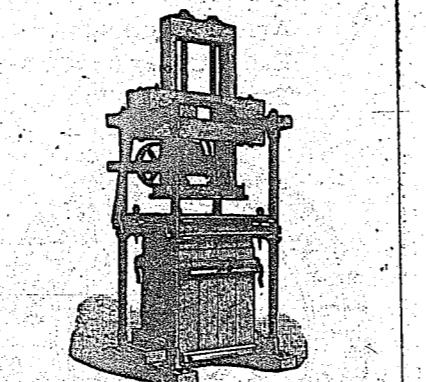
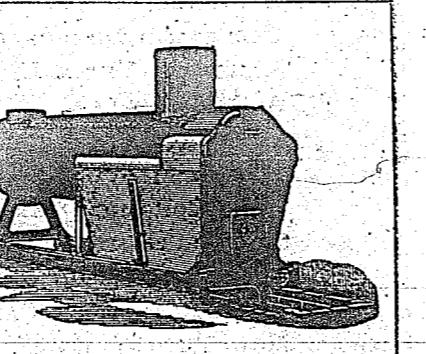
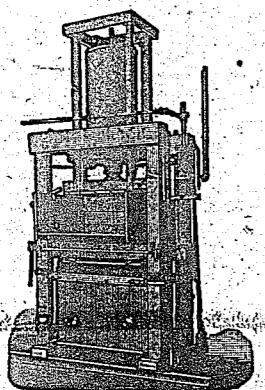
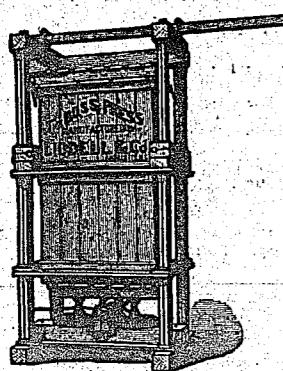
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# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

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DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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NO. 17.

## THE RESTORATION OF SILVER COINAGE.

The remonetization of silver is being contested by the banks and money owners for two reasons, both selfish yet both in strict conformity with modern ideas of financial methods, where might makes right and an advantage unimproved is a legitimate business opportunity lost. If silver be restored to its original position the amount of debt killing currency would be increased, and the "power of money to oppress" would be lessened in proportion. The benefit derived from this power, however, is to some extent uncertain, as it must depend to a large extent upon the inequalities and necessities of others. But the other branch of this controversy presents an actual tangible result, sure and certain, which can be demonstrated by mathematical calculation. The coinage act of 1792 made  $37\frac{1}{4}$  grains of pure silver the American dollar and unit of American money. It also made the eagle (gold) of the value of ten dollars or units, and its divisions to be of corresponding value in units. This made silver the unit and gold the ratio. This condition remained until 1834, when it was found that the amount of gold in the gold dollar sold for more in England than the amount of silver in the silver dollar. In order to remedy this, after a long discussion, it was resolved by Congress to reduce the amount of gold in the ratio, in order to have it conform to the unit. This was done by taking 1.55 grains of pure gold from the gold dollar. In 1837 it was ascertained that too much gold had been taken from the gold dollar, and in order to make the unit and ratio conform .02 of a grain of pure gold was added. This relative value continued until 1873, with the exception that in 1853 the silver half dollars, quarters, and dimes were debased in order to prevent exportation. No silver dollars were being coined, as the bullion was worth more than the coined dollars. In 1873 a general coinage act was passed, the first since the war. It was before Congress for nearly three years, and was passed without debate or being printed, on the simple word of John Sherman that "it had practically passed Congress at the last session, except it enlarged the duties and increased the salaries of the officers of the mint." The truth was that the bill dropped the silver dollar from the list of American coins and practically demonetized it, and actually changed the unit of money from  $37\frac{1}{4}$  grains of silver to 23.22 grains of gold.

At that time there were not five men in Congress aside from John Sherman who knew what the bill contained, and it was not until 1876 that Senator Conkling, by a direct question to Senator Sherman, disclosed to the people that there had been no American silver dollar for nearly three years. President Grant did not know it when he signed the bill. In 1878 the Bland bill was passed, which remonetized silver and obliged the coinage of at least two million per month. The question might be asked, Why was the unit changed? Because gold had become scarce, and, like potatoes under similar conditions, had advanced in price. The relative value between silver and gold had changed. The whole bonded debt was then payable in coin, and coin sold in the markets of the world by weight like pork or wheat. If silver was continued the unit more gold would have to be taken from the gold dollar. If gold was the unit then more silver would have to be put into the silver dollar. In 1834 gold was taken out, and in 1837 gold was added to the gold dollar in order to keep up the relative value. It therefore resolved itself into this simple proposition, shall the bondholders receive so many grains of gold less for their bonds, or shall the people give them so much more silver? The bondholders had been preparing for this. When the funding act of 1870 passed, it provided that they should be paid in coin of the then weight and fineness. The unit was changed, and the difference is this: If we are compelled to sell silver to England, as we do now, to buy gold to pay the bonds it will take 33,463,541 pounds of silver more to make this seventy-cent dollar pay our debts than it would if silver had remained the unit. With silver the unit it would take 2,196,180 pounds of gold less. This is the whole secret connected with the change of the unit of money and the demonetization of silver. 33,463,541 pounds of silver is rather a large stake to play for. Yet our American politicians and financiers have played for much larger ones, and are therefore accustomed to the mental, moral and physical strain.

It is stated that there are one hundred papers championing the rights of the people in the State of Kansas. That the people of the Sunflower State know what the fight is about allows no dispute. Capitalism has not the best talent hired there, for the reform papers are, as a whole, unsurpassed in vigor and intelligence by the weekly press any other State.

## CLEVELAND DEMOCRACY AND SILVER.

BY M. G. E.

The Baltimore Sun of June 21 contains a most remarkable editorial under the caption "The Democratic Silver Policy an. Mr. Cleveland." This editorial is very interesting to those members of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union who, being Democrats, will have to decide at the right time whether they will support the third candidacy of the ex-President upon the principles set forth by the Sun, and if nay, then what else they will do. That sooner or later they must make this decision is evident.

The Alliance may part company with the Sun upon this question. It has by official manifesto declared for the absolute restoration of all the money functions of silver and the free and unlimited coinage of it on an absolute equality with gold before the law. In this editorial the Sun contends that the present attitude of the Democratic Senators and Representatives is of no consequence in itself, as the decision of the Democratic policy is for the present in other hands, to wit, the hands of Mr. Grover Cleveland. Democrats of the Alliance and Union will not admit the validity of this premise of the Sun. They propose to have something to say about that thing at the right time, in their own way and in their own behalf. That time is not yet; but it may safely be said right now, they will not support the third candidacy of the ex-president upon the terms and conditions laid down in the editorial. They will not vote for Mr. Cleveland for re-election upon those terms, and if his nomination is forced upon the party, it will be for them to consider what they will do with their votes and for him to consider what he will do without them.

As to the three reforms which the Sun says Mr. Cleveland has determined to present as the real live issues, viz: Tariff, civil service, and ballot reform, in comparison with the money question, they are every way insignificant. Does the Sun, do Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Carlisle, and Mr. Mills, intend to offer the great industries as a sufficient promise of relief the Mills bill, which they call "tax reform," and which is, in fact, about seven per cent reduction of the tax on imported merchandise, in many particulars of it unwise and in many features of it objectionable? Do they offer this thing as a sufficient relief for difficulties in earning bread? Do they offer this poor measure of relief, not now, but by and by, when they are put in possession of all the branches of the Government? Do they pretend to believe this to be sufficient? And do they expect farmers to support them and their policy upon that showing? The day for plain talk has come. The farmers will not do it. It is useless to expect and vain to hope that under any circumstances they will. When is it that the Alliance is to look for relief by the Mills bill? Will it be during the life-time of the present generation that the Democrats can hope to control both branches of the Legislature and the executive? In the meantime, what is to become of the people? It is well for those who have profited by contraction and grown vastly rich under the exist-

ing order of things to minimize the sufferings of the poor and laboring man. It is well for them, ignoring the sneaking villanies of contraction to hold up holy hands in horror, to denounce the bad faith of "silver inflation;" but do they hope thus to deceive and mislead men of sense?

As to this civil service reform, as it was administered by Mr. Cleveland, as it is administered by Mr. Harrison, as it will be at any time administered by any politician whatsoever, it is a failure and a farce. To call this thing a live issue is to insult the intelligence of men who are in trouble. Ballot reform, moreover, is a right thing, but to claim it to be a measure of relief for industrial depression is so foolish as to be merely ridiculous. Our house is on fire; our homes are perishing over our heads, and do you ask us to be amused with trifles?

There is one "real live issue" to be met and decided; the people against the privileged classes, hedged round about by monopolies of every kind and sort. In the next great national campaign the vast industrial armies of the West and South will come up out of the great valley of the Mississippi against the plutocrats of the East. It will be a fight to a finish, and the people are going to win it.

The Sun says, if re-elected to the Presidency, Mr. Cleveland will reassert his views on the silver question, and they will be respected as authoritative by the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, as they were from 1884 to 1888. On the other hand, Mr. Vest said in his speech on the silver bill that Mr. Cleveland on that question was not in accord with the majority of the party, but was on that question a sectional man and under the influence of New York bankers. Is the Sun right, or is Mr. Vest right? Mr. Cleveland has had much talk for the public about his three reforms; what has he to say for himself about financial reform?

The Baltimore Sun does not seem to have perceived that the incessant advertisement, the frantic advocacy of the third candidacy, must have the effect of rendering it stale before the issue is presented. It is to be doubted if the personality of the ex-President so completely overshadows his party as the Sun believes and would have others believe. Senator Daniel in a recent notable speech in the Senate declared that the silver question is the most important before the people for settlement. Superior to Republicanism, superior to Democracy. Alliance members generally endorse that view, and the Sun will, at the right time, find that something even more authoritative than the dictum of Mr. Cleveland will be necessary to put that great question aside in favor of clerks' catechisms, and patent ballot boxes, and seven per cent reduction of tariff taxes. So great is the silver question that it has developed cleavage lines running through both parties along which the party alignments must be rectified. The rectified alignment will exhibit the West and South over against the East. The day of plain talk has come. We shall expect the party and the man voted for to "tell the truth," and afterward to "do the truth." If the ex-President hopes to be President again he must make up his mind that he will have to satisfy the people that he is with them, and not against them on the silver question. If he has reached a new position on that question he ought now to say so, otherwise it will be understood that the Baltimore Sun has the matter straight.

## SENATOR VANCE

## Joins the Ranks of the Letter Writers upon the Sub-Treasury Bill.

A copy of a letter by Senator Vance has been furnished THE ECONOMIST, which is reproduced in full:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1890.

ELIAS CARE, Esq.

*President Farmers' Alliance of North Carolina.*

MY DEAR SIR: So many reports concerning my position on what is known as the sub-treasury or farmers' warehouse bill have been circulated in our State, and I have received so many letters of inquiry on the subject, that I have deemed it my duty to answer them all in this way. I write to you as the honored head of the Farmers Alliance of North Carolina, and desire in this manner to make known to the people my honest opinion on this and cognate subjects. I do this all the more readily because I am conscious that I have never, in the course of my political life, concealed from the people who have honored me any candid conviction in regard to any important public matter. It is too late for me now to begin such a course.

On the 24th day of February, 1890, at the request of Col. L. L. Polk, president of National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, I introduced in the Senate bill No. 2,806, popularly known as the sub-treasury bill, and procured its reference to the committee on agriculture and forestry, where it was supposed that it would receive more friendly consideration than from the committee on finance to which it would otherwise have gone according to the rules. On receiving it I told both Col. Polk and Dr. Macune, the chairman of the legislative committee of the Alliance, that I was not prepared to promise them to support the bill; that it was a great and radical departure from the accustomed policy of our legislation, and that there were questions, both of practicability and constitutionality which I wished to reserve. I told them also that I hoped for good results from its introduction, and believed that its discussion would attract the attention of the country to the condition and the wants of the agricultural classes, and if this bill was not deemed the proper one that some other would be formulated in the direction of the needed relief. I procured an early consideration of the bill by the committee, and a very able and most interesting discussion by Messrs. Polk and Macune was had, but so far without result. The committee has not yet made a report, though I am assured that a majority of its members are anxiously seeking to devise a method of relief which shall not be open to the objections of that bill. My own position remains the same. I can not support this bill in its present shape, but I am not opposed to the principles and purposes of the measure. On the contrary, they are those which I have for ten years advocated, and for the accomplishment of which I have in every county in North Carolina again and again urged the organization of the farmers, pointing out to them how that all other classes of society were organized for the promotion of their separate interests. It is a shameful truth, that in the enormous growth of the wealth of our country in the last twenty years the farmers have not proportionately participated. All candid men admit that they have not had their share of the aggregate prosperity of our country. The reason of this is as plain to be seen as any cause for any effect. For a quarter of a century the legislation of our country has been notoriously in the interest of certain combinations of capital. The manufacturers have been protected by enormous duties upon foreign imports, many of which are absolutely prohibitory. The currency has been systematically con-

tracted by the withdrawal of circulation and the demonetization of silver in the interest of the bankers, brokers, bond-holders and all the creditor class. The enormous wealth of our country has more and more ceased to be widely distributed, and has become concentrated in the hands of a few.

Overgrown fortunes have been accumulated by the favored ones, whilst mortgages have been the chief acquisition of the many. The farmer being compelled to sell his surplus wheat, beef and cotton in the free trade markets of the world, was not allowed also to buy his supplies in the same place, but was compelled to bring his money home from Europe and buy his iron, his clothing, and all his farm supplies from the domestic manufacturers, at prices enhanced, not only by these enormous tariff duties, but likewise by this severe contraction of the currency. What else could possibly have followed but indebtedness and bankruptcy for that class who had thus to bear the ultimate burdens caused by this disturbance of the laws of economy, and by which alone the undue riches of one class were secured? All efforts to secure the repeal of this outrageous taxation and to restore the full use of silver as money having so far proved unavailing, reasonable men are not surprised that the oppressed class of our people have at last organized and determined to do something. For one, I sympathize most cordially and sincerely with this determination. Inasmuch as it is impossible to compensate the farmer for the robbing of him under this tariff taxation by imposing tariff duties for his benefit also, for the reason that similar products to his are not imported into this country, the question arises, how shall he be compensated? If some way be not devised and we continue to impose these tariff taxes on him, we simply admit that he is to be oppressed forever, or until he is sent to the poor house; and that whilst we have power under the constitution to destroy by taxation one class of citizens, we have neither the power nor the disposition to compensate that destroyed class, nor to equalize the burdens of life among the people. I never will agree to this, and I stand ready to vote for any measure for the relief of the agricultural classes of the community that will serve the purpose, asking only that it be within the power conferred upon Congress by the constitution. We live, happily for us, in a government of limited powers, but because, as I believe, the present tariff duties are utterly unconstitutional, and but "robbery under the forms of law," I can not gain my consent to vote for this sub-treasury bill, which provides for the loaning of money to the people by the government, and which in my opinion, is without constitutional authority. I believe, however, that under that clause of the constitution which gives Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign countries and among the States, that the bonded warehouses now in use for the reception of foreign imports might also be used at every port of entry in the United States, and others established as well, for the reception of domestic articles intended for export to foreign countries and to other States, and that the government could be made to receive these articles, and issue receipts therefor upon which the holders could readily borrow money. This I believe, would answer every purpose contemplated by the sub-treasury plan, except that of borrowing money at a specified cheap rate. However this may be, I know, my dear sir, that neither you nor the good and true men that you represent, would ask me to infringe in any way upon the organic law of our country, in the faithful observance of which alone consists the safety of our people.

Permit me to say that there is at this time a great responsibility resting upon you. There is an uprising of the agricultural class of our people, the most powerful class of our society, which amounts to little short of a revolution. This

revolution is directed toward a redress of the evils arising from unjust legislation. You are the chosen head and representative of that class in the State of North Carolina, one of its most honored and respected citizens. I feel, sir, that with the freedom of a friend and fellow-worker of the same political faith, I may say to you that you may do much to prevent this popular cry for redress from becoming a clamor for revenge. Guided within the proper channels and by wise counsels, I believe it is the movement for which all patriotic men in our country have waited and wished so long, and that it will result in juster legislation and more equally diffused prosperity. But if recklessly, unwisely or selfishly directed it may result in incalculable injury to our country, and especially our southern portion of it. I notice with pain that much of the ill feeling of the farmers is directed not against the authors and upholders of this nefarious legislation, but against their nearest neighbors and friends—those whose interests are as intimately connected with their own as is that of members of the same household. I observe that bitter feeling is springing up between town and country—between the farmer who brings his product to town and the merchant who buys it, and in return sells him his daily supplies; that often the farmer is taught to believe that the lawyer, the doctor, or the professional man is hostile to him, or is in some way responsible for the ills which he suffers. I need not say to you that this is all wrong, unwise, and hurtful to a degree to all concerned. It saps the strength of our people and weakens their power to procure redress. We need everybody's help, because our oppressors are a great party, entrenched in the strongholds of government. Naturally the redress of wrongs occasioned by unjust legislation is the repeal of that legislation. The great Democratic party of America, now in a large numerical majority, but deprived of the control of the Government by the most unscrupulous methods, openly and almost with unanimity, favors the repeal of all the legislation of which you complain. A little strengthening of its hands, and but a little, will enable it to triumph. Its triumph will be yours. A little sapping of its strength, a little division in its ranks, will be its defeat again. Its defeat will likewise be yours. The danger is that oppressed freemen become impatient, and impatient men are often unwise. Your great organization is but little more than two years old—it is not yet grown. It can not look for great harvests of results before the sowing and the maturing of the crop. Already wonderful things have been achieved. Venerable legislators, life-long servants of corporations and Wall Street policy have already come to know that there is a large class of the American people called farmers, and who have rights and privileges like others. No greater shock for years past has been given to the sleek and comfortable recipients of class legislation than the recent passage through the Senate of the bill to restore the unlimited coinage and legal tender character of silver. This was undoubtedly due to the Farmers Alliance. For the past six months there has been discussion upon the condition of the farmers and matters pertaining to their interests than had taken place within ten years previous. The more of this talk the better for the farmers. Their wrongs are so palpable that the justice of redressing them will become more and more irresistible as the light is turned on. The policy of the farmers, being now right, is to keep within the right. Demand nothing that is illegal—ask nothing that is unreasonable. Especially it seems to me they should be careful not to injure their friends. They should hold their forces in hand ready to aid those who favor them and to strike those only who are hostile to their purposes and principles. To attempt to make a political party of the Farmers Alliance for the purpose of supplant-

ing either of the great parties which divide the American people would be a great mistake. In the South it could only destroy the Democratic party and leave in undisputed control that other party which is the author and upholder of the evils by which we are afflicted. By your own rules you exclude from membership a majority of the community, and for that reason alone you should not undertake to become a political party. I see many indications of that tendency which give me much concern. In the neighboring State of South Carolina there is a contest raging which, it looks to me, can only have the result of putting that State back under African rule. This, too, among men who profess to agree upon all matters of principle. Let us hope that we may avoid such dangerous and unseemly contests in our State. I trust much to you, my dear sir, and to the conservatism, good sense, moderation, and patriotism of the farmers of North Carolina to avoid the taking of any position or the doing of anything that would prevent the Democrats who are in the Alliance and the Democrats who are not in the Alliance from working together for principles which are common and for interests which are general with that harmony which so triumphantly brought us out of the house of bondage in the period from 1870 to 1876, and which in so great a measure has restored our State to a reasonable degree of prosperity and credit. Let us not imitate the Jews when their sacred city was besieged by the Roman armies, who fought their enemies with incredible valor all day and fought each other with incredible fury all night. Let us, on the contrary, stand together and fight our common enemies day and night. Let us strive for a reduction of taxation on the necessities of life, for reduction of the expenditures of the Government, for an increase of the currency and the price of farm products by the free coinage of silver and the restoration of its full legal tender character, for a repeal of the tax upon State banks, for the regulation of transportation rates by railroad commissions, and last, but not least, let us earnestly contend against that spirit of centralization which is constantly threatening to absorb the local self-government of the people of the States.

Z. B. VANCE.

The above letter will indeed be a surprise to the farmers of this country, and could with perfect safety be left to stand or fall on its merits. The membership have answered and completely demolished the sophistry and false agreements of Mills, Carlisle and the other letter writers who take the Wall-street view of the matter, and would no doubt in time answer Senator Vance, but it is deemed best to here publish the letter in full and comment upon it fairly, and with neither favor nor opposition to its author, call attention to the forces that he and others like him under present conditions are compelled to obey. THE ECONOMIST has no war to make on those who see fit to oppose the sub-treasury law; that is not its mission. It seeks to educate in the principles of economic government and contends for all the principles of the Alliance and such measures as have been adopted by the Supreme Council. Those who oppose the sub-treasury law will find their hands full in trying to make peace with a downtrodden and oppressed people that would be benefited by it. If they write letters in opposition to that measure they may expect answers. Sophistry may often sound so

plausible that it can not be readily answered in debate, but when it is written it can be subjected to the inflexible laws of analysis, and always successfully combated.

The first paragraph of the above letter shows that it was not written in response to any inquiry from President Carr upon the subject, but to silence rumors in regard to the Senator's position and to answer numerous letters of inquiry. The Senator very properly concluded that the best way to answer all the letters that had come pouring in on him, and at the same time silence all rumors, was to address a letter to the President of the State Alliance of North Carolina and publish it for the benefit of all concerned. This is all right and proper, but it shows that Senator Vance had kept his views strictly to himself from the time the bill was introduced till the present, and it does not seem unfair to conclude that he remained silent just as long as he could, because a further silence could only have been construed as an opposition to the measure without the "Sunday suit" in which he dresses his views in the letter. The chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Alliance recently addressed letters of inquiry on this subject to Senator Vance and Representative Pickler. The following are the replies received:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 26, 1880.  
DEAR SIR: Your favor of 19th inst. came duly to hand. In reply I will say that I am now preparing a letter which will fully explain my position on the sub-treasury bill, and when it is ready I shall be pleased to furnish you with a copy.

Very respectfully and truly yours, Z. B. VANCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 21, 1880.  
MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of June 19th, stating that you are in receipt of information from several of the States in which it is stated I will probably vote against the sub-treasury bill, received. I have to say that there is no foundation in truth for such reports, and I shall not vote against the bill. The main objects of the bill as I understand it, to wit: To procure more money for circulation, a flexible volume, at a low rate of interest and in the most direct manner to the people, and to devise some means which will assist the producer in holding his products until such time during the year as will enable him to realize the greatest amount for such product, I heartily favor. It is, I think, probable that some amendments as to details are desirable, but the objects I cordially favor in the bill, or in any other reasonable form they may be presented, and I shall so vote.

I am yours truly, J. R. PICKLER.

This shows that Senator Vance kept the legislative committee as much in the dark in regard to his position as he did the rest of the Order. Why was this? If he was under no obligations to support the measure, why resist all efforts to find out his position just as long as he possibly could? Answers to these questions will be developed as the statements of the letter are better understood.

The second paragraph of the letter shows that Senator Vance told President Polk and the chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Alliance that he was not prepared to support the bill, but that was not the bill he introduced. The bill introduced in the

House by Mr. Pickler was the bill drawn up by the Legislative Committee, and is the only bill drawn by that committee. A copy of this bill had been presented to Senator Vance, and it was about it he was talking when he used the language he quotes. But he went further and proposed to remodel and amend the bill and put it in better shape before he introduced it. This was readily agreed to, and he was informed that it was believed that his greater wisdom and experience would make every change that he might propose an improvement. The chairman of the Legislative Committee gave him special authority to make any changes in the bill that he might choose. He took the bill, made the changes without further consultation, and introduced it, and the first time the chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Alliance saw the Vance bill or knew what its provisions were was after it had been introduced in the Senate and printed. The Senate bill is the Vance modification of the sub-treasury bill, and the question naturally arises, if he could not amend the bill so that he would support it, why did he amend it at all? Again, if he saw fit to amend it and introduce it in a shape that he would not support it, why did he not say so, at least to the committee? Could he have been acting in good faith at the time he took the bill, amended it, and introduced the Vance bill if he then intended to write this letter at such time as was calculated to do the cause most harm? These and many others of like import are pertinent and will be answered in various ways by the thinking people of this country.

In the third paragraph Senator Vance says: "I can not support this bill in its present shape," and in the closing sentence of the letter he says: "Let us earnestly contend against that spirit of centralization which is constantly threatening to absorb the local self-government of the people of the States." Now since he is alone responsible for its "present shape," and since he inserted as one of his amendments to the bill the feature making the managers of the sub-treasuries subject to appointment by the Secretary of the Treasury, instead of being subject to election by popular vote of the people of the country as provided in the genuine sub-treasury bill of the committee, and since that clause of the bill is the one that has raised opposition as a feature tending to centralization, "that would fill the States with carpet baggers, Federal appointees, and colored supervisors," and since the Senator is a Southern man and a Democrat, is there not danger that some shrewd observer will put this and that together and say: "Vance is no fool; he don't make such blunders as that; he did it on purpose. He has acted the traitor and betrayed the farmers' movement. He could not honestly put in a feature that would tend to kill the measure with Democrats. He is, however, making himself ridiculous

by throwing stones at the glass house he himself built?" If there be any who would ask these questions, and no doubt there will be, they will do the Senator great injustice, and be altogether wrong. Those who know Senator Vance will never accuse him of the wrongs here implied. He has always been on the side of the farmer next after the Democratic party, and it is too late for him to now change. That his course has been wrong, and that it has perpetrated a great wrong upon the Alliance movement, can not be denied; but that Senator Vance intended it should from the beginning, or how it did it, or has in any way intended any bad faith with the Order, is denied most positively. In fact, there is abundant evidence for the belief that he, when he had amended the bill to his liking and introduced it, intended to support and vote for the bill. His proverbial honesty would have impelled him to notify the committee had he intended to do otherwise. There can be no doubt that he intended to support and vote for the bill until recently. Then when he found himself forced to change, it became necessary to write a big letter in order to neutralize this appearance of a deliberate design to injure the Order from the start. Senator Vance is a pure man, and a true man as true goes in these modern times—true to party first and to the people next.

The place in which the sincerity of Senator Vance seems the most questionable is where he claims the sub-treasury bill to be unconstitutional, because it "provides for the loaning of money to the people by the Government." He knows that it is constitutional for the Government to accept a deposit having exchangeable value (bonds) and issue to certain corporations treasury notes, and charge them a tax of one per cent per annum, because the Supreme Court of the United States has said it was constitutional, and that settles the point beyond question. Yet he claims that it is unconstitutional for the Government to accept a deposit having exchangeable (and intrinsic) value from anybody, and issue treasury notes to them and charge an interest of one per cent per annum. Now the question is, if he is sincere in this belief, why did he not in his bill change the word interest to tax, and have an exact counterpart to the national bank law that has been declared constitutional?

The dragging in of partisan prejudice in the discussion of this economic question, as is done in the letter, is only calculated to complicate it, but it will not have the old time effect of making the people blind to the real issue. The Senator's reference to affairs in South Carolina and the existing relations between the farmer, his party and his friends the lawyer, doctor, merchant and town people generally, might well be the subject of an entire letter, and a very long comment, so important is it. It is not gen-

man to this subject, however, and it is held that the farmers are now and have all the time been acting on the defensive. They are contending against the domination of their favorite political party by a Wall street ring which furnishes millions of biddle money for campaign purposes. Most of the old line politicians have more faith in money as an auxiliary for campaign purposes than in votes, because with money they can influence the press and buy the saloons. It seems impossible to argue this: old line politicians to the fact that the people have awakened to a new movement, and that their very existence demands that they assert their independence from such rule; nevertheless that rule, flushed with victory in the past and never having known defeat, ass its itself with more arrogance than ever, and when the farmers with an overwhelming majority assert their wishes in the party to which they belong they are told that if they insist they will split the party and leave an opening for black rule. Why don't the sages who utter such wisdom lay the blame on the rule or ruin minority that would prefer to see black rule ruin the country than for the farmer to have justice? That is where the blame lies. Now in this great conflict, when the town people, the politicians and the party, if it should ever be so foolish, take the side of the Wall street ring, it matters not if they are pretended friends; they are instantly recognized as belonging to the opposition that would rather see black rule, or any other rule, than farmer supremacy.

Conditions have for years been developing that tended to perpetuate a man in Congress who implicitly obeys the dictates of the powers that be in his party. If by such obedience he creates a little unpopularity at home, he is supplied at the proper time with plenty of "help" to neutralize that. But on the other hand, if he dares to place the interests of the people above what the powers that be of his party conceive to be the interest of the party, he will get no "help" at the next election, and his opponent will be successful. No one knows this better than the old line politicians. Whether the people will assert themselves in opposition to this has not yet been demonstrated, and no one can expect an old line politician to forsake a certainty for an uncertainty. If the people develop capacity to control the Wall street ring in their own party, it will be grounds for supposing them capable of self-government. If they do not it is ring rule, and ambitious persons will continue to expend their forces in efforts to placate the ring and not the people.

A general view of the letter and the circumstances which surround it shows that its author was all right, but has been imposed upon by the hidden and unseen powers that be which have inaugurated the conspiracy to defeat the Farmers Alliance, and make its name a by-word and a jest throughout the land. That conspiracy seeks to control one or both the great political parties. It has already selected its candidates for the presidency in 1892, and in conformity thereto it dictated the sentiment that actuated the letters of Mills, Carlisle, Reagan, and others. Senator Vance introduced the bill in all candor, and honestly stood by it as long as he could, but he did not possess the moral courage to stand the terrible onslaught of ridicule and abuse that was being prepared for those who cast their lot with the farmer all the way through.

## A FINANCIAL HISTORY.

## Course and Effect of Legislation Since 1861.

## No. 20.

Following the refunding of the bonds comes the act of February 12, 1873, by which it is erroneously claimed by many that silver was demonetized. By this act the further coinage of the silver dollar was suspended, but the silver dollars in circulation were not deprived of their legal tender functions. It was the compilation act of June 22, 1874, that demonetized silver and made it a legal tender for only \$5 and under. This has been called the greatest legislative fraud of the age, and was, no doubt, concocted and conducted with the knowledge and consent of the Treasury Department. Just at present considerable attention is being given to the matter, and it is quite likely the whole conspiracy will be made known in time, perhaps, to punish a few of the guilty ones.

Present indications point to Senator John Sherman as heading the conspiracy in this country, and Mr. Ernest Seyd, as representing the Bank of England. The fact that such a measure could be passed through both Houses of Congress and receive the sanction of the President, without a dozen men either in or out of Congress knowing anything about it, is not a very satisfactory recommendation for the business methods of Congress. Such, however, was the fact, as the following statements from prominent men seem to prove:

Mr. Holman, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives July 13, 1876, said:

I have before me the record of the proceedings of this House on the passage of that message, a record which no man can read without being convinced that the measure and the method of its passage through this House was a "colossal swindle." I assert that the measure never had the sanction of this House, and it does not possess the moral force of law.

Again on August 5, 1876, he said:

The original bill was simply a bill to organize a bureau of mines and coinage. The bill which finally passed the House and which ultimately became a law was certainly not read in this House. \* \* \* It was never considered before the House as it was passed. Up to the time the bill came before this House for final passage the measure had simply been one to establish a bureau of mines; I believe I use the term correctly now. It came from the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures. The substitute which finally became a law was never read, and is subject to the charge made against it by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Bland], that it was passed by the House without a knowledge of its provisions, especially upon that of coinage. I myself asked Mr. Hooper, who stood near where I am now standing, whether it changed the law in regard to coinage. And the answer of Mr. Hooper certainly left the impression upon the whole House that the subject of the coinage was not affected by that bill.

Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, in a speech made in the House on July 13, 1876, said:

This legislation was had in the Forty-second Congress, February 12, 1873, by a bill to regulate the mints of the United States, and practically abolished silver as money by failing to provide for the silver dollar. It was not discussed, as shown by the Record, and neither members of Congress nor the people understood the scope of the legislation.

Senator Bogy, of Missouri, uttered the following words in a speech made in the Senate June 27, 1876:

Why the act of 1873, which forbids the coinage of the silver dollar was passed, no one at this day can give a good reason.

Mr. Burchard, of Illinois, in a speech made in the House of Representatives July 13, 1876, said:

The coinage act of 1873, unaccompanied by any written report upon the subject from any committee, and unknown to the members of Congress, who, without opposition allowed it to pass under the belief, if not assurance, that it made no alteration in the value of the current coins, changed the unit of value from silver to gold.

Senator Conkling, in the Senate on March 30, 1876, during the remarks of Senator Bogy on the bill (S. 263) to amend the laws relating to legal tender of silver coin, in surprise, inquired:

Will the Senator allow me to ask him or some other Senator a question? Is it true that there is now by law no American dollar; and if so, is it true that the effect of this bill is to be to make half-dollars and quarter-dollars the only silver coin which can be used as a legal tender.

General Garfield, in a speech made at Springfield, Ohio, during the fall of 1877, said:

Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to say so, but it is the truth to say that I, at that time being chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and having my hands overfull during all that time with work, I never read the bill. I took it upon the faith of a prominent Democrat and a prominent Republican, and I do not know that I voted at all. There was no call of the yeas and nays, and nobody opposed the bill that I know of. It was put through as dozens of bills are, as my friend and I know, in Congress, on the faith of the report of the chairman of the committee; therefore I tell you, because it is the truth, that I have no knowledge about it.

Senator Allison, on February 15, 1878, when the bill (H. R. 1093) to authorize the free coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character was under consideration, observed:

If when the secret history of this bill of 1873 comes to be told, it will disclose the fact that the House of Representatives intended to coin both gold and silver, and intended to place both metals upon the French relation instead of on our own, which was the true scientific position with reference to this subject of 1873, but that the bill afterward was doctored, if I may use that term, and I use it no offensive sense of course—

Mr. Sargent interrupted him, and asked what he meant by the word "doctored." Mr. Allison said:

I said I used the word in no offensive sense. It was changed after discussion, and the dollar of 420 grains was substituted for it.

On February 15, 1878, during the consideration of the bill above referred to, the following colloquy between Senator Blaine and Senator Voorhees took place:

Mr. Voorhees, I want to ask my friend from Maine, whom I am glad to designate in that way, whether I may call him as one more witness to the fact that it was not generally known whether silver was demonetized? Did he know, as Speaker of the House, presiding at that time, that the silver dollar was demonetized in the bill to which he alludes?

Mr. Blaine, I did not know anything that was in the bill at all. As I have before said, little was known or cared on the subject. [Laughter.] And now I should like to exchange questions with the Senator from Indiana, who was then on the floor and whose business it was, far more than mine to know, because by the designation of the House I was to put questions; the Senator from Indiana, then on the floor of the House, with his power as a debater, was to unfold them to the House. Did he know?

Mr. Voorhees, I frankly say I did not.

Senator Beck, in a speech made in the Senate January 10, 1878, said:

"It [the bill demonetizing silver] never was understood by either House of Congress. I say that with full knowledge of the facts. No newspaper reporter—and they are the most vigilant men I ever saw in obtaining information—discovered that it had been done."

Senator Hereford, in the Senate, on February 13, 1878, in discussing the demonetization of silver, said:

"So that I say beyond the possibility of a doubt (and there is no disputing it) that bill which demonetized silver, as it passed, never was read, never was discussed, and that the chairman of the committee who reported it, who offered the substitute, said to Mr. Holman, when inquired of, that it did not affect the coinage in any way whatever."

Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, who had charge of the bill, in a speech made in the House of Representatives on March 9, 1878, said:

"In connection with the charge that I advocated the bill which demonetized the standard silver dollar, I say that, though the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, I was as ignorant of the fact that it would demonetize the silver dollar or of its dropping the silver dollar from our system of coins as were those distinguished Senators Messrs. Blaine and Voorhees, who were then members of the House, and each of whom a few days since interrogated the other: 'Did you know it was dropped when the bill passed?' 'No,' said Mr. Blaine; 'did you?' 'No,' said Mr. Voorhees. I do not think that there were three members in the House that knew it. I doubt whether Mr. Hooper, who, in my absence from the Committee on Coinage and attendance on the Committee of Ways and Means, managed the bill, knew it. I say this in justice to him."

Again on May 10, 1879, Mr. Kelley said:

"All I can say is that the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, who reported the original bill, were faithful and able, and scanned its provisions closely; that as their organ I reported it; that it contained provisions for both the standard silver dollar and the trade-dollar. Never having heard until a long time after its enactment into a law of the substitution in the Senate of the section which dropped the standard dollar, I profess to know nothing of its history; but I am prepared to say that in all the legislation of this country there is no mystery equal to the demonetization of the standard silver dollar of the United States. I have never found a man who could tell just how it came about, or why."

Senator Howe, in a speech delivered in the Senate on February 5, 1878, said:

"Mr. President, I do not regard the demonetization of silver as an attempt to wrench from the people more than they agreed to pay. That is not the crime of which I accuse the act of 1873. I charge it with guilt compared with which the robbery of two hundred millions is venial."

President Grant was also ignorant of the demonetization of silver. Eight months after the passage of the bill he wrote a letter to Mr. Cowdrey, from which the following extract is taken:

The panic has brought greenbacks about to a par with silver. I wonder that silver is not coming into the market to supply the deficiency in the circulating medium. When it does come, and I predict that it will soon, we will have made a rapid stride toward specie payments. Currency will never go below silver after that. The circulation of silver will have other beneficial effects. Experience has proved that it takes about forty millions of fractional currency to make small change necessary for the transaction of the business of the country. Silver will gradually take the place of this currency, and, further, will become the standard of values which will be hoarded in a small way. I estimate that this will consume from two to three hundred millions, in time, of this species of our circulating medium. It will leave the paper currency free to perform the legitimate functions of trade, and will tend to bring us back where we must come at last, to a specie basis. I confess to a desire to see a limited hoarding of money. It insures a firm foundation in time of need. But I want to see the

hoarding of something that has a standard of value the world over. Silver has this, and if we once get back to that our strides toward a higher appreciation of our currency will be rapid. Our mines are now producing almost unlimited amounts of silver, and it is becoming a question, "What shall we do with it?" I suggest here a solution that will answer for some years, and suggest to you bankers whether you may not initiate it: To put it in circulation now; keep it there until it is fixed, and then we will find other markets.

On January 14, 1875, the same date that he signed the resumption act, President Grant sent a special message to Congress advising the establishment of two or more mints at Chicago, St. Louis and Omaha to coin silver dollars to provide for resumption, when by law, signed by himself, it was provided that no more silver dollars should be coined.

#### Some Facts for Farmers.

BY OSWALD WILSON, 335 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

How many farmers know that on nearly every tool we use on the farm, we are forced to pay from 10 to 35 per cent profit in order that the manufacturer can sell agricultural implements in free-trade Europe. In other words, the farmer in Europe buys his American-made plows, harvesters, hatchets, etc., from 10 to 35 per cent cheaper than the American farmer. Then the American farmer is taxed again to protect the manufacturer from the pauper labor of free-trade Europe. These manufacturers, who have a large export trade, are very close and secret, especially in regard to terms and prices. I have seen sufficient in the short time our Exchange has been in operation to demonstrate that nearly all lines of American manufactured goods are furnished to the foreign consumer cheaper than to the American. Why is this, and how can we remedy it? These questions are vital to every farmer. We hear upon every hand the expression "that the Alliance is becoming a power in politics." Is it, and will the farmers reap any benefit therefrom? I admit that the farmer is like the drowning man, and will grasp at any straw, whether it offers him permanent relief or not, and I feel quite sure professional politicians, who seek office as a business, will try to use the order to promote their own personal ends. I think our reforms will come not so much from putting men in office as demanding legislation for our benefit. Of course, if after an effort we fail to obtain relief from either of the two existing parties, it will be time to talk about Alliance candidates. I think every man should act upon his own judgment, and throw off the party yoke, refusing to accept for granted every thing told him by those who make a business of politics. Speculation is the great evil that has fastened itself upon the commerce of this country, and demands a tribute from every consumer and producer upon every article he uses. I am quite sure that the different Alliance Exchanges will exert a very strong influence in regulating abuses, and do more than anything toward giving the farmer full value for his produce. Every farmer should give his hearty, earnest aid, because he and his family will be beneficiaries.

The Colorado Workman (Pueblo) wants to know:

The Government fosters the "whisky industries" of the country by furnishing warehouses for the surplus whisky until there is a market. Why can't the Government do the same thing for the "wheat industry" by furnishing warehouses for the surplus wheat until there is a market for it? It is what the farmers are asking for, and surely the wheat industry is of as much importance as the whisky industry."

#### HOW THEY VOTED?

The act of Congress, approved July 12, 1882, to extend the charters of national banks, has become subject to quite extended discussion, and the individual votes of members is called for. A correspondent from Alabama sends Colonel Oates' speech in Congress, attacking the sub-treasury bill, in which he is quoted as declaring that he had "always opposed the system and voted against its extension." This language really occurs, but is in the small type on page 15 of the pamphlet, and is from the speech of Mr. Culberson, of Texas, which defines the position on the question of Mr. Oates. It is indorsed by Mr. Oates, presumably by oversight, as he would not like to be put in the light of questioning his own record, and is probably only a case of "careless editing." To finally set this matter right, the record is given below, showing that eleven Democratic members voted with the Republican majority in the House, Mr. Oates being one. Following is the Senate vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Blair, Call, Chilcot, Conger, Davis of West Virginia, Dawes, Ferry, Gorman, Groome, Hampton, Harrison, Hawley, Hill of Colorado, Hoar, Jonas, Lapham, Logan, McMillan, Mahone, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Morgan, Morrill, Ransom, Rollins, Saunders, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Van Wyck, Windom—34.

NAYS—Messrs. Brown, Cockrell, Cooke, Farley, Grover, Jones of Nevada, Maxey, Pugh, Vance, Voorhees, Walker, Williams—13.

The vote in the House was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, W. Aldrich, Barr, Bayne, Bisbee, J. H. Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Buck, Buckner, J. C. Burrows, Butterworth, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chace, Cragg, Cutts, Darrall, Dawes, Deering, De Motte, Dingley, Dunnell, Dwight, Ermentrout, Errett, S. S. Farwell, George, Gibson, Godshalk, J. Hammond, Hardenburgh, B. W. Harris, Haskell, G. C. Hazelton, Hepburn, Hiscock, Hoblitzell, Horr, Houck, Hubbell, Jadwin, Kasson, Kelley, Ketcham, Lacey, Lord, Lynch, Mackey, McCook, McKinley, McLane, Miles, Moore, Morey, Morse, Mutchler, Neale, Norcross, Oates, O'Neill, Orth, Pacheco, Parker, Payson, Peele, Pierce, Pound, Prescott, Ranney, Ray, Reed, J. B. Rice, W. W. Rice, Rich, Ritchie, G. D. Robinson, J. S. Robinson, Scranton, Shallenberger, Shelley, Shultz, A. H. Smith, D. C. Smith, Spaulding, Spooner, E. F. Stone, Strait, Talbott, E. B. Taylor, W. G. Thompson, A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Urner, Valentine, Van Arnam, Wadsworth, Wait, Walker, Ward, Washburn, Webber, J. D. White, C. G. Williams, Willits—110.

NAYS—Messrs. Anderson, Armfield, Atkins, Belford, Beltzhoover, Berry, Blount, Brumm, Buchanan, J. W. Caldwell, Cassidy, Chapman, Clardy, Cobb, Converse, Cook, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Covington, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, Dibble, Dowd, Dugro, Dunn, Evans, Ford, Frost, Fulker, Geddes, N. J. Hammond, Hardy, I. S. Hazeltine, Hatch, G. W. Hewitt, Hoge, Holman, Hooker, House, G. W. Jones, Kenny, Klotz, Knott, Ladd, Latham, Lowe, Matson, McKenzie, McMillin, Mills, Morrison, Moulton, Page, Paul, Phelps, Phister, Randall, Reagan, Rosecrans, Scales, Simonson, O. R. Singleton, Speer, Springer, P. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townshend, Tucker, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Upson, Vance, R. Warner, Welborn, T. Williams, Wilson, G. D. Wise, M. R. Wise—79.

This record discloses a startling condition of things. In the House, out of a voting strength of 356 members only 189 voted. Where were the other 167 members? Were they influenced to be out of their places by the lobbyists working in the interest of Wall street and the national banks? It looks that way. It was a tremendous stake for the banks, and

their friends were all there and in their places to vote for the bill, but where were the friends of the people? Alas! only 79 could be mustered at a time fraught with weal or woe for the toiling masses of the whole country for the next succeeding twenty years.

#### A Remarkable Resolution.

BY J. A. R., MOUNT VINCO, VA.

The then newly organized County Alliance of Prince Edward County, Virginia, passed the following resolution more than two months ago:

Whereas the interest of the agricultural tax-payers of this county are not as sufficiently protected as they should be: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*. That a permanent committee of five, one from each township, shall be appointed by the president, whose duty it shall be to meet semi-annually, in January and June, at the court-house, and investigate the records of the county officers and report the condition of the finances and county expenditures; also, to inquire into the administration of justice in the several courts, and report whether we, as farmers and tax-payers, have extended to us that courtesy and justice which we are entitled to.

A local paper gave quite an elaborate send-off to the resolution, ridiculing the assumption that farmers can form conclusions upon questions that divide Congress and judges.

The above resolution should have a wider circulation than a local paper can give. When justice is so fairly administered, when officials do not with impunity break the laws, when it is easy to convict and punish offenders who have friends in high places, when magistrates never prostitute their offices, when public money is never improperly expended, when government officials are not parasites on the body politic, when favoritism and monopoly do not reap the rewards of merit and industry, it is of course ridiculous for hayseed farmers to supervise the official acts of public servants. Of course hayseeds and clodhoppers should not presume to be any thing but hewers of wood and providers of food for such immaculate servants. Nevertheless, other countries might take a hint from this resolution. All nations might take a hint from these same hayseed farmers, and proceed to examine into the official conduct of public servants (alias public masters); might unite with these hayseed farmers in the effort to liberate the "inconvenient multitude," might learn to make an effort to enact laws that will prevent favoritism and monopoly from stealing the fruits of merit and industry, and might further learn from these hayseed farmers, who observing the method of nature for watering the earth, have concocted a scheme of finance by which the government in imitation of the aforesaid provision of nature shall shower down, broadcast over the country, direct to the producer, the rewards of his industry. Perhaps, after living for so many ages under the present system of slavery, they might learn that it is for the public good that one individual should not be allowed to amass a large fortune; that labor which gives value to all things should secure its just reward; that the burdens of the rich and strong should be increased, and the burdens of the poor and weak decreased, until the industrious citizen can acquire, free from all tax and levy, a moderate homestead.

The Dakota Ruralist (Huron) gives an encouraging item: Away down east New Hampshire sends to South Dakota for leadership and literature to start the Alliance there. They want to save their State while they may from a pauper tenantry imported from the Old World.

**THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.**  
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE  
NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.  
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Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are twenty-five cents per agate line. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement required.

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

The following is the resolution unanimously adopted at the national meeting in St. Louis:

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

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

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.

JUST at the time when every dollar in the country is needed to move the wool and small grain, the Secretary of the Treasury reduces the amount in circulation \$7,121,715. This will reduce the price of the farm products, and enable the manufacturer to purchase his supplies at a low rate. What benefit is a ten cent duty on wool when the price can be fixed by the action of the Secretary of the Treasury; or what good will free coinage of silver do the farmer if the Secretary can lock up a year's additional coinage in one month? A little consideration of this matter might enable some to determine how to vote.

THE kick of some newspapers against the Alliance, as a secret society in politics, does not extend to the caucus, as a secret society in politics.

COL. ROBERT BEVERLY, Dr. N. Q. Holt, and Major Mann Page, vice-president of the Virginia State Alliance, spoke to a large and enthusiastic meeting at Waverly, Sussex county, on the Fourth. The greatest harmony prevailed among the Alliance men assembled.

THE conviction grows, that if the producers want friendly legislation they must have friendly representatives. A man who says he recognizes the justice of the demands of the farmers, yet can conceive no means by which they are to be granted, is not a capable representative at a time when relief must be had or liberty perish.

CORRESPONDENCE from Missouri indicates that some persons are creating the impression that the question of ratifying consolidation will be decided by the next State meeting. This error is inexcusable, in view of the fact that the State ratified consolidation last year, after it had been effected at Meridian, and was represented at St. Louis by duly accredited

delegates. The Meridian constitution provided for amendments by the national body, and the changes under that provision at St. Louis do not require submission. Missouri is a full member.

THE Alliance Sentinel (Lansing) pays a merited compliment to the young lecturer of the Mississippi State Alliance, now on a visit to the State of Michigan. It is most fortunate that it is now possible to send a member from the Gulf coast to speak to the dwellers beside the great lakes. The Sentinel says:

R. W. Coleman, State lecturer for the Farmers Alliance of Mississippi, has been in Michigan for the last three weeks, and every evening has been occupied in spreading the Alliance gospel. Mr. Coleman has been cordially received everywhere, and the Alliance may well feel proud that it can be represented by such an able exponent of its principles.

REPRESENTATIVE STEWART, of Georgia, said recently that he would not vote to raise the price of the bread to the laboring man, as the sub-treasury law would, but he did vote for the Mills bill to purchase bonds at a premium, which has taken and will take \$148,000,000 from labor in production and give it to the bondholder.

THE plea is being made from one end of the country to the other, that the Alliance do not "split the party." Is there a man connected with the machine of either party who has yet contended that the party should not split the Alliance? The truth is that by just such appeals they hope to destroy unity in the Alliance. When six lawyers announce for an office and join their influence against one farmer, it is for the express purpose of splitting the Alliance.

THE States of Virginia, Pennsylvania and North Carolina led the column in population, wealth and intelligence, in the order named, when the constitution was first adopted.

THE appearance of a third candidate in the Atlanta district seems to be an effort to prevent Colonel Livingston from carrying Fulton county, and probably portends a trade by which Hulsey and Stewart will endeavor to use the following of both to defeat the farmer. The friends of reform should be strong enough to prevent this, if understood in time.

THE campaign in South Carolina (in which the Alliance is not a direct participant) seems to be a protest against misrepresentation by officials. Indeed, the State has been unfortunate in its Congressional delegation. Senator Hampton voted for extending the charter of the banks, as did a Representative or two, and later that State furnished an undue share of the votes by which free silver coinage was prevented. The letter of Senator Hampton to the national Democratic convention urging the stamping out of greenbacks is also remembered. Then it was a South Car-

olina comptroller of the currency who declared that greenbacks were the weak spot in the financial system. Perhaps the money question is in the South Carolina campaign with both feet.

A DEAR DOLLAR.

Money is bought with the products of labor, instead of products being bought with money, as the common acceptation of the term now implies. When this idea is carefully considered and understood the full significance of what is intended by the terms cheap dollar, or dear dollar, will be known in its true sense. For example, in 1870 pork sold in Michigan for \$10 per hundred pounds. In 1889 it sold for \$4 per hundred pounds. It required just as much labor to raise a bushel of corn in 1889 as it did in 1870. It took as much corn in 1889 to make a pound of pork as it did in 1870. During this time the dollar has remained the same—25.8 grains of gold or 412 $\frac{1}{4}$  grains of standard silver make the coined dollar of 1889, as in 1870. There has been no increase in its weight or size. The question therefore is, why should it require twenty-five pounds of pork in 1889 to buy the same dollar that 10 pounds of pork purchased in 1870? Can this be explained on any other hypothesis than an increase in the value of the dollar? Is it not a fact that fifteen pounds of pork has been added to the value of the dollar during the past twenty years? If this be true of pork, is it not also true of wheat, cotton, corn, tobacco and nearly every other product of labor? While 100 pounds of pork would have paid 10 per cent interest on \$100 in 1870, it will take 175 pounds to pay 7 per cent in 1890. Who can truly say in the face of this that a cheaper dollar is not necessary for the prosperity of labor in production?

SENATOR JONES, of Nevada, in his great speech on free coinage of silver, said:

Gold, Mr. President, can not with entire truth be said at the present time to form any part of the money of this country. Who but a bank clerk ever sees a gold piece? With the exception of a few million dollars on the Pacific coast, gold is not really in circulation in this country. It is performing no useful function whatever. While I am engaged in delivering these remarks I venture to say no Senator within the sound of my voice has in his pocket a single gold coin of any denomination whatever, or any paper representative of one. This is the answer to the fear expressed by some Senators that when those who hold gold shall observe the enlargement of the money circulation by the issue of the proposed Treasury notes they will be likely to hoard it. They are already hoarding it. Everybody knows that that is about all that gold is used for in this country. It is hardly possible for it to be hoarded to any greater extent than it is at the present time. So little is this metal in circulation that I do not deem it any exaggeration to say that there are millions of people in the United States, "native here and to the manner born," who have never in all their lives seen a gold coin. How absurd, then, is the claim that any loss is to be suffered by the alleged future hoarding of gold, or that any calamity can occur to 65,000,000 people by the disappearance of that which has long since disappeared.

This is hardly in line with Secretary Windom, who claims there is \$373,624,488 gold in circulation. The Secretary is not getting very much comfort out of this silver discussion.

**RAILWAYS, THEIR USES AND ABUSES.**  
Their Effect Upon Republican Institutions and Productive Industries.

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

NO. 59.

What is the foundation of the power by which railroads are enabled to impose discrimination between persons and localities, and to combine for the suppression of competition, by pools and contracts, not to compete. We have already shown that these abuses are possible only where competition is obstructed and placed upon an insecure basis. Railway advocates have often urged the objection to considering railways as monopolies; that they have no monopoly upon transportation on account of their competition with each other. These gentlemen point to the violent and destructive railway wars, by which the railroads seek to drive each other into combination, as an evidence of competition; but they carefully leave in obscurity the fact that, upon the fundamental and vital part of each railway's local business, which furnishes it the sinews of war by which it carries on the attacks upon the prosperity of rivals, there is no competition. The key to the whole railroad question, the violation both of constitutional law and of correct economic principle, lies in the fact that each railway is a monopoly, at a vital and essential part. The whole of the present system has been based upon one seizure of a monopoly by the railroads, from which all the abuses of the system grow. That is, that each railway has a monopoly of transportation over its own tracks.

The disposition nowadays is to regard this possession of an exclusive privilege of transportation by each railway company over the lines it has constructed as an essential result of the rights of property. But it is not; on the contrary, it is a direct attack upon the rights of property. In the early part of these articles the fact was shown that an overwhelming and unanimous concurrence of judicial decisions declared that the exercise of the right of eminent domain, by which the railways can obtain land for their right of way under judicial condemnation, was only rendered legal and proper by the fact that each railway must be a public highway. Unless a railway is a public highway, in fact as well as in name, as the United States Supreme Court said in the case of *Bonaparte vs. The Camden and Amboy Railroad*, the appropriation of land from a private property owner for its uses, would be confiscation, violative of the rights of property, and contrary to the Constitution of the United States. No legislature can authorize any such appropriation, except for public purposes; and, unless the railways are public highways, every mile of their right of way which has been obtained by the exercise of the sovereign power, has been taken illegally, and is now without title or color of law. This has been affirmed again and again, and always in the interest of the railroads. Wherever and whenever a rod of land has been taken by judicial proceedings for the benefit of the railroad, this principle has been affirmed. The very existence of the railroad depends upon the recognition of this principle, that they are subject to the obligations and perform the functions of a highway.

What would be the status of a corporation formed to construct a public highway which claims a monopoly of transportation over the highway which it constructs? Take the question away from the preconceived opinion formed with regard to railways, by supposing the corporation to be one of the older sort, organized to construct a turnpike or plank road. If such a corporation should endeavor to assert the principle that no one should haul freight over its roads in wagons, or travel over it in vehicles of any kind, except in the wagons or coaches which the company itself has furnished, it would have been promptly recognized as a monopoly of the most odious character. Yet, with allowance for the change of conditions, the monopoly each railroad claims in transportation over its own road, is exactly identical to that which an old turnpike company would have established if it had forbidden any farmer to haul his products to market over its improved highway, and had obliged him to deliver his products at the gates of his farm to the wagons provided by the turnpike company, and to pay whatever rates for the hauling of the products the company might choose to exact.

The turnpikes and canals built by private corporations in the ante-railroad days, rest upon exactly the same legal foundation of a public highway that furnishes existence to the railroads. We do not need to depend upon the popular recognition of the fact that a monopoly in transportation over the canals and turnpikes would have been illegal, for the declaration was made clearly and distinctly in the original case by which the right of the railroads to exercise the power of eminent domain was declared in the United States Supreme Court. In that case, decided nearly fifty years ago, the United States Supreme Court held that if the toll authorized to be charged by the charter for the use of the road was so large as to amount to a prohibition of the use of the road by other transporters, or to quote the language of the court, to make a "monopoly, the roads would not be public, and the charter would be illegal." In other words, it was declared at the inception of the railroad business that if the effect of railway charters would be to accomplish exactly what has been done—to put the exclusive privilege of transportation over each line in the hands of the corporation authorized to construct it—the charters would be in violation of the constitution of the United States, and the roads would have no legal title to their rights of way. The feature of a public highway, which permits every one having vehicles suited to the character of transportation to use it under proper regulations and upon payment of an equitable, uniform and reasonable toll, was at the very start declared by the highest judicial authority to be an essential condition of railway existence.

It is true that later decisions have affirmed the legality of this claim of an exclusive privilege of transportation for each railway company over its own track; but it is vital to observe that these decisions have invariably been made, not upon grounds of law, but upon grounds of policy in the alleged necessity for the safe conduct of railway transportation, of which, as the United States Supreme Court said in a decision made in 1872, "the legislature is the sole judge." In a decision which is typical of this entire class, Judge McCrary said that "the safety not only of property, but of life as well, depended on vesting in the owner of the track, or the company operating

the road, the exclusive right to say what vehicles should be placed upon the track, or in other words, the exclusive privilege of transportation and conveyance of persons and property over their road." Thus the latest decisions of the court have recognized this exclusive privilege or monopoly, not upon grounds of constitutional law, but upon the ground of necessity in the method of use, and the United States Supreme Court has specifically asserted that enactments with regard to this method of use where wholly within the power of the legislature to regulate.

But it so happens that these later decisions with regard to a matter not of law, but of practical railroad operation, has been shown by the practice of the railroads to be unfounded and incorrect. While every railroad jealously preserves the monopoly of fixing charges upon its local traffic, given to it by this exclusive privilege, every one, with rare exceptions, proves in its daily operations, that this monopoly is not necessary to the safe transportation of persons and property over its line. There is probably not a single freight train that passes from one end of any given railroad line to another, that does not contain the cars of a dozen different railroads transported at the same time. One half of the passenger trains running from East to West contain the drawing room and sleeping-cars which have passed over a dozen different lines, and the effect of this exclusive privilege is shown by the fact, that while the sleeping cars that are used in the daily discharge of the transportation of passengers can pass freely from one line to another, the exclusive privilege which is founded in the local right of each railroad to a monopoly in its local traffic, results in giving certain sleeping car companies a monopoly of running that kind of cars; notwithstanding that so far as actual necessity of operation, competing sleeping cars could be run in the same passenger train. Beyond that, the actual practice of the railroad has produced instances, not general perhaps, but numerous enough to show the practicability of the plan, where more than one corporation use the same track for the cars, engines and business of both. In such cases the monopoly results in preventing the competition of these different railroads upon the track which they use in common; but the ability to run cars, engines and trains of competing lines over the same track shows clearly how competition might be brought to every station along the line of every railroad in the country. The only obstacle to the extension of this competition to the entire volume of railroad traffic lies in the legal fiction that the monopoly of each railroad over its own line is necessary to the safe conduct of railroad business, which is daily demonstrated to be a fiction by the practice of the railroads themselves where two or more companies run their cars over a single track.

This, by the decisions of the courts, is made a matter for legislative discretion. Therefore, the legislatures have it within their own power to bring competition to all departments of the railway business.

This brings us face to face with the method by which competition can be made to apply uniform, equally and universally to all classes of railway traffic. It can be done by giving any person who has engines and cars suitable to the transportation over the railways, the right to run their trains over such highways, under proper regulations and subject to the payment of equitable tolls for the use of the road.

## APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## LIGHTNING PROTECTORS.

The season of thunderstorms is with us, and many persons are now interested in protection against lightning. It seems a little strange that notwithstanding the vast advances in electrical science and electrical engineering there is no authoritative treatise upon the protection of dwellings from lightning. Some of the lightning-rods are like parts of Captain McKinley's bill, "protectors which don't protect," (we refer here to that three hundred million of the products of foreign agriculture in competition with our farmers, including elephants' tusks.) Recently we saw a house protected after this fashion by non-protectors pretty badly torn up by lightning. There was a small wing attached to the main building one story lower than the main part, and at the end of this wing an outside chimney protected by a non-protector in the form of a lightning-rod running straight down the side of the chimney and into the ground. Above the two chimneys of the main building were two tall points connected by a horizontal rod across the comb of the roof between the chimneys, and carried down to the earth by one rod descending between the main house and the wing, and in actual contact with the tin spouting which led along the eave of the wing to within two and a half feet of the short rod at the end of the wing. The two rods connected with the ground by a diagonal line across the corner of the wing not above eight feet apart. A heavy charge from the cloud passing down the long rod began to unload upon the short rod along this diagonal line at the eave of the wing and along the gutter, whence it burst through to the short rod, shattering that corner of the wing, and would certainly have been fatal to any person who had happened to have been in that corner of either the upper or lower room of the wing.

This obviously faulty work it might have been anticipated would produce just that result. This is an example of that protection which does not protect in the lightning-rod business. It is certain that a house can be made safe by well placed rods, and it is equally certain that faulty work of this sort greatly increases the danger. We believe that a good metal roof is the best protection for a house against lightning, a protection made more complete by metal siding. There are now on the market very excellent and cheap materials in the way of metal roofing, ceiling, and siding, the first cost of which is little more than that of shingles and weatherboards, and the metal is far more durable. The writer has been for some years examining into this matter, and is fully convinced that the time has come when there should be a large substitution of iron and steel for roofing, ceiling, and siding in buildings of all sorts. There are many advantages in this substitution, but the chief of them is security against fire and lightning. Stabling and shedding for animals may be covered with metal almost as economically as with shingles and boards. A stable for valuable stock may thus be made both fire and lightning proof at a very moderate expense. It is felt that attention is here called to a very important matter. A stable

fire and lightning proof, and where a valuable horse would be inaccessible by evil disposed persons, can be built by an ordinary carpenter for \$200. Storehouses, school houses, churches, and dwellings can be also cheaply built of such material.

## THE HOUSE FLY.

This pest is universal, omnipresent, nasty and tormenting to an extreme degree. It is, moreover, a carrier of disease from house to house, and from person to person. This will not be doubted when we reflect that a deadly inoculation can be carried on the point of a fine sewing needle, and why not on the proboscis, the foot or the wing of a fly. Flies haunt the sick chamber everywhere; whether in the palace or the hovel. Without going into uncanny details we may say there is no possible doubt that they may and often do carry disease and death from house to house. Housekeepers should make systematic and sustained warfare upon them. Four or five teaspoonsfuls of common insect powder thrown upon the ceilings and walls of a room at night will destroy every fly in the room, which may be swept out in the morning. Fly paper may be had very cheap, which spread upon tables or hung against walls will catch every fly that touches it, which will stick fast to the spot on which it alights and die in a few moments. The paper and flies on it may then be burnt up. There are several simple, cheap wire gauze traps capable of destroying a pint or more of flies in a day. Housekeepers generally, should adopt one or more of these simple plans and keep the house clear of flies. If it could be known what amount of cursing and swearing, what amount of ill temper and grievous words, what amount of sickness and death would be spared and saved if there were no flies, attention would be given to these remarks.

## COUNTRY LIFE IN SUMMER

It has been the fashion in late years to undervalue the advantages of country life; to magnify its difficulties and drawbacks, and to correspondingly magnify the advantages and minimize the drawbacks and disadvantages of urban life, with what are called its modern conveniences. It is seldom that a voice is raised on the other side, yet there is no truth in the opinions which many entertain in this behalf. The romantic views which most country people, especially young people, entertain of the comforts and delights of city life is contrasted with the intensely realistic view of the plain everyday of the routine of the country home. From such a comparison no sound conclusion can be drawn. By acting upon the vaguest of promptings thousands of families have abandoned country homes, making large sacrifices in so doing, to throw themselves into the city where deplorable disappointment and a desperate struggle for mere existence have befallen them. This writer is personally and practically familiar with life in the city and country. A residence recently of seven years in the Capital City of the nation, engaged in the pursuit of a profession that brings personal contact with the visible evidences of the bitterness of such a struggle, enables him to form a correct estimate of the facts in both cases and he decides unhesitatingly in favor of the country home. He admits, however, that country people do not, as yet, know how to profit by the great natural advantages with which they are surrounded.

In respect of rural economies, the modern conveniences of country life, and especially the hygienic and the aesthetic glories and beauties of the country home a great work remains to be done by the agricultural and rural press. Here, moreover, is the foundation for a chair in every agricultural college, which, filled by a capable and appreciative man, could do a great educational work, making for its occupant a great, worthy and enduring reputation.

It is at this season that the acknowledgment of the superiority of the country is made evident by the fact that every body who lives in town gets away to the country if by any means possible. There are this very day many thousands of young children whose chance to live ten days depends on the ability of their parents to take them to the country. If kept in town during the latter half of June they will die certainly. It is nearly certain that if they get away time enough to the country they will get well. Yet, knowing this, and so advised by the medical attendant, the parents are only too often utterly unable to take their dying child away.

Those who are able abandon home and flee with the young children and their mother, but the business men of the family belong to their business, and must remain at the counter or the desk, despite the stifling dust and heat, despite the parched pavement, and the hot, dry air, laden with poison, contagion, and miasma, vile and malodorous emanations from a filth-reeking soil. All this amounts to an annual breaking up of the home and dispersion of the family. This it may well be understood is attended with great trouble, anxiety and cost. But it may be held that there is no real use or necessity for these annual goings and comings. It is safe to say that no candid and well informed person will take that view when the mortality reports of all the larger cities show that not far from one-half of all children born die before they are five years old. The same reports show that in equal sections of the population of such cities from two to six colored die for one white. The figures show that in the face of the adverse conditions of city life the very young and the needy classes first succumb. Yet it is "advantages" for their children that the great majority of those who abandon their ancestral homes believe that they shall find in the midst of the blare and glare of the city. It is the needy classes especially who are deserting the country for the city, believing that they will find great "advantages" in the way of less work and more wages.

If, then, the children must go to the country, where shall they go? First, avoid small towns; go to the country. There is no place equal to your average small town for unsanitary conditions of every possible kind. There is no place so unclean. Typhoid fever, diphtheria, dysentery, are regular inhabitants. There

is no drainage, but the wash is toward the center of the town, toward which point are swept with every shower the back-door accumulations of every yard, every cow-shed, and every pig-stye, and every stable, and this is the select weather for the town spring or pump. For the head of a family to take his children to such a place to spend the summer is, in the light of modern information, scarcely less than criminal negligence of their lives. It is not enough to go to the country, but the sanitary conditions of the place must be known to be beyond doubt good. It is not enough to go to a farm house. Many of these are located

with utter disregard of sanitary principles, and so badly as to be impossible to be made safe. Select a farm house in a healthy region which is dry, and the site having good natural drainage away from the house on every side, the house being well lighted and ventilated; and if there are lightning rods see that they are not death traps; if none, well and good. You want shade and grass and a source of water supply beyond all possible suspicion of contamination by surface drainage. You want ice, vegetables, fruit, milk, butter, and cream; all of the best. Next in order, choose a mountain, health resort. The writer was once resident physician to old Rawley Springs, with an average attendance of two hundred children for six weeks, and got one fee, that for a sprained wrist.

#### THE ASSIMILATION OF NITROGEN BY LEGUMES.

As has been long believed by those who are familiar with the facts presented in the practice of an ordinary farm rotation, clover, peas and other such plants, it now appears to be established, do increase the amount of combined nitrogen in the soil wherein they grow. Microbic organisms are moreover certainly concerned in the process. It is believed by Lawes and others that these organisms attack the roots of plants, producing nodular diseased excrescences which enable the plant to assimilate free nitrogen. It is possible from the showing that these nodules may be the active agents in forcing into combination free nitrogen. The writer, however, greatly suspects that if the matter is ever made clear it will be known that the combined nitrogen is the product of the nutritive activity of the microbe itself. The real assimilation of free nitrogen is probably a function of certain classes of these organisms. The very existence of such organisms is a matter of recent knowledge, and it is not surprising that little is hitherto known of their life history, their physiological functions, and of their tremendous importance in the great economies of nature. If the power to assimilate elementary forms of matter belongs to these organisms, as seems likely, it will appear that the Darwinians have had much ado about nothing in constructing a theory of the universe with these organisms left out. Certainly behind their protoplasm, which is their physical basis of life, they have not suspected that there is a mighty class of living creatures whose physical basis of life is elementary forms of matter. Behind our Darwinian grandfather the monkey, is the monkey's great-grandfather the microbe, and behind the microbe nature, without form and void, and darkness upon the face of the deep. But God said let there be light, and there was light, and the light is increasing more and more into the perfect day.

#### WHEN TO CUT HAY.

There is a report from one of the so-called agricultural colleges going the rounds about cutting hay to the effect that the college people cut the timothy off one-half of a piece of ground when in bloom, and off the other half after the seed had formed and got about four hundred pounds more off the latter; but their analysis showed the gain in weight to be mainly coarse woody fibre, and the conclusion was that it is better to cut in bloom because the young hay was the best though not so much of it. This is not the whole question by any means for a practical man. The

effect upon the aftergood is to him equally important. This writer once knew an amateur farmer, who, guided by what was then being written in the books of the agricultural press about the extraordinary advantages of early cut hay, set out to out Herod all other Herods in the matter. He prepared his land at great cost for ploughing, harrowing and rolling; cross-harrowing, ploughing and rolling with prodigious top-dressing of manure. He sowed double the usual quantity of seed, and put on nearly seven hundred pounds per acre of bone dust. Of course, the stand was superb, and the first crop was cut early in June. The harvest was followed by two weeks of intense heat and parching sunshine, and the bulbs were utterly destroyed, so that the next year, instead of four tons of the finest hay ever seen, there was not a hundred weight of timothy on the entire field. In *medio tutissimus ibis*. Are such puerilities the best these colleges can do?

#### How Legislation Can Be Secured.

BY N. D. GUERRY, ARTESIA, MISS.

Your correspondent, Mr. La Mater, of Pasco, Fla., replying to my queries in *NATIONAL ECONOMIST* of April 12, on this subject, gets my name and residence awfully mixed, and also some of my suggestions, but hits the nail square on the head when he recommends us (me) to "cease importuning (the present) Congress for anything," "and prepare to fill their places with substantial husbandmen and from other pursuits." Here is the key which unlocks the combination and will let in the sunlight. I said as much, but our worthy brother puts it stronger. Turn out the fellows who have for years been legislating for monopolies, land-grabbers, subsidies (peculation as he puts it), and have become so blind that they can't see anything but "unconstitutional in our sub-treasury plan, and persistently slander the provisions of the bill. Have become so blind to the wants of the toiling masses that they can't see the curse of a contracted currency, and that the national banking system is responsible for that curse and should be abolished, or at least the ten per cent tax on private and State banks should be abolished so States may charter banks based on State and city bonds, and issue bills for circulation just as safely and as good as any national bank." He says let the members go their own dreary journey." But we must "improve the opportunities" and "concentrate our efforts at the primaries." That's the way, but our folk's move slowly. Congressmen have quit Washington and are at home working up the executive committee, calling early conventions so as to get the go on the party, and Alliance men and farmers generally are sitting still hoping something will turn up, but doing nothing to turn it up. We are all Democrats down this way, and don't propose to do anything outside of that party, but we know unless we capture the primaries the old fellows will get back, sleepy and blind though they be, and we will have to give and endure another two years of stress and slights, of kicks and cuffs, and be told nothing but a reduction of the tariff is our remedy, or some such nonsense considered good enough for the fool farmers who voted so cheerfully for the honorable gentlemen. Of course we must go to work in the primary if we hope to send our sort to Congress. Are we doing it? Can we hope for better legislation if we don't go to work? This has been my hobby for

months, and I have hoped good would come of it. Time is called and we will see if our farmers are in earnest. Conventions are ordered in many districts; the old gang will go back if you don't say no.

It is an old story of a Greek sophist, but illustrative. Demetrius (not certain that was his name) taught the youth of his city law, logic and elocution. He made stipulation with a bright but impecunious scholar to be paid for his tuition should the youngster win his first case. Clients came not, and Demetrius had his pupil up for the debt. He pleaded, that the agreement was in force and the money due by the suit he brought, and the sum must be paid, because if the court decided that the debt was not due the condition of the contract would be fulfilled, the first case of the pupil having been won, and payment at once in order. On the other hand, should the court decide the debt then due, the fee would be recovered on the judgment direct, and he could not but get his money. To this open and shut argument, the younger pleader said that he certainly owed the instructor nothing, as in case he won this suit on the plea that he had yet appeared in no case he would not have to pay, and in case decision went against him he would have lost his first case, and hence would be freed from the debt. Thus the lawyers of the parties put it to the people, and neither loses, no matter how the case may be decided.

THOSE members of the House Judiciary Committee who believed the fact that "after" was not in the record did not change the law, because "after" was intended by Congress to be in the record, may find an opportunity for a scientific straddle when they recognize that the elimination of the silver dollar was in the record, when all seem to admit that it was not intended by Congress to be in the record. It is odd how an average lawyer will argue for a fee, or for an advantage, regardless of justice.

WHEN Wall Street owns Secretary Windom, and he controls President Harrison, and he directs Speaker Reed, and he bosses the House of Representatives, it requires a vast amount of faith to expect an increase of currency from such a combination. Wall Street and Mr. Windom formulated a silver bill to suit the money owners. President Harrison declares no other bill shall receive his signature, and yet there are a great many persons who believe this is a free country and that the people rule.

THE campaign in South Carolina is becoming complicated to a degree that perplexes outsiders. A wonderful thing to the uninitiated seems to be the notice from the Colored Alliance that its members will support the candidates agreed on by the white farmers. This seems to put the element which contends that a division among the whites means negro supremacy at sea. It is, however, a natural result of the teachings of the Alliance, that all farmers, and indeed all producers, have common interests, which should be a stronger bond between them than mere party ties.

The Duties of Ladies in the Alliance.  
FROM A LECTURE BY MRS. W. E. DAVIS, OF DUBBERLY, LA.

Our first duty is to attend the meetings oftener. Our home cares are paramount to all else, as they should be, but do we not make them an excuse to shirk things we do not like to do? If there is to be a wedding, a picnic, or any other affair we really wish to attend, we usually arrange things so we can go. It does seem that some of the lady members might attend every meeting. Some may ask what good we do by going. I will answer by repeating an anecdote I heard a preacher relate. He said there was a good old grandmother who was always in her place at church, though she could hardly see or hear what was going on. She was asked what good it did for her to go. She answered she could show which side she was on by sitting and smiling on them. Surely we can do that much. Scientists say there is an electric current or human magnetism that pervades a crowd; that when the people are in sympathy with a speaker, he feels it; it helps him, warms him to his subject, and it is to this certain something is due his greatest eloquence. Surely there can be nothing warming in these rows of empty benches that greet the few who meet here. It seems to me it would be more encouraging to see them filled with people who only smiled on them.

It is our duty to keep ourselves informed as much as we can on all subjects of importance that are at all times agitating the Union; also, the most notable events that occur throughout the world. I hear one exclaim, I have hardly time for reading my Bible; I feel that I would do wrong to read other things and neglect that. So you would. We should commence with the Bible, for without that all else profits us nothing. The reading of the Bible should not be made a question of time, but should be a daily duty as much as sweeping our rooms. As for reading newspapers, we can put them in our pocket, lay on table or safe ready to be snatched up at any spare moment. We can do much reading in them and hardly be able to tell when we found the time. The few moments we sometimes wait dinner on the tardy arrivals from the field, while we churn—I will not stop to enumerate, only try it for yourselves. All can not do this, I admit. Those who have little toddlers clinging to their skirts, ready every chance to climb into mamma's lap, to pull aside the paper which claims attention they deem all their own, can not well read. There is another way; when the little ones are safely tucked in their little beds, while your busy fingers pursue the tasks that never end, for you know it is said a woman's work is never done, ask the good man not to keep all the good things in his paper to himself, but to read aloud. You will find him willing, for I think no propensity is greater than that if one reads something enjoyable, to read or tell it to some one else. Reading leads to discussion, and families who read and talk good Union literature are warmer in the cause than those who do not. God made us not "only" a "helpmate" but a companion for man. He said it was not good for man to be alone. If we let him climb the hill of knowledge while we linger at the foot refusing to make the attempt, who but ourselves are to blame if he passes beyond our reach, leaving us worse than alone? Another, and I think, greater reason why we should keep ourselves informed is our children. Their

young minds are like a sponge, always absorbing. Place a sponge in contact with pure water that which it receives will be pure; lay it in a cesspool it becomes a disease-breeding object. Now, that papers are scattered over our land like snowflakes they often contain much that we prefer not to be read or have our children read. But as impure water may be made pure by filtering, so we may, in a measure, counteract the evil effects of these things by discussing them in the family circle.

Then there is a pleasure in gaining knowledge for its own sake. When a brother was giving reasons why corn in Illinois had brought the raiser in debt, you enjoyed feeling you knew something about it. When a man in Detroit buys corn in Illinois and finds the freight exceeds the cost of corn, there must be something rotten, and that very close about the railroad. When a man ships a car load of wheat with a through bill of lading to an Eastern city and it is forcibly detained, unloaded and charges for rehandling at Chicago, it again emits a bad odor about the railroad. I come to our own little pitiful sum of pocket money, our eggs. We read that the United States fail by a large amount to produce eggs enough for home consumption. Does that help us? No; the railroad says we must have our share of the profits. You know they take the lion's share. We only get from 6 to 12½ cents per dozen when they bring 20 to 35 in New York. But I am a little off my subject. To return, my sisters, I never wanted to vote yet; don't let me shock you. I hope the time will come when the ladies of the Farmers Union will control the votes of the country. Not by pushing their way to the polls, where, perhaps they will hear cursing and smell the unpleasant odors emanating from the breath of unfortunate drunkards that go to vote. No, I want we should control them through our sons. I want that we should teach them to love the right, to hate the wrong, to know no party but that which bears on its banner equal rights to all and special favors to none. In short let us make Union boys of them and they will grow into Union men.

While I said in the beginning of this article our president paid us a compliment, I suspect there was a little grain of selfishness at the bottom. I wonder if he did not think curiosity to see how we would acquit ourselves, would bring those lagging members back; which, by the way, might not be an unmixed good. A great many joined the Union from wrong motives. They expected to save money by it, or by taking stock in Union stores to make money. Those who joined from self-interest alone naturally fell off when they found that they would be required to make some efforts to promote the good of others, while the good they expected to receive did not flow in as rapidly as they wished. Such men are well spared. All who fail to attend are not of this class. Some of those backsliding members are capable of making as good soldiers as we have in our ranks. I hold the Union in a great measure responsible for their loss. You have failed to furnish the music. Who ever heard of an army making a forced march without good music. Some of you have been soldiers. Don't you remember those long forced marches when you could hardly place one foot before another, when you felt ready to fall to pieces, your shoulder wanted to drop, it was so hard to maintain the soldier erect attitude? But suddenly the band struck up some inspiring strain; in-

voluntary you threw yourselves erect, and began to keep quick step to the music. Good Union literature is the music of the Alliance, and all should hear it. You who have lived so long together know among the absentees who are worth reclaiming; exert every influence to get them back, and if you succeed, compel them to hear the music. A good suggestion was made at our last meeting for the Union to take several copies of THE ECONOMIST so that those who wished could read. One brother remembered we could not compel any one to read. No, we can't force them, but if we get their attendance we can compel them to hear it read by appointing a good reader to select and read an article from it. If that is done, I feel satisfied that soon hearing will not content them. They will take a copy home; from that they will want it on file for reference, and they will subscribe. When you have carried them so far they are safe and will not desert. I am afraid that all who joined the Union from self-interest have not left it; if so, perhaps good reading will help them. It is self that causes most of the disputes that arise among brothers. That is what our oppressors desire. They laugh at a Union torn by internal convulsion, but they view with fear and trembling men bound together by unity and brotherly love. They will make every effort to blind and deceive. Many permit themselves to be blinded. Monopoly stands holding the present nickel so closely before their eyes it completely hides all distant good. If they do not arouse themselves and push monopoly's arm aside, I fear they will find their condition described in 2nd Thessalonians, 11th, and first clause of 12th verse. We will proceed to pass them by, saying Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone.

Perhaps you think I am losing sight of my subject? No. So to use a favorite expression of some of you, I am sticking to it just as closely as I can, for I hold it to be our duty to give good advice to our husbands and brothers; if they don't take it that's their loss. Like a woman, who they say leaves the most important part of her letter for a P. S., I have left to the close the most important duty of every member. As I look around I see most all are church members, men and women who profess to believe if they ask with faith for any good thing they will receive it. Surely this fight against oppression is a good thing. God has promised to hear the cry of the oppressed. Petitions from every family altar should arise to Him who is ever ready to hear. If He be with us none can withstand us. Let us all go to him, and like Jacob of old, never let go until we receive the blessing.

#### To the Merchants of New York.

BY YOUNG AMERICA.

"Thy scalps—thy thousand pound bills are nothing if no nobleness from within irradiate them. \* \* Love can not be bought by cash payment, and without love men can not endure to be together."

Can it be possible that such things are done by the merchants of New York? Can such things be done with their connivance? Certainly such things can not be done despite your opposition. Just here, gentlemen, your accountability begins. Your craft is the parent of modern civilization. It was a merchant's guild made rich, intelligent, catholic, ay courageous too by bold and enterprising traffic with the world that first disputed the arbitrary pretensions of kings and their lieutenants, feudal barons. They were the first to demand some participation in the public busi-

ness, some share in the public honors. Now when their own offspring has grown into a stalwart manhood, armed with the improved methods of ages of experience and progress, will they with unnatural cruelty strangle their own boy. Gentlemen, your craft of all others, may float safely and serenely only upon the broad ocean of freedom. Your splendid ocean steamers themselves were devised by the spirit of free inquiry, and modeled by the genius of innovating practice. In narrow seas full of pirate cruisers, say nothing of morality and religion; say nothing of the pride of sense and success called honor; let us warn you it is absolutely dangerous. Don't quibble. The lawyer has done too much of that already. Do not play "the scurvy politician." That sorry dog, like the foolish shepherd in the fable, has already cried wolf once too often. Look Southward and you will see a burning volcano. Look Westward and you will see the most powerful agriculture on earth massing and congealing like alpine snows. The eruption, the avalanche. What then? The flimsy props set by your Wall street gamblers and Tammany boodlers will crash like reed stems. What then? You will find yourselves confronting your angry helots pacified now for the present with some little pay taken from your vassals. Helots drunk with wild agencies and socialistic vagaries taught by your henchmen to frighten the farmers and fetch in his tribute. As freemen these will pay no tribute. What then? This is your business, not ours. Were it ours, we would wish it off our hands the quickest way possible. This is a dark picture. We gladly turn from it to another as pleasing as this is disagreeable. This young giant of the West set free; the gyves and shackles broken off his manly limbs; his bold, enterprising spirit left unhindered to grapple with the great problems of the age; the negro, an infant race just growing into manhood; Africa, many times larger than Europe, his own native land, explored, ready, waiting to pour into your lap her exhaustless treasures; South America knocking at your very doors asking you to take her commerce, asking fairly of the oldest and most advanced of the Western republics for wisdom to make it worthy of your taking. "Look on this picture, and then on that." Be indeed the commercial *emporium excelsior*. Don't wait. Nations to day are whirling like the planets above us. Steam and electricity the impelling forces. Wo to that one which breaks from the orbit of inflexible law.

"And the stars did wander, darkling in the eternal space."

#### The Economic Quarterly.

Above is the name of a new publication by the managers of the Independent Newspaper Union, Winfield, Kan., devoted, as the name implies, to current economic questions. The first number contains Brice's Financial Catechism complete, thus presenting a valuable addition to the reform literature of the day. The catechism is a compilation in which the best and soundest theories of many writers is condensed, and filled with quotations from the greatest authorities. Its use to seekers after knowledge will be in the nature of a text book. The second number will contain choice poetry, and a carefully prepared paper by the veteran reformer, Hon. A. J. Streeter, giving the comparative cost and proceeds of farming, the statistics of which are from the latest reliable sources. To this will be added a complete story by Mrs. Anna D. Weaver, detailing the financial methods of dark days of the rebellion. Other numbers will follow, taking up great questions in their order. The work is needed, and should bear the fruit which will ripen in success. Subscription price is \$2 per annum, or 50 cents a number. Address all orders to Economic Quarterly, Winfield, Kan.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## FROM CORRESPONDENTS EVERYWHERE.

Orestes Repetti, who writes from Vineland, N. J., says his Alliance is composed principally of Italians, and all busy with fruit shipments. Thus is proven that the broad principles of the Order admit all who seek to ally themselves.

E. C. Pittman, Lewiston, N. C., says: "Cotton crops are looking well, and peanuts and corn excellent. People are trying to live on less, to work more and make more." It is to be hoped they will not neglect to do what is possible to secure to themselves a greater portion of what they do produce.

J. M. Fountain, Riversdale, S. C., says THE ECONOMIST is a good school for farmers, and he thinks the Congressmen study it, and are learning fast. He hopes most of the latter will graduate at the end of their present terms, unless they request and vote for the sub-treasury plan. South Carolina seems to be having examination times with the politicians just now.

W. W. McElwee writes from Laurinburg, N. C., noting the great need for education in the principles of the order, repeats a frequently expressed desire for a more general diffusion of papers devoted to the order. He proposes a plan which may yet be materially adopted: "Could there be an arrangement perfected with all labor organizations to unite in getting up a periodical to be issued weekly or semi-monthly that could be placed in every family in the land, especially with the laboring classes, North, South, East, and West, white and colored, so that all would read the same truths, all would then think on the same subjects. All would be educated to vote intelligently, for it is by the ballot that we are to gain freedom and liberty from the power that now enslaves us as a people."

W. C. Hays, president Dodson Union, No. 173, White county, Tenn., says he is fifty-six years old, and never saw money so scarce. His people depend on the sale of cattle and swine, and they were so low last fall, little money was bought with them. Wheat is a failure; other crops quite fair. The people dread debt, are living on little, wearing old clothes, and hoping for better times. Brother Hayes says he has always been a strong party man, but does not expect relief from the present administration. He hopes when it becomes better acquainted with the wants of the people it will do something. The power, he says, is in the hands of the people. The organization is growing and will support no man for national office not in sympathy with the principles of the Order.

C. J. Higgins, secretary of Cullman County Alliance, Alabama, gives an instance in which the failure to be informed of legislation materially injured the people of his section: "A railroad in this State having been chartered, perhaps twenty-five or thirty years, is not yet built; had been granted a donation of lands; these are being withheld from settlement; the land perfection bill in the Senate is amended by Senator Morgan to exempt from the provisions of the act the State of Alabama. The Congressman from this district has never taken any steps to our knowledge to have the same perfected, but now that the people are becoming aroused on this subject, and his renomination is protested against by a beat meeting, at least, of his party, he introduces a bill to perfect the grant. We want to know if this is for buncombe? Will he try to have it passed? Will he have the Senate amendment stricken out? These are questions we ought to know. His introduction of the perfection bill is heralded far and near by his party papers, but they will never tell us any more about it, especially if he is renominated." A more general inquiry into the careers of members would be good policy, and the claim for protection from censure in all things because they were good "caucus" members should be entirely disregarded by the people of all misrepresented districts. A limited number of the Congressional Record goes out, and few people read it systematically. Life is too short.

## NOTICE.

The Farmers and Laborers Union of Arkansas will meet in the city of Little Rock on the fourth Wednesday in July, 1890, at 10 o'clock, sharp. One delegate for every five hundred members and fraction of three hundred is earnestly requested to be present, as business of importance is to come before that body. One delegate from every county is entitled to a seat if one subordinate order is in the county.

JOHN P. H. RUSS, President.

## THE REFORM PRESS.

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

The Fredonia (Kan.) Democrat puts two and two together:

When the farmers claim as much right to a bounty on their produce as the sugar manufacturers, they show their good sense. The argument to the effect that the farming industry is no longer an infant while the sugar industry is, is a rope of sand. Let sugar be produced where it can be produced most cheaply, and the same with corn, then let the two be exchanged freely, without interference from legal or any other robbers.

The Industrial News (Jackson, Mich.) says:

It becomes evident that the silver bill as it passed the House of Representatives has lost its good features. Instead of making a bi-metallic standard this bill demonetizes silver, and only benefits the producers of silver by giving them the privilege to draw money from the Treasury on the deposit of silver bullion, which money they may return and receive back their bullion, under certain conditions. This is exactly what the farmers have asked in the sub-treasury bill for their farm products and which is so bitterly opposed by the politicians and the partisan press. Although refused the farmers it was granted the producers of silver and will not do much good to any one else. The establishment of a bi-metallic standard and free coinage of silver would give us more stability in business, better prices for the product of labor and consequently better times.

The News Reporter (Three Rivers, Mich.) concludes:

When the Democratic national bankers and the Republican national bankers come together and vote against free coinage, it is time for the farmers to come together and vote against the national bankers.

The Herald (Milton, Oregon) believes in the sort of political evolution in which the fittest survives:

The avalanche of modern thought telescopes its way to the front and demands recognition when old narrow-gauge political parties incapacitated by wounds received in various questionable engagements have ceased to longer be public benefactors. The most promising candidate for this position at the present time is recognized in the form of Farmers Alliance, and he is stretching his brawny arms from the briny waters that lash the base of Plymouth Rock to the majestic forests of Puget Sound, and with the many worthy demands of his platform is daily strengthening his forces by regiments of converts at the ratio of eighty Republicans to twenty Democrats.

This statement by ratio works somewhat the other way in Democratic States. The Alliance is a most gigantic protest against political methods, and the members of the dominant party locally see most need of it.

The Journal of the Knights of Labor (Philadelphia) says: The strike is not an ideal weapon—an unfortunate alternative rather. Yet who will venture to say that but for the strikes of the past, even not excluding the ill-advised ones, wages would not be lower, hours of labor longer and the conditions of the workers worse than they are to-day? If the evils a strike sometimes entails upon those concerned are at times deplorable, it is not well to forget the benefits that have been won by strikes.

The Farmers Voice (Chicago) stops in its advocacy of a township independent party long enough to say:

Why did not our ancestors enslave the Indians when they settled in America? They tried the game on but it did not work, for it was found that the discontented Indians got in the habit of expressing disapproval by burning up the master's house in the mid-hours of night and tomahawking the family as they came forth from the blazing structure. Plucky races of people, dead game on the fight, are not selected as good slave material. In fact it is not deemed healthy by the master-caste to have high tempered serfs, endowed with lots of sand.

The Advocate (Topeka, Kan.) repeats a rumor which implies a grave charge against a politician:

It is reported that Senator Ingalls, after voting in favor of free coinage of silver in the Senate, went over to the House and induced Farmer Funston to change his vote, and

vote with the enemies of free coinage. The Advocate is not yet prepared to give full credit to this report of Senator Ingalls' duplicity. Should it prove true, this one act should be sufficient to retire him to the shades of private life. We shall investigate this matter and give our readers the facts. We are not so hard pressed for arguments against Mr. Ingalls as to give currency to every idle rumor against him, and if he can not be defeated by fair means and a strict adherence to truth, then let him return to the Senate. If he is guilty of the double dealing with which he is charged our readers shall have proof of it that can not be disputed.

A correspondent in the Progressive Farmer (Raleigh, N. C.) discussing the demands put to each legislative candidate by the North Carolina State Alliance, says:

There never was a time when corrupt men did not have the power to promise everything. They can make promises just as well without the cards as with them, but the breaking of a written pledge is a far more serious matter than the breaking of a verbal pledge that may be forgotten, or denied, or misunderstood, or explained away, or disagreed about as to details. The press takes too much for granted when it supposes the Alliance is going to vote for any demagogue who will agree to sign a pledge; but we prefer a pledged demagogue to an unpledged demagogue. The Alliance does not propose to have demagogues at all if it can be helped. It proposes to support honest men and it proposes to pledge them, too.

Mills' Weekly World (Altamont, Kan.) says:

Partisanship is doing more to ruin the laboring people to-day than anything else. Partisanship will cause a good man to bear false witness against his neighbor, to vote against his own best interest, and turn this vale of tears into a resort of thieves and robbers. Partisanship is filling as many jails, poor houses and insane asylums to-day as drink, because it is the prime cause of all the bad legislation on the statute books. It is what the designing minority use to control the unsuspecting majority. It is the black veil of the sorcer held before the eyes of his victims while they are being robbed. If it were not for partisanship people would fall upon the thieving politicians and cast them out of office without giving them time to pray.

Up in Minnesota the independent spirit is strong. The Industrial Age (Duluth) says:

Politicians, wherever you find them, are always bobbing up to prevent labor from taking any kind of action which looks to laborers getting out from under the control of the old political bosses. It won't work, gentlemen. You may hold the new beginners back for a time, but the veterans are going forward and the masses will fall into line in spite of all the political restraints you can throw around them. The earmarks of the politician are too well known not to be recognized and shunned in due time by all who are working earnestly and intelligently to rescue all branches of honorable toil from the grasp of the selfish.

The Alliance Sentinel (Lansing, Mich.) gives good report:

Notwithstanding the extreme warm weather and the fact that farmers are exceedingly busy, the Alliance is surely and steadily traveling across the State. Livingston county perfects its organization to-day and other counties will soon fall into line, and by the middle of August the State will be ready to organize. Let each organizer feel the responsibility of getting his county in line.

The Sentinel also furnishes a crisp personal:

Ralph Beaumont is chairman of the legislative committee for the K. of L. He has been trying all winter to kick manhood enough into the members of Congress to make them legislate a little for the people, but now he is discouraged and has started west to help the third party kick the fools and rascals out of office. Ralph, your head is level, it is easier to vote a rascal out than it is to make a rascal honest after you have voted him in.

The Star (Evergreen, Ala.) has courage and convictions:

The trouble with Senator Carlisle, as with every other opponent of the plan, is that, though recognizing the necessity of some measure of relief for the farmers of the country, he finds no difficulty in advancing argument to defeat the first application made by them for this relief, and yet offers nothing better as a substitute. And it is here that we enter our complaint against Senator Carlisle's position. We do not know that the sub-treasury scheme as embodied in the bills now pending before Congress, is the very best means

of securing relief from the oppression of the money power as manipulated by trusts, combines and the like, but recognizing and admitting the duty of Congress to come to their aid with the least possible delay, he is content with pointing out the defects of the one offered, without suggesting a word in amendment or encouragement.

The Free Lance (Ashland, Ills.) is a welcome addition to the reform press. It represents farmers' organizations of four contiguous counties, and says:

The Alliances of the four counties are not particularly fighting local merchants, as given out by some people not acquainted with the workings of the order. They do ask for legislation protecting their interests the same as extended all other branches of industry in the country. Why not? Are not railroads, factories, breweries—all except the farmer and his help—well protected and cared for? Sure they are.

The Labor Echo (Houston, Tex.) straight union labor, says:

The Republicans have always expressed a desire to break the solid Democratic South, yet every act of the present administration has been intended to unite the South more firmly than ever in opposition to such tyranny as it has exercised.

The Patrick Henry, now published at South Haven, Kan., says of the present position of the silver bill:

King money holds its sway in the House of Lords, so-called Congress. With money kings it is the people be damned we will run this government. Farmers and laborers wake up and see if you can not save your country from plutocratic rule.

President S. B. Erwin, of Kentucky, has associated with him in the editorial work on the State Union (Bowling Green) Hon. T. D. Hinckley, who is well known to readers of THE ECONOMIST. The paper is generally improved as its routine becomes systematic, and increased circulation and patronage should be given it. Speaking of a senatorial disagreement little noted, the Union says:

The funny old gentleman, who in his heart believes he represents one-half of the State of New Hampshire in the United States Senate, fell into a quarrel the other day with another funny old gentleman, who just as sincerely believes he performs the same duty for another of our States. The subject of their dispute was one which very nearly concerns not only our citizens, but the people of the entire world. It was as to the time when the millennium shall put in its appearance. There is one thing of which both the venerable old souls may rest assured, the glorious time coming when the "lamb and the lion shall lie down together" without the lamb being inside the lion will not show up as long as aged fossils continue to draw \$16 per day from a fund which labor alone creates, while thousands of those who are laboriously engaged in creating the fund are suffering for the actual necessities of life.

The Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kan.) publishes a note from Ralph Beaumont:

The plain truth of the matter is, by the vote on the silver question it will be seen that New England and Manhattan Island in New York is at present the pawn shop of the South and West, and the quicker the South and West make up their minds to draw the line so that they can work together and get out of the hoc-shop the better it will be for them.

The Dispatch (Fort Wayne, Ind.) tells how organization is growing:

Jasper county has thirteen Alliances and 600 members. There are forty counties in this State under the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, with a membership of 40,000, all voters.

The Farmer's Friend (Iola, Kan.) says:

Prejudice is being killed. Did you ever think of that? The laboring people are coming rapidly to their senses and fully realize already that reform can only come by being brought about by concerted action. All over the country there seems to be a growing demand for a change in the political aspect of things, and when such a universal demand is made it must be heeded. An independent party, in which the great common people could join together in the election of candidates pledged to needed reforms, is demanded, and must be the outcome of the present state of affairs.

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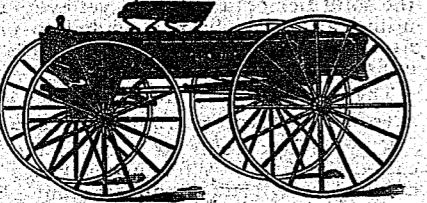
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Official Organ of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

Volume 3.

SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1890.

Number 18.

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# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

President Polk's Appointments.  
Tennessee, Knoxville, Monday, July 21.  
South Carolina, Greenville, Wednesday, July 23.  
North Carolina, Greensboro, Thursday, July 24.

All papers in these States friendly to our cause will please publish the above.

## Lecturer Ben Terrell's Appointments.

Indian Territory, July 22d to July 30th.  
INDIAN TERRITORY.

Pauls Valley, July 22.

Dougherty, July 24.

Colbert, July 26.

Caddo, July 28.

Eufala, 2 p.m., July 30.

## State Meetings.

Arkansas Union, Little Rock, July 23.  
South Carolina, Greenville, July 23.  
Maryland, Baltimore, August 5.  
Alabama, Montgomery, August 5.  
Mississippi, Starkville, August 5.  
Louisiana, Baton Rouge, August 5.  
North Carolina, Asheville, August 12.  
Tennessee, Nashville, August 12.  
Missouri, Sedalia, August 12.  
West Virginia, Charlestown, August 13.  
Arkansas Alliance, Camden, Aug. 19.  
Virginia Lynchburg, August 19.  
Georgia, Atlanta, August 19.  
Texas, Dallas, August 19.  
Kansas, Topeka, October 15.  
Kentucky, November 11.

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We speak from personal knowledge, as we have dealt with this firm.—[Ed.]

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 3.

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NO. 18.

### PASSIVE REFORM EFFORT.

For several years past the field for reform effort has been divided into three channels—finance, transportation, and land. Recently the discussion on questions of finance have taken precedence, and absorbed the greater part of the attention of those laboring in that cause. This is probably due to the fact that a just and equitable financial reform would go far toward offering a basis for the solution of the land and transportation questions, and to the further fact that there is not so much food for discussion from a national standpoint in either the railway or the land questions as there is in the financial policy of the Government. In fact, a healthy sentiment tending to correct solution of the land question seems to be rapidly growing, and will probably result in all that could be desired, in time, by the agriculturists simply standing firmly on their present position—forfeiture of all unearned land grants, opposition to alien ownership, and measures calculated to encourage ownership in small tracts.

The railway problems are much more intricate, and under the present system of private ownership, management, and control of them under franchises that enable them to be complete monopolies, these questions become involved in such a labyrinth of limiting circumstances and conflicting interests in which the most careful examination and the best trained judgment would be forced to admit, the equities equal, that most earnest and honest inquiries after the true remedy often disagree and reach entirely opposite conclusions. The National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union at its last annual session announced in favor of Government ownership; and, therefore, the national official organ steps squarely upon that platform. But it is believed that the cause of Government ownership will be better served by a conservative and passive stand in its favor than they would by radical and active efforts in its favor, in the absence of a sentiment educated up to the point of action. The literature to be had upon this subject is not plentiful. Those who have written upon the subject and presented any intelligent system are not many, and the tendency when one commences to write upon the subject of railways is to discuss detail that seems important enough to hide the principles involved.

Mr. James F. Hudson stands prominent as an author who has presented a system that is complete within itself, and offers a full solution to the question without Government ownership or general consolidation of all lines or pooling. It seems that Mr. Hudson's arguments and positions have never been successfully combated by any one, and yet his opponents seem to be successful in preventing their adoption by simply declaring them impracticable. Among the important recent additions to the literature upon this subject is the address of Mr. Patrick Calhoun, delivered at the first annual banquet of the Atlanta (Ga.) Chamber of Commerce, February 13, 1890. Mr. Calhoun is a grandson of the great South Carolina statesman, and seems to be thoroughly imbued with a desire to adopt such railroad policy as will best serve the true interests of the country. He is one of the few prominent railway men who have shown a wisdom broad enough to assert that what is to the best interest of the people must in the long run be to the best interest of the railroads. The following extracts from Mr. Calhoun's address will be highly appreciated by the farmers of this country, on account of the source from which the sentiments emanate, and on account of the new and broad thought expressed and the evident desire for fairness, conservatism and justice to everybody therein expressed:

God discriminated when He created the world. At one point, He put lime and coal and iron so near together, that a man can throw a stone across the veins of all. At another, He ran His rocky hills so close to the shore, that the rivers come tumbling to the sea, enabling the sailing vessel to bring the raw material to the factory's door, run by the only power practicable for moving heavy machinery, prior to the introduction of steam, and enabling the merchant to reload the vessel with the factory's product, and send it by water, the then only practicable means for distant transportation, to the markets of the country; and here great factories rose. At another, He made his mountain ranges recede so far inland, that vast lowlands, through which rivers sluggish run, lie between the mountains and the sea—lowlands where the cotton grows. At another, He stretched great prairies, adapted best to grain. Through the center of the continent, from North to South, He directed the course of a mighty river, giving, with its tributaries, thousands of miles of navigable waters, emptying, before the day of railroads, the commerce of its imperial territory into the splendid Gulf of Mexico; and on its banks mighty cities grew. From East to West, along our Northern frontier, He stretched a chain of great and navigable lakes. On the Eastern coast, He opened a noble bay, into which pours the splendid Hudson, broad and deep, whose waters were easily connected by canals with this great chain of Western lakes. With these natural conditions the railroads have had to deal, and dealing, find that man demands that they shall destroy the discriminations nature made. \* \* \*

Sir, the railroad must solve vast and complicated problems. It must protect vast and complicated interests. It

must consider factors world-wide in their bearings. To meet these demands—to partially destroy the discriminations of nature—to put the productions of one section into the distant markets of another—to put the products of this country into the markets of the world, in competition with the products of other countries—to make the charge on commerce small enough to permit that commerce to grow to immense proportions—to create universal individual competition—vast railway combinations have become necessary. These have created a feeling of distrust among the people, who, conscious daily of the existence of the great combinations, but feeling only indirectly their benefits and their lessening charges, are educated, by the designing or the uninformed, to look upon the very means of their prosperity as a monster of destruction, ready to enwrap them in its mighty folds. \* \* \*

Sir, the final argument of the demagogue, when driven from debate by reason and incontrovertible statistics, is the cry of alarm and the charge of monopoly. He falls back upon the statement that the combinations will control the people. Sir, to-day the throned monarch trembles at the people's voice, and throughout the civilized world the people are persistently asserting their rights. To say that in this country, the people can not control their railroads, however great, however strong, however powerful the roads may grow, is to charge the people with incompetency. Do they deserve this insult? Their glorious achievements answer. No! The principle that every railroad, great or small, is subject to the people's control has become a fundamental doctrine of our national jurisprudence. Embodied in our constitutions, enacted by our statutes, declared by our Supreme Courts, State and Federal, it receives universal recognition and commands universal obedience. The railroads get their power from the people. They hold it at the people's will; and, should any combination of roads at any time undertake to oppress or injure, the people would rise in their might and tear them limb from limb. But a recognition of these facts should make the people most conservative. They want their country developed; they want more railroads; they want new avenues of commerce; and they can not expect them unless the man who puts his capital into them can rely upon the people's protection. Around your home and around your factories the law has planted hedges, but to the railroads the law has said: "You hold your powers subject to the people's will." Sir, Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of civil liberty and equal rights, believed no more firmly in the people's capacity for self-government than I, and with faith unquestioning, I trust to the wisdom and the common sense of the people the solution of the issues of the present and the future. Determine what character of combination will best promote your interest and your welfare, and then dismiss forever the shadow cast by the fear that the people will fail to control their creatures.

**SENATOR VANCE** in his letter on the sub-treasury bill, says:

I can not gain my consent to vote for this sub-treasury bill, which provides for the loaning of money to the people by the government, and which, in my opinion, is without constitutional authority.

In a speech during the anti-trust bill debate the Senator said:

We are all the friends of the people. We are all enemies to these illegal combinations of capital which devour the substance of the people and grind the faces of the poor. *But when it comes to putting that friendship to the test we find that every proposition which human Senatorial ingenuity can suggest bristles with legal and constitutional objections.* "We are your friend, farmer; we are your friend, little fish who are being swallowed up by the big ones; would to God we could help you, but we can not." \* \* \* It may be, sir, that these constitutional objections are valid, but at all events there is certainly ingenuity and legal learning enough in this body to devise some measure to correct these evils of which every one complains, these trusts that have even extended to the bagging that envelopes the cotton of the planter in the South, to the plow with which the Western and Southern farmers stir the soil. \* \* \* Now, we ought either to do something or we ought to say to the people, "it is not worth while to talk about the subject; the Constitution of the United States gives no power whatsoever to Congress

to redress these evils, and you must look to the States alone." As honest men we must tell them that, if it be the truth, and let them endeavor to find redress in their State legislatures. For one, sir, I am willing to make an effort to do something. So far as the amendment which was proposed by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. INGALLS], which has been adopted and has now become a part of the bill, is concerned, I did not vote for it. I was not in the chamber when it was adopted. It was agreed to without a yea-and-nay vote, in the confusion which was in the Senate yesterday in regard to the various amendments and propositions submitted upon the bill. *I acknowledge that it is an unconstitutional amendment.* I believe it to be so, so far as a layman has any right to express constitutional view.

Mr. GEORGE. Which amendment is that?

Mr. VANCE. The amendment of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. INGALLS], which is undoubtedly a revenue bill, and such a bill can not under the Constitution originate in this body. I admit that. I expect to vote to strike it out of the bill, *but should it be adopted I believe that I shall still continue in support of the bill, believing that the courts can decide that portion of the law, as it will then be unconstitutional, without interfering with or disturbing the remainder, for it is not at all dependent upon the remainder of the bill, nor is the remainder of the bill dependent upon it.*

These were brave words and no doubt expressed the Senator's honest sentiments, and besides they cost nothing and sounded well. The anti-trust bill as passed was simply buncumb, or as Senator Platt said, was really a sop thrown to the people. But when it comes to a piece of legislation like the sub-treasury bill, that proposes to invade the dominion of plutocracy, the party whip is brought out and such sturdy examples of independent manhood as the Senator is forced reluctantly to fall into line. If Senator Vance was willing to run the risk of unconstitutionality in the anti-trust bill, for which the people of his State had not asked, why could he not have taken the same chances on the sub-treasury bill, for which thousands of his constituents have petitioned? Why does the fear of constitutional restrictions obtain so prominently with the one and is ignored so completely with the other? There are other reasons than those given in the letter which governed the Senator's actions in regard to this bill. They may be concealed now, but time will fully disclose them, and the people will then be enabled to judge properly of his actions.

The proposition has been made to "repeal the law taxing State banks," aiming to increase the volume of money by establishing banks of issue under charters from the States. To the intelligent Alliance man the question recurs, would not the influence in Congress which would secure this repeal secure such amendment to the national bank law as to cause an issue of money in sufficient quantity direct on whatever collateral the State banks might adopt? Then, State bank money could have only a limited tender for debt, while the people want a full debt-paying money. After repealing the tax there would still be forty odd legislatures to control, and perhaps the fight had better be confined to Congress. It would be hard to devise a worse method than the present as administered; as it might be amended and administered it is probably one of the best ever devised.

#### A FINANCIAL HISTORY.

##### Course and Effect of Legislation Since 1861.

No. 21.

It is not generally known that gold, the god of the money owners at the present time, has been demonetized, deemed unfit for use as a legal tender, but it has. When the gold mines of Australia and California began to pour its millions into Europe the money owners became alarmed for fear it would make money plentiful and therefore cheap. As a consequence they raised the same kind of a howl about gold then that they are raising about silver now, and for the same reason. Professor Levi says:

Frightened, and not without reason, at the possible consequences, some countries heretofore anxious to attract and retain gold in circulation, even at great sacrifices, showed a feverish anxiety to banish it altogether. In July, 1850, Holland demonetized the gold ten-florin piece and the guillem. Portugal prohibited any gold from having current value except the English sovereign. Belgium demonetized her gold circulation (that is, repealed the laws making it legal money). Russia prohibited the export of silver; and France, alarmed, but less hasty, issued a commission to look into the matter.

In 1855 Germany demonetized gold, and made silver the only legal money. But in 1870, after the silver mines had begun to issue vast sums of silver money, and the annual issue of gold money had declined from one hundred and forty-six millions to ninety-eight millions, she demonetized silver and made gold the only legal money.

The next step in the plan of plundering the people was the specie resumption act. This act is given in full below, in order that the reader may know just how completely the money power dominated Congress at that time. It will bear a close study:

Sec. 1. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required, as rapidly as practicable, to cause to be coined at the mints of the United States, silver coins of the denominations of ten, twenty-five and fifty cents, of standard value, and to issue them in redemption of an equal number and amount of fractional currency of similar denominations; or, at his discretion, he may issue such silver coins through the mints, the sub-treasuries, public depositories and post-offices of the United States; and upon such issue he is hereby authorized and required to redeem an equal amount of such fractional currency until the whole amount of such fractional currency outstanding shall be redeemed.

Sec. 2. That so much of section 3524 of the Revised Statutes of the United States as provides for a charge of one-sixth of 1 per centum for converting standard gold bullion into coin is hereby repealed, and hereafter no charge shall be made for that service.

Sec. 3. That section 5777 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, limiting the aggregate amount of the circulating notes of the national banking associations, be, and is hereby, repealed, and each existing banking association may increase its circulating notes in accordance with the existing law, without respect to said aggregate limit, and new banking associations may be organized in accordance with the existing law, without respect to the aggregate limit, and the provisions of the law for the withdrawal and redistribution of national-bank currency among the several States and Territories are hereby repealed; and whenever and so often as circulating notes shall be issued to any such banking association, so increasing its capital or circulating notes, or so newly organized as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the legal-tender United States notes in excess only of \$300,000,000 to the amount of 80 per centum of the sum of national bank

notes so issued to any such banking association as aforesaid, and to continue such redemption as such circulating notes as are issued until there shall be outstanding the sum of \$300,000,000 of such legal-tender United States notes, and no more. And on and after the 1st day of January, A. D. 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding on their presentation for redemption at the office of the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, in the city of New York, in sums of not less than \$50. And to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and provide for the redemption in this act authorized or required, he is authorized to use any surplus revenues from time to time in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to issue, sell and dispose of, at not less than par in coin, either of the description of bonds of the United States described in the act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled "An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," with like privileges and exemptions, to the extent necessary to carry this act into effect, and to use the proceeds thereof for the purposes aforesaid. And all provisions of law inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

An Open Letter to the Hon. W. C. Oates.

BY J. M. WHITEHEAD.

MY DEAR COLONEL: In reply to my very respectful criticism of your views, kindly printed for me in THE ECONOMIST, I have received from you a private letter, in which you say you could "tear me up by the roots in a public reply if you wanted to, but that you did not want to do this." In this letter you say that you write to show me thereby "what a fool I have made of myself!" You say I went to the devil when I "joined the Republican party," and that you see (from my defense of the sub-treasury) that I am "still sleeping with the hogs," in consequence of which I have ceased to be "respectable." On account of these offensive and rather classic expressions in your letter, I deemed it improper to engage with you in a private correspondence. I am not a match for you in the use of such expletives, and it is useless for me to try. If by fair and legitimate arguments you could tear me up by the roots, it is strange that you did not employ some of them in this letter. If it were not a "private" letter, I would be delighted to publish it, but I can not do this, and on account of its offensive tone I can not reply to it privately; I have decided to write you this open letter, and reply to your arguments, which I think are easily answered. But let me dispose of your personalities first. No one knows better than yourself I have never joined the Republican party. I was an independent candidate for Congress in 1884, and was endorsed and voted for by the Republicans. This is the whole of it. I did take off the party collar of the organized Democracy, and have not put it back yet, and do not intend to so long as the party remains under the management of perjury and fraud. I took the ground then, and I believe it yet, that no system of government could be right that had to be upheld by such agencies and methods. I have nothing to regret or take back, except that I did not have more to spend in the defense of truth. I saw then, or thought I saw, that the system of frauds that we were guilty of as a party was simply the sowing of seeds of dishonesty that would bear fruit in time to come, by raising up a generation of men to regard fraud as right, and perjury as excusable. The people are now beginning to realize the danger, and are doing what they can, as fast as they can, to bring about a reform. They have wisely determined, I think, that the first step to be taken is to "turn the rascals out."

Whether I have made a fool of myself, I shall leave others to decide. It may be that I was presumptuous in attempting to disagree with you on a great economic question like the proposed sub-treasuries, but you must remember that this is a free country yet, and that every private citizen, however humble, has the inalienable right to an opinion, and not even a member of Congress has the right to molest or make him afraid. Because I saw proper to write an article entirely respectful to you, but differing with you as to the constitutionality of the sub-treasury, you see proper to say that you regret to see from this that I am "still sleeping with the hogs." This declaration amazes me, for you know that this sub-treasury plan is demanded and advocated by the farmers. "Still sleeping with the hogs," in the connection in which it is used, places Republicans, negroes and farmers all in one bed. You say in making my bed with these (by writing as I did) I am not "respectable." Respectability in politics is a queer thing. Here at the South it is associated with, and upholds and defends perjury and fraud as a means of violating the Constitution of the United States. Its countenance has made more defaulting State treasurers, superintendents of education, tax collectors and probate judges during the past fifteen years than all of our past history discloses under more honest methods. I have a contempt for this kind of respectability. If I prefer to associate politically or otherwise with plain, honest people, and not be respectable according to this standard, it is as little as you can do to act otherwise, if you want to, and leave me alone. I notice in a late letter to your constituents, that you boast of your intimacy with Speaker Reed. I suppose the difference between what is and what it not respectable consists in the difference between big hogs and little ones. I prefer the latter kind, and am willing to part company with you on that line. Respectability and morality are by no means synonymous terms these latter days, neither in society nor politics. If half of the reports that reach us from Washington be true of the things that occur in high life there, and if respectability must be purchased at a such a price, a moral man would naturally ask to be excused. Virtue is much more to be sought after than your so-called respectability, and if one must choose between the two, it would seem that virtue should first engage our thoughts.

But what is there in my reference of the sub-treasury that evinces a want of respectability or shows that I am "still sleeping with the hogs?" I know that there was a certain class of politicians in this country who regarded the farmers as beasts of burden, as mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the more favored classes, but I did not believe there was one bold enough to call them a hog. If I am bed-fellow with the farmers, it is because they have come to me, for I have not gone to them. I am asking nothing at their hands and expect nothing. I hold the same financial views now that I have held for fifteen years—in fact, ever since I took the trouble to study and inform myself on these questions. Must I abandon them because the farmers have at last come upon my platform—sought refuge in my bed? Its merits appealed to their common sense, and they turned in. I like their company; they are a plain, clever, honest, industrious people. This suits me. Why should we not dwell in har-

mony together? From the exalted standpoint in Washington at which your observations are made we may look like a bed of hogs, but be assured that this will not disturb our slumber.

I am exceedingly grateful to you for the information that there is yet something for me to learn. If you have yourself gathered in all the rich stores of knowledge that this world can afford, nothing would delight me so much as to sit at your feet and, like Lazarus, eat of the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

But let us get down to the argumentative part of your letter, for it will take me but a little longer to dispose of that than it did to go through the postscript. You say, "If advancing money and charging interest on it is not a loan, what is it, and wherein does it differ from a loan?" Mr. Macune takes the ground that it is not a loan, and I have seen no attempt to answer him. When you answer his argument it will be ample time for me to answer your question. My argument was based on the supposition that it was a loan, and that it was, notwithstanding, constitutional. But I will let you answer your question yourself. In speaking of the national banks you say: "It (the Government) prints and delivers to the banks, not its notes, but the notes or bills of the banks. \* \* \* The law taxes the circulation 1 per cent to pay for the printing of the notes." We all know that the Government stands good for the redemption of these notes. The Government does the printing, but calls them the notes of the bank! How can the mere naming of a thing change its legal effect? If they are really the notes of the bank, how is it that the Government has them to redeem when put in circulation? Now, let me ask: If the 1 per cent is not called interest, but collected to pay cost of printing, if they were called interest, and collected as interest, would not the operation and result be exactly the same? If by the mere change of words, while the spirit and effect is unchanged, an unconstitutional law, for the banks, can be made constitutional, why can not the same rule be made to work for the sub-treasury? Say that the 1 percent charged is to pay the expenses of printing tickets, books, receipts, keeping the warehouses under the sub-treasury, what is the reason, if the formalities of a loan are to be gotten rid of, and this is all, why would not this make the law constitutional? I am informed that this change has been made at the suggestion of Mr. Macune. I do not believe myself that a great constitutional question can be solved by this sort of juggling with words, or dodged by any such shallow device; yet, if it is good in one case it is good in another. No mere alteration in phraseology in a law, in my opinion, without change of its legal effect, can make valid that which is invalid under the Constitution—if I am permitted to express an opinion without having an imputation cast on my right to know anything.

You speak sneeringly of Mr. Macune because he is not a lawyer. While I claim to be a lawyer, I have learned that lawyers are not the only people capable of construing the Constitution. You will remember that Dr. Bledsoe was not a lawyer, and yet he wrote the book, "Was Jeff. Davis a Traitor?" accepted by all constitutional lawyers North and South as unanswerable. It was on the conviction produced by this book in the legal minds of this country that the pro-

cation of Mr. Davis was abandoned. I have never questioned the soundness of that argument, and therefore am entitled, by your own admission, to retain the only leg I did not lose in the war, and I am truly grateful to you for this splendid display of magnanimity in suffering me to keep it on this condition.

It makes no difference whether the advances made by the Government to the Philadelphia and New Orleans expositions were gifts or loans. I did not have the data at my command when the article for THE ECONOMIST was written. It is a conceded fact that Congress by repeated acts has both gratuitously donated and loaned money, and this is all I contended for. And no such rumpus has ever been kicked up in Congress before over the introduction of a bill for either purpose as has been done at the introduction of the sub-treasury bill. So marked is this, that the people who observe naturally conclude that it still makes a difference whose ox is gored. You ask me to consult a number of distinguished lawyers and judges for whose opinions I have a very high regard. But let me say that the result of the grand commission shook my confidence in the opinions of many men in high official position, when they are indebted to a party for the position they hold, and the question is one of politics. But why should I consult them to establish what is not denied. Who ever said that the "general welfare" clause in the Constitution was not one of limitation? That is admitted, but what is the limit, and how is the limit to be fixed, and by whom? That is the question. Who shall say to Congress that this or that appropriation is or is not for the general welfare? Congress knows as well as the Supreme Court. Can the courts take testimony of experts who swear, in their opinion, that the act would or would not promote the general welfare; or would they take "judicial knowledge" without evidence? We know as a matter of fact that the constitutionality of a law can not be settled in any such way. What is for the general welfare is not susceptible of demonstration so that the judicial mind can take hold of it. It is purely within the domain of judgment, the correctness of which can only be determined by actual experiment.

If the Constitution declares that no law shall be enacted impairing the obligation of contracts, and a law is passed declaring that certain contracts shall be void, the Supreme Court would only have to look at the Constitution and then at the act to determine that the latter was in violation of the former. But when the Constitution says Congress shall not appropriate money collected by taxation, except for the common defense and for the general welfare, it clothed Congress with discretion under the oath that each member has taken to observe and obey the Constitution of the United States. Who better than Congress can say when either of these conditions exist? Who knows better than it does? Suppose money is appropriated to erect fortifications around Washington, or any other city in times of peace. Could the Supreme Court say that this was unconstitutional? Suppose it should so decide, and afterward the country was invaded by an armed enemy, would that restore the constitutionality of the law? Suppose, on account of some mistake or defect in the work, the city is taken—in fact the work was worthless—would that impair the constitutionality of the law making provision for its construction?

The Supreme Court in deciding the constitutionality of the national banking act, places it directly on the ground that Congress was the sole judge of the necessity for such an act as an aid to carry on an important branch of the government. The "wise men" who framed the constitution, must have seen the need of some latitude in the use of money. They could not foresee every enemy that would arise; hence, they placed the limit at the "common defense" and "general welfare" line. I suppose that our forefathers had some confidence in the honesty of members of Congress in voting appropriations under their oaths, and believed that that they would not vote away the money, unless in their judgment it was either for the common defense or the general welfare; realizing as they must, that it was safer to have the discretion here where the people have a voice every two years than to vest it in four or five judges appointed for life. Doubtless they believed that if one body should go off wildly into a reckless expenditure of money, the other, in connection with the veto power of the President, would be apt to check the extravagance before it got to the Treasury.

The distinction you attempt to draw between the general welfare of the people and that of the United States, is too fine to be seen with the naked eye. I defy the most acute metaphysical intellect to imagine a condition of things calculated to promote the general welfare of one, that would not also operate equally upon the prosperity of the other. Divest the country of its population, and there would be no field for the operation of this clause in the Constitution. The term relates naturally to the well-being of the citizen. The analogy between this question and the consequences involved in the attempt of the South to secede is so remote, and so utterly illogical that I will not insult an intelligent public by discussing it. I was led into the war on the judgment of men whom I regarded as wiser than myself. I have lived to learn that they were not as wise as they might have been. I have also lived to learn that these same leaders have respect for a Confederate soldier just as long as they can continue to lead him, and no longer. Things are about to change. The people have decided, or are about to decide, that bluster and red liquor, and pistols and shot guns, must give way to brains and business. Who will undertake to say that such a change will not be for the "general welfare?" We may expect to be told by these old leaders that we are "fools" and "hogs," and not respectable, and all that sort of thing, but this we can bear. I, for one, take comfort in knowing that I have got the manhood no longer to be led by these men when my own judgment tells me they are leading to the devil, and I am not alone by a good, large majority.

I have not attacked you for your "ignorance," nor have I so much as intimated it. I had too much respect for you personally, without provocation, to do so. Since you have seen fit to mention it you will please excuse me if I still decline to express an opinion. I leave that class of epithets to those who like them, and who resort to them, sometimes to supply the place of a more convincing logic.

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

Featherston and his constituency want free silver; but if no free silver bill is before the House he votes for more silver, even if it be no more than \$4,500,000 a month.

Congressman McClammy on the Sub-Treasury.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 27, 1890.

C. W. MACUNE, Chair'n Ex. B'd, N. F. A. and I. U.

DEAR SIR: In response to your inquiry asking my views of the demands made by the Farmers Alliance of North Carolina, and my views in relation to the sub-treasury bill, I would say the purpose of the bill, as I understand it, and as it has been interpreted by the authors, is more money, cheaper money, and higher prices for farm products. Will it accomplish the result? In the opinion of a vast majority of the farmers and working people in this country it will. Certainly I shall not interpose an objection or a criticism that I can sustain only by assertion. It may be visionary and inexpedient, but I am not prepared to pronounce the judgment. It has not been discussed in Congress. Months ago it was introduced in both Houses of Congress, referred to the proper committees, and there it sleeps the eternal legislative death that knows no awakening. But they say it is unconstitutional. By what authority is the statement made? Neither the Senate Committee on Agriculture nor the Ways and Means Committee of the House have reported any such conclusion. Not an intimation to that effect, so far as I am advised, has been officially made by either committee. It may be unconstitutional—I don't know. I am not a lawyer, and am not competent to pass upon the constitutionality of any measure; but I do know that the sub-treasury has not been shown to be unconstitutional. I am constrained, therefore, not to accept the seemingly popular notion that this is an unconstitutional measure. We can differ honestly about this matter, but is it fair and manly to preclude all discussion of the merits by downing it with unconstitutional animadversion? The people who conceived the measure are the people—the country. They demand a hearing. It is their inherent right. What is the answer? The legislation you propose is unconstitutional. How is it unconstitutional? What provision of the Constitution does it violate? Who made the Constitution? Who can change it to meet the emergency and avert the peril that threatens the industrial and agricultural classes with bankruptcy and ruin? Is there a constitutional warrant for any legislation that will meet the demands of the people for a change in the fiscal regulations and the national bank system of this country? Is there any remedy for the appalling condition of agricultural depression more effectual than the sub-treasury bill? Who has suggested it? Where is the statesmanship to conceive it? It has been proposed by bills both in the Senate and the House to lend money to the people on Government real estate security at 1 per cent. I introduced a bill of this import months ago. It was born of despair that the sub-treasury bill would die in committee. But it sleeps in the same dust-covered mausoleum side by side with the sub-treasury bill. Will the people of this country much longer permit this trifling? Is Congress trifling with the people, or are the people trifling with themselves? I answer emphatically that I do approve of the purpose of the sub-treasury bill, and that I will exhaust every effort to force its consideration by this Congress. The national banking system is a curse to the people. It is administered in the interest of the monopolized money powers of Wall street. It is made to contract or expand the circulating medium at the dicta-

tion of this godless, grasping, avaricious, conscienceless, corrupt financial power. Any system is preferable to it. Nothing the mind of man can conceive could be more destructive to the people's rights. If the system alone finds warrant in the Constitution, then in heaven's name amend the Constitution, and do it at once.

As a Representative in Congress, public duty is a paramount consideration. Ignoring the fact that I am a farmer, and that the people in my district knew that fact when they elected me to Congress, I stand on the high ground of public duty in the affirmative reply I have made to each of the demands submitted for my consideration. Not one of them is in conflict with my apprehension of duty as a representative in Congress, or inconsistent with my life-long services as a Democrat.

Yours very truly,

C. W. MCCLAMMY.

#### Necessity for Adopting Measures for the Campaign.

DR. J. A. REID, BEFORE MADISON COUNTY (VA.) ALLIANCE.

It is a recognized truth that American farmers as a class are face to face with a crisis. Shall we meet it as strong, intelligent men, lovers of home, country, and family; and opposed to all class legislation tending to the enrichment of the few at the expense of the million; or will we in our credulity continue to follow party leaders until we are overwhelmed by the fate that sunk the tillers of the soil in India, in Egypt, in Europe? Shall the American farmer be a slave, a serf, or the proprietor of the soil he cultivates? This is for us to determine. If to remain freemen, the independent owners of the soil we cultivate, then let us complete our organization. "Grasp hands with a grip that means something, compare ways and means, and unite upon ends to be gained."

We of the Alliance already have reason to rejoice and to congratulate each other that our organization has not been in vain, nor our labors barren of results. In an eminent degree we have been successful in making all parties acknowledge that agriculturists have rights that should be protected and wrongs that should be redressed. In our last legislature and in our present Congress our friends, so called, are numerous. Almost every representative takes occasion to refer in professed fawning terms to us and our great industries. Under such circumstances is it not a great mystery that our wrongs are not righted and justice done? We are asking no favors. We demand only equality before the law; and yet, in the hands of our professed friends, the measures for our relief fail either from non-action or hostile action. How much longer can we submit to such a policy? Friends in words, enemies in action! I am one of those who feel that we should not and can not submit longer to words of professed friendship from politicians or of party platforms, intended to catch the floating vote, while the legislation of the country is rapidly reducing us to the condition of European serfdom. A quarter of a century is certainly long enough to wait and watch. Our patience is exhausted and our interest almost destroyed.

Having secured the front position, the acknowledgment that we have rights to be protected and wrongs to be redressed, we should advance to the next position—action. United action should be our motto. A forward movement should be made, and made now. What is that movement? Unquestionably to select and send to Congress and the legislature representatives of ourselves and of our interests; men who will subordinate mere party politics to the general good, and who will make practical legislation the first end to be attained. Let us select men who will work and vote for our interest, as well as talk for us. Mere words of friendship may tickle our fancy, but will not advance our interest, however ingeniously shaped to secure votes. I do not say select none, but Alliance men or farmers. There are good and true men in almost every county and Congressional district in the State, who on account of their business relations are not eligible to membership in the Alliance, but who are as devoted to the principles of the Alliance, and who recognize the importance of laws being enacted for the relief of the masses of the people, as any member of the Alliance. But, I say, select men who are primarily with us in opinion and interest, and who will regard measures for our relief as

of the first importance, and who will introduce these measures early in the session, and have them enacted into laws; who will not, while professing to be friends, interpose minor objections and motions for delay, with a view of ultimate defeat of the measures. Among the present parties we can find men of this character, men who will recognize the fact that if they have a party to obey they also have a country to serve.

Gentlemen of the Alliance, will you consider these things? Yes, I know you will. Then let us come together and formulate our line of action. Now, this fall, is a fit time for us to begin. Why should we not have in Congress a representative specially of ourselves and of our interests? The Alliance has not organized a new party, but we should be well enough organized and drilled to act independently if the necessity for such action came. Our principles should be paramount, and we can not afford to risk anything by sacrificing those principles for the sake of holding any party intact that does not indorse them. We must think, plan, and act for the general good of the masses of the people. The fall elections are fast approaching, and we must adopt such measures as will insure the election of men to Congress in sympathy with us, and who will secure the enactment of laws to relieve us of the conditions under which we are now suffering, and which are fast drifting us into poverty and consequent serfdom, and for which both the dominant parties are responsible.

#### Land Tenure.

BY MERLINDA SISINS.

The lands within the United States have been obtained by wars with England and Mexico, purchased from other nations, and treaties with the Indians, comprising 3,607,604 square miles, or 2,308,866,560 acres. In 1803 we bought of France what is known as the "Louisiana purchase," at a total cost of \$15,000,000. We bought of Spain Florida for \$6,500,000. In 1845 we took in Texas with a three years' war with Mexico, at a total cost of \$66,000,000. We also paid \$25,000,000 more for other territory. In 1867 we paid Russia \$7,200,000 for 577,390 square miles of ice and snow. The balance we obtained from Great Britain as the result of two wars. We have paid everybody but the Indians, the original owners; but, thanks to whisky, red-tape, gunpowder, cholera, small-pox, and other agents of civilization, not many are left to put in claims.

All this has been done to secure this heritage to all the people for homes to themselves and their children forever. Let us see what has been done with it. In 1785 one thirty-sixth of all the Northwest territory was set apart for public schools. In 1787 this act was superseded by an ordinance that provided (1) for religious freedom; (2) for trial by jury; (3) for writ of habeas corpus; (4) for the "bill of rights;" (5) for encouragement of schools and for good faith, justice, and humanity toward the Indians; and (6) for the exclusion of slavery. A grand foundation for a free Republic.

Under the public school system forty-eight colleges are endowed with public lands, besides the common schools in nearly all the States and Territories. In 1828, under an act for "internal improvements," Congress actually gave to the States and individuals 2,000,000 acres. In September, 1841, and March, 1843, the first pre-emption laws were passed, under the administration of John Tyler. This act was to enable settlers to hold claims until they could pay for them, on condition of residing on the same for a certain period. In 1850 Congress passed the "swamp land act," an act to enable the State of Arkansas and other States having swamp and overflowed lands to

reclaim them by ditching, etc. The facts prove that a great deal of this land, thus obtained by the States, was good land, and also that a large part of it got into the hands of corporations and land sharks. Taking Michigan as a sample, less than 132,000 acres out of a total of 6,000,000 have been applied for such drainage purposes, while over 5,548,000 acres have gone into the hands of railroads as land grants and to private speculators for pretending to build State roads. Many of these State road jobs have had two or three different grants of land before they were finished, the contractor getting his grants each time. This shows where the people's heritage has gone to. The homestead bill of 1860 was passed, but vetoed by Buchanan. In 1862 it became a law. This act was designed to benefit the people, but the land sharks, by hiring men to make false entries, and the money sharks, by mortgage foreclosures, have got the principal benefit, that was thus designed for securing homes for every family, which is the only foundation upon which any government can endure.

In 1850 began the great confiscation of the people's heritage by granting lands to railroads. The first grant was to the "Illinois Central." Since then there have been 130,413,026 acres granted to railroads by the general Government, besides enough more by States to make a grand total of over 200,000,000 acres or a territory over eight times the size of Ohio. Enough land to provide 1,250,000 homes of 160 acres each to the homeless of our land.

Again, over 30,000,000 acres have gone into the hands of foreigners, which will fasten English landlordism and Irish tenancy upon our people forever unless remedied. They have more than \$10,000,000 invested in our railroads; over \$30,000,000 in our breweries. They own our only tin mines in Dakota. Our cotton thread mills are owned by Clark and Coats of Scotland. English capital is also invested in iron mines from Alabama to Wisconsin. In this and much more omitted, we have the English conquest of America. With all this we have the conquest of our own "money power."

What shall the harvest be? Among these things we find the answer to the question, "rely on the few millionaires and the masses of paupers."

Shall the greed of men wipe out the fruits of the sacrifices of the revolution and the rebellion? God forbid! Shall we allow this heritage of oppression to go to our children, that they must spill more blood to re-establish what we have failed to preserve, or will we, by a united and overwhelming ballot, elect only such men to make our laws as those who constitute the battle-record veterans of industry? May God help.

To the mortgage-ridden farmer the appropriation bills of this Congress will be interesting reading. He will learn that while his wheat, pork, and cotton was lessening in price, the salaries of public officials, as far as possible, were being increased; that new officers are being created and all national expenditures swelled to their utmost. There is no doubt that the surplus has been squandered and a large deficit will soon take its place. Such are the results of a government conducted in the interests of political parties instead of for the good of the people.

**THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.**  
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE  
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Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are twenty-five cents per agate line. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement required.

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

The following is the resolution unanimously adopted at the national meeting in St. Louis:

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

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

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.

THE race for Congress in the fifth district of Georgia between L. F. Livingston, president of the State Alliance of Georgia, and John D. Stewart, the present incumbent from that district, is an interesting one, and promises to be vigorously prosecuted in the near future. From the indications already visible, there is no doubt that vigorous efforts will be made to beat President Livingston. The simple fact that he is prominent in Alliance work; that he makes himself so conspicuous in advocating Alliance doctrine, and that he has stood so firm for every inch of ground calculated to benefit the farmer, will make this the most hotly contested part of the whole battle field. It is a commanding position that the opposition seems to be determined to spare no pains to secure. That they are massing their forces there is already evidence, as it is also plain to be seen that the battle will not be Livingston and Stewart, but for the people or against the people. Livingston's position is conservative and democratic, and one in which he will be able to represent and act for the whole people; all classes alike. But the success of Mr. Stewart must mean a serious blow to the Farmers Alliance of Georgia. It is to be hoped that the farmers and their friends of that district, as well as all laboring men, will realize the situation, and sustain and work for their champion.

SENATOR VANCE'S friends are already preparing to read every member of the Alliance out of the Democratic party who has the temerity to differ with him on matters of public policy. The very same action is proposed by the Republican party in Kansas toward all Alliance members who do not fully agree to the peculiar ideas and methods of Senator Ingalls. Under such conditions as these, it becomes somewhat difficult for many earnest members to support Alliance

principles. They do not want to be looked upon as traitors simply because they are seeking to make the party better by teaching more liberal ideas. Yet the ring politician will permit of no innovation, ruling that party supremacy is superior to all other considerations.

ATTENTION is called to the open letter of Hon. C. W. McClammy, of North Carolina, found in another column. Thus another member of Congress from the South has the courage of his convictions, and dares express them. Such men make good Congressional timber, and it is confidently expected that it will be in greater demand for the future. This letter is a square endorsement of the sub-treasury bill, and an honorable recognition of the wishes and desires of his constituents.

SINCE there is so much discussion about the Farmers Alliance taking a hand in politics, it may be well enough to publish the Farmers Alliance platform. The public can then judge by the record of the parties whether it is undemocratic or unrepulican. THE ECONOMIST has had all the demands of the farmers analyzed and carefully boiled down to the last demonstration, and is prepared to announce without fear of contradiction that the platform of the order only contains two planks, and they are

MORE MONEY AND LESS TAXES.

It is now in order for the politician to be heard who claims that the Alliance is seeking to destroy his party by their demands.

A NECESSARY MEASURE.

Hon. Clarke Lewis, of Mississippi, May 22, introduced the following bill:

That so much of section 5 of an act entitled "An act to authorize the issue of United States notes, and for the redemption or funding thereof, and for funding the floating debt of the United States," approved February 5, 1862, as provides for the purchase or payment of 1 per centum of the entire debt of the United States to be made within each fiscal year after the first day of July, 1862, which is to be set apart as a sinking fund, and the interest of which shall in like manner be applied to the purchase or payment of the public debt as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

The passage of this bill would do away entirely with the necessity for purchasing a single dollar of the bonded indebtedness, and thereby take from the bondholder the power of demanding a premium on obligations he holds against the Government. No more important bill has been presented to Congress this session, and yet it will doubtless never be reported by the committee. Mr. Lewis claims, and truthfully, that the enactment into law of this bill would reduce the premium on bonds nearly, if not quite, to par value, and save the people \$150,000,000. in their payment and redemption. This funding act has forced the Government to go into the market and purchase bonds, no matter what the premium may be. About \$43,000,000 was bought this year for that pur-

pose, at a premium of about \$8,000,000. The passage of this bill would stop this species of robbery, and place the Government on a parity with the bond owner. For the purpose of showing how the sinking-fund charge is estimated, the following Government table is given for 1887:

1. One per cent of the principal of the debt, excluding coin and currency certificates outstanding and in cash of the Treasury, and amount reserved for the redemption of legal-tender notes.....	\$14,740,346.06
2. Interest for one year on the debt in the sinking fund, at the rates which the bonds would now bear if they had been refunded; and at the present rate (3 per cent) on debt bearing no interest, as follows:	
Four per cent.....	\$267,673,400.00
Three per cent.....	363,293,134.96
Making a total of.....	10,706,936.00
3. One year's interest at 3 per cent on \$36,346,076.11.....	1,090,382.28
Total sinking-fund requirement.....	37,436,458.39

THE tour of President Polk through the West is accompanied with every evidence of popular favor. Wherever he has spoken splendid audiences have met him, with which he has invariably been thoroughly in accord. At Columbus, Kansas, a procession four miles long entered town singing and playing, and left the same way, the entire meeting being most enthusiastic, while perfectly orderly. At Winfield he made two speeches, at the association grounds and the fair grounds, the audience being 12,000. At Emporia the papers agree that the largest meeting ever there, if not ever held in Kansas, met President Polk. A local paper head-lines that "when the head of the procession was under the equator the tail was coming around the North pole." Col. Polk writes:

The people are terribly in earnest, and the politicians are correspondingly depressed. One thing I note with great pleasure, any and all expressions from me against sectionalism are hailed with genuine and enthusiastic approval.

From Kansas, Col. Polk goes direct to Dakota, being unable to make his connection in Nebraska.

THE sympathy and interest of the whole order is centered upon J. P. Buchanan, president of the State Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of Tennessee. He has made an admirable president, and has spared no effort to make the order in his State a success. He has labored incessantly from the time of his election. Immediately after the St. Louis meeting, he planted himself squarely upon the platform and went into the field and has done noble service ever since. He is now engaged in the race for Governor in his State. He is undoubtedly pre-eminently qualified for that position, and members of the order generally should be very careful that they do not heed the teachings of the opposition, who try to inculcate the opinion that because a man belongs to the order he has forfeited his independent right to act as an American citizen, and either vote for any one he chooses or run for any position. The order in Tennessee is to be congratulated upon having such an able champion as Brother Buchanan, and it is hoped they will appreciate and sustain him.

**RAILWAYS, THEIR USES AND ABUSES.**

Their Effect Upon Republican Institutions and Productive Industries.

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

No. 60.

HOW TO EQUALIZE COMPETITION.

Of course no one proposes that different people shall be allowed to run trains upon the same railroad tracks without regulation or guidance. Such an arrangement would, of course, result only in disaster and wreck; but a very little study of the subject will show that it is not more difficult to provide the same regulation and superintendence for half a dozen different trains upon the same railroad track owned by different carriers than for the same number of trains owned by a single carrier who has the exclusive privilege of transportation. Every train has to be under the immediate direction of an engineer and conductor, who are instructed, both by the schedules and by telegraphic orders from headquarters, as to where and how they shall run their train; at what time and point they shall meet or pass other trains; and their obedience to these orders is secured not only by the regulations of the company, but by the danger to which each man would be subjected to by disobedience or neglect of such orders. Legal penalties require the obedience of the orders which the men in charge of each train receive. As in case of the loss of life from railroad disasters, a disobedience of orders would make the person who was responsible for the accident guilty of manslaughter.

Every one of these penalties and obligations can be made just as binding on the men in charge of trains owned by competing carriers passing over the same track as they are for those owned by a single carrier. It is necessary on the face of the subject that one single authority shall govern the movement of trains while passing over a given railroad; but if that authority is provided either by the regulations of the corporation owning the railroad track, or by statute law, or by both, there is no reason, so far as the safety and celerity of railroad service is concerned, why the dozen or more trains that pass over such a railroad at the same time may not be owned and operated by competing carriers. Safety and promptitude in railway service is secured by making the authority of the train-dispatcher, who issues the orders upon which trains are run, supreme and universal; but no such consideration prevents an arrangement under which any competing carrier could employ the men in charge of the train to move its freight over that railroad track or any of a dozen others, and to contract for the transportation of freight in competition wherever there is a demand for their services.

The only reason for the theory that but one carrier shall make contracts for the transportation of freight over any given railroad track, is simply for the purpose of maintaining the monopoly, or exclusive privilege which enables the railroad to prevent competition in the transportation of persons and property. That is the basis upon which the exclusive privilege of the railroad rests, which makes it possible for them

to create watered stocks, to uphold discriminations, and to establish pools. With that exclusive privilege taken away, the service of transportation could be performed just as adequately with the rules suited to the character of the transportation, and with every thing provided, except the power of the corporation to enforce the abuses which have been developed by the exclusive privilege.

Neither is it proposed that the property of any railroad company, or carrier, shall be taken away from it, or that services in transportation shall be performed without the reasonable charge that is fixed by the free action of competition. Wherever the monopoly, or exclusive privilege of the railroad is given a financial value in the price of the stock, that would, of course, be taken away by this arrangement; but that monopoly is something to which the corporation has no just claim. It is opposed to the spirit of our institutions, and has been created in defiance of the principles of law laid down at the inception of the railroad system. For everything else, the investments of corporations would receive the just returns which would be fixed by competition, in common with all other forms of industry. The corporation which built and maintains the railway track over which all competing carriers could transport freight or passengers would be paid the just toll contemplated in its charter, and fixed by competition with competing lines. If competition brought down the charges which the railroad corporations could obtain for tolls, below a fair reward on the investment, the investment of further funds in such enterprises would cease until the growth of business and the increased demand for trackage facilities should raise the toll to a remunerative cost.

Carriers who found business unremunerative at one point, could transfer their services to another, where better prices for transportation should prevail by the increased demand for the services of the transporter. In short, when you make the railroad system open to competition in every department, by all who have the capital to put trains in operation, subject to the rules and regulations necessary to insure safety and celerity in transportation, you place the whole business subject to the natural laws of State as completely as the manufacture of iron or the sale of dry goods. If such business can be transacted most economically by vast corporations having tens of millions of capital at their command, those corporations will control the business, but we may be certain that it will be done only because their capital permits them to perform the service at the cheapest rate. The ability to bring in the new competition of men who can control the necessary \$50,000 or \$100,000 to put a train of cars in operation, will insure that the great corporation will only earn dividends upon actual and *bona fide* capital, and will be totally unable to force upon the public the burden of earning upon fictitious capital created solely by the power of monopoly.

This reform is the inevitable result of the premises established by the examination of the railroad system carried on in the preceding article. Upon impartial inquiry into all the abuses and evils that have been established in the development of our vast system of corporation, makes the following points clear:

1. The ability of railroads to discriminate in favor of one shipper and to exclude others from equal advantages in competition, depends entirely upon their exclusive control of the business of transportation. If

everybody were free to compete in transportation over all departments of the railroad business, some of the competing carriers would give every shipper as good rates as the others will give those who might otherwise be favored by the exclusive power of the railroad over rates.

2. Discriminations in favor of one locality and against others are due entirely to the fact that the localities discriminated against have no competition, while those which obtain the advantage in local discrimination are the points where the partial competition in railroad business concentrates its force. With competition equally free in favor of all localities and all branches of railroad transportation, rates for each locality would depend upon the cost of service for each, and every district or city could develop its industries entirely in accordance with its natural advantages and the enterprise of its inhabitants.

3. The attempts to combine in order to abolish competition in transportation and industry are due to the fact, that the obstructed nature of competition renders such attempts possible, and places within sight of those who form the combination the illegitimate and dishonest rewards of the monopoly to be gained by the members of the combination. With competition on as universal a basis in railroad transportation as it is in water transportation, the possibility and the alleged necessity of pools and combinations would be alike unheard of.

4. This obstructed nature of competition which is peculiar to the railroad business rests upon the exclusive privilege which each railroad corporation has in transportation over its own tracks. This exclusive privilege is contrary to the legal principles upon which the railroad system is founded; was forbidden by the constitutional law laid down in their favor, by which they were given their rights of way; and, while alleged to be necessary for the successful conduct of the railway business, is really shown by the practice of the railways themselves to be unnecessary so far as the prevention of competition in every department of the business is concerned.

These points make it clear, that with proper legislation and a clear understanding of the objects to be gained thereby, a reform in the railroad system should be established, by which every man who has the capital and skill necessary to enter upon railroad transportation could conduct that business, reaching with his competition any point where business might offer itself, and fixing by his competition the rates for all classes of transportation at a level which would afford an equal reward for that enterprise as compared with all other branches of business. The exclusive privilege which creates all the corporate abuses can easily be taken away when the recognition of its character and foundation is made universal. When it is taken away, the same principles of justice and honesty, and the same forces that fix the rewards of farming, mercantile and manufacturing industries will control the railroad business in all its departments. The details of the reform might be amplified almost to infinitude, but the main fact is sufficient for our present recognition; that when the monopoly which each railroad maintains in transportation over its own track is abolished, all the ramifications based upon that monopoly will fall with it, and the principle of equal, free and honest competition will obtain throughout all branches of that enterprise.

### APPLIED SCIENCE

#### In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

#### PUBLIC WORK ROOMS.

There is a suggestion of that most able and earnest liggrenist, Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson, deserving more attention than it appears to have received. He suggests that in cities and towns rooms in which industrials could perform their work be provided at a rental they could afford to pay, instead of doing their work in their crowded homes in the midst of the household and its affairs. Take for example such work as sewing, washing, scouring, or in any way handling, in the making or repair of clothing, bedding, furniture, carpeting, curtains, house linen. To do this work at home must often result in the carrying of deadly contagion to the families where these articles are sent home when to be used. Suppose a dress has been finished for your child in a room where several children are sick of malignant scarlet fever? On the other hand the introduction of the materials and labor of many industries into the home must and often does bring contagion, or other injurious effects into the midst of the family. Suppose clothing and bedding are sent from a chamber where malignant disease exists to be laundered in the midst of the home of a family of children? If sent to a public room the probability of spreading a fatal disorder would be vastly diminished. A multitude of considerations similar to the foregoing readily arise before the mind. The attachment of a work-room to the home premises separate and apart from the dwelling is an idea in the same line. We believe that the day will arrive when such provision will be considered as necessary for the industrial worker as for the professional worker. The working man will need his work-room no less than the lawyer or physician his office, the pastor his study, and the merchant his counting room.

#### THE ALABAMA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE.

We have received the catalogue of this school for 1890. It represents a prosperous institution, with a faculty second to none which has been organized by any college in America under the endowment funds provided by Congress, and with material and appliances for the illustrations of applied science equal to the best anywhere. Successful where so many have failed, Alabama may well be proud of this school. The experiment station is officered by a director, who is the agriculturist, a chemist, botanist, and a physiologist, which organization correctly and effectively covers the ground over which the investigation and research undertaken by a station ought to extend.

#### VIVISECTION.

Among the latest to have their say about matters they take no trouble to know anything about, is the noted infidel, Mr. Ingersoll, who comes forward to say that the "hell of science" is vivisection. If this person has been understood he has always maintained that there is no hell. Moreover, he now says that when the brain is mad with excitement and the soul rushes to crime, men may sympathize with the criminal; but for cool and deliberate cruelty there should be no forebearance. But it is of record that Ingersoll

does not believe that man has a soul. These words of his are, therefore, vain and empty; as it were tinkling brass. All this sort of criticism of scientific methods of which the critics are ignorant in toto is very foolish. In modern science there has been no progress like the progress of anatomy and physiology and surgery, and of this progress vivisection has been the corner-stone. Vivisection is done under anesthesia, and is no more cruel than surgery.

#### STOCK GROWING AT THE SOUTH.

In a late number we had a word about cotton as a money crop, and against "diversification," with Japan persimmons, wild goose beans and ivory. There is a diversification which may well be, and which ought to be gradually made. Cotton seed should be fed out on the lands which produce the cotton. The writer having lived for a time in Louisiana is personally and practically familiar with the difficulties in the way of acclimating improved breeds of stock at the South. But it can be done, and it ought to be done; cotton seed and ensilage, or cotton seed and dry corn fodder, or hay cut and steamed, is not only a superb feeding stuff, but it produces manure of immense value. The continued deportation of so large a portion of the cotton seed is a depletion which no land will long bear. The door of this great waste ought to be shut. It is of no use to import improved breeds of live stock from the far North to the far South. The acclimation must be gradual. From Kentucky, Tennessee, and the middle Atlantic States, a sufficient supply can be drawn of a quality, if equaled not to be surpassed in the world anywhere. Breeding farms should be established along the Northern portion of the cotton belt, and little trouble will be experienced in establishing there the best breeds without any material losses by acclimation. Hence, the distribution to plantations further Southward may be accomplished without serious loss. There is no doubt much cheap land bordering the cotton belt where the cotton seed may be availed of to feed animals and manure the land. The great and rapid appreciation of the value of the land being looked to as the chief source of profit. The heavy breeds should be avoided for the South; they can not withstand the heat and flies. It is well understood in making this statement that it gets hotter in Chicago than in New Orleans, and that it is often hotter in Virginia than Louisiana, but we have in view the long, dry mid-summer period. Devons will do better there than short horns; Morgans than Clydesdales; Southdowns than Leicesters or Cotswolds. The deportation of cotton seed is a tremendous drain upon the cotton lands. If cotton is king, cotton seed is the queen of Southern agriculture. If the queen be unfruitful and barren what of the future?

#### THE HYDRAULIC RAM.

One of the simplest, most useful, and efficient of the small powers is the water engine or hydraulic ram. The force utilized is gravitation, a natural power of which the supply is unlimited, and costs nothing. The ram is set below the level of the source of water supply, and the water running down an inclined plane is the source of power. This power is not applied directly to the water to be elevated, but through the medium of the elastic force of air compressed within an air chamber by the impact of the

water running down the inclined plane through the drive pipe. The force of the impact is determined by the area and inclination of the drive pipe and its length. By this simple device water from a distant spring may be brought to the door or into the house at less cost and requiring less attention than by any other means.

At an original cost of \$75 water may be brought to the house from a spring 150 yards distant up an elevation of many feet. In the country the relief to be thus obtained from the drudgery of bringing a water supply in buckets from a spring so located is worth twenty times its annual cost, which will be the interest on the original investment and a few cents for renewal of valves, etc.

Health and comfort will be promoted, and what is of no small consequence, help may be kept in the kitchen which probably could not be done if the cook had to go 150 yards to the spring for water. Water may be elevated about ten times the height of fall from spring to ram. At an elevation of 50 feet a good ram, with the right fall for drive pipe, can deliver about one-sixth of the water furnished.

The experience and observation of the writer enables him to recommend the hydraulic ram, where conditions are suitable, as one of the most economical and efficient and durable engines ever invented. If there is a spring which will keep an inch and a half drive pipe full, and a fall of from six to ten feet can be had, a reliable and practically permanent water supply may be carried a distance of from 150 to 300 yards, and elevated 50 to 100 feet. There is a ram which can be driven by branch water and pumps the spring water, and in that case practically the whole spring supply can be utilized.

#### COTTON AS A MONEY CROP.

Our good friend, the statistician, may his shadow never grow less, tells us that our crop system is the curse and bane of the South, and has kept and keeps it helpless and dependent. Cotton is the money crop of the South, now yielding some seven million bales, worth at this time 12 cents; bales average about 500 pounds. May "the sunny land, our own beloved home," be cursed and baned after this fashion forever!

The Parish of Sabine, Louisiana, may be set over against Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, for comparison. Sabine raises for market cotton exclusively. The agriculture of Lancaster is "diversified and protected" to an extreme degree. The ideal "home market" lies at its doors. Sabine has an average haul of thirty miles to transportation by water or rail, but she has not upon record a solitary mortgage on a foot of real estate. Lancaster is profusely mortgaged, and foreclosure sales are frequent. Again, is there a country on the whole face of the earth—is there land anywhere else than in the cotton growing South that can produce enough to sustain its cultivators five years under the business methods employed? A contract is made between the planter and factor, by which the planter must pay 15% per cent to the factor and interest for all the money he uses as follows:

The factor charges the planter 2% per cent for acceptance, that is, the planter draws a sight draft on his factor; the factor accepts, puts his name on it to make it good in bank. The bank advances the money at 8 per cent. The planter goes on and makes his crop,

and sends it to the factor, who charges 2½ per cent for selling. All supplies bought during the year are bought through the factor, and he charges 2½ per cent on the cost of all supplies purchased. The planter pays the factor:

2½ per cent for acceptance.  
2½ per cent for buying.  
2½ per cent for selling.  
8 per cent for legal interest to bank.

15% per cent.

Was there ever such a position known under heaven? Is there a country anywhere outside of the cotton-growing South which could bear it? Is there any place where diversified agriculture could stand up under it? No; not for five years. But old Sabine has stood up under it, and still stands sturdily enough after the lapse of generations, and has not a mortgaged foot of territory. But suppose old Sabine wants to catch up with the times, and abandons her money crop to the extent of say 20 per cent of its production, and takes up in its room sugar beets and sorghum, and goes to breeding elephants—to get ivory of course—and wild goose beans and Japan persimmons? Suppose those people listen to the official arguments with which they are stuffed, and attempt to "diversify" and call for "protection?" Any sensible person can foresee the result. The question of what the farmer ought to produce is governed by divers considerations. Climate, soil, facilities for market, are the decisive factors. Figuring on this question amounts to nothing. Give us the figures without the arguments, or if the figures and the arguments can't be separated keep the figures. Stack them away; they will keep until printing and transportation are cheaper, and money more plenty than now. The maiden department of our Government ought not to soil the white linen of its virginity by misuse of the people's money in the production of campaign thunder, nor in support of a propaganda of error. A majority of the people believe that this system, apart from its political uses, is erroneous in theory and pernicious in practice. Those who are confessible the best and most able thinkers in both parties, regard it as utterly false and erroneous, almost without exception. Is the Department of Agriculture *societas de propaganda fidei?* This business belongs to the "fat buyers," and in their hands it ought to be left. Nobody is expected to believe professional liars. Let the brethren down South grow cotton. Cotton is king.

GRATIFYING incidents connected with the immense mass-meetings at Columbus, Winfield and Emporia, Kansas, were the presence and splendid speeches of Ralph Beaumont, chairman of the K. of L. legislative committee. He was in fine trim and spirits, and was most enthusiastically received by the immense crowds. From Kansas he goes to Dakota, and as independentism is just now filling the air of that State he will fill his lungs with its, to him, pleasing odors.

The Southern Alliance Farmer (Atlanta, Ga.) says:  
Free coinage of silver was killed in the House by Democrats. Twenty-two Democrats voted against free coinage. They destroyed their best chance of dividing the Republican party in the next election.

#### FROM CORRESPONDENTS EVERYWHERE.

A. J. Johnson, Tabernacle, Atlanta county, Miss., writes a most appreciated and complimentary letter to THE ECONOMIST. It is a pleasure to be praised.

M. H. Hawkins, president of Frankfort Alliance, Mineral county, West Virginia, writes that there will be a County Alliance picnic at Frankfort Saturday, July 26, to which THE ECONOMIST and all friendly to the cause are invited. Hon. W. L. Wilson will address the assemblage.

Colonel Edward Daniels, of Gunston, Fairfax county, Virginia, writes of the fraudulent loan of gold by the banks to the Government: "The meeting in New York I know all about I was there editing Our Country, the anti-monopoly paper in which Frank Thurber and the Society to Promote Justice were interested. At Thurber's I met the Comptroller, a friend of his, and had a warm controversy, resulting in my visiting Jordan a little later. He laughed with me at the pretended danger of silver payments. I charged it as a hoax, and he said he wasn't in the scare. It was got up to stop silver coinage by misleading Congress."

D. D. Bann, Land of Promise, Princess Anne county, Virginia, asks an explanation of what is meant by silver being worth only 72 cents. Silver is a commodity just now, speculated in as wheat or cotton. An ounce of fine silver has sold as low within a few months as 90 cents. As 37½ grains of pure silver is contained in the standard 412½ grain dollar (nine-tenths fine), it is evident that the bullion value of a dollar may be even less, there being 480 grains in an ounce—480: 90: 271½. The dollar, however, is and has always been a full dollar, except so far as robbed of the function of money. To say that a dollar is worth any less than 100 cents is to deny the power of the Government to make money and regulate its value. The presumption is against a man once expelled for good cause ever being reinstated, but it is a question for decision by properly clothed authority.

The following are resolutions passed at the meeting of Hanover County (Virginia) Alliance, July 4, 1890:

*Resolved*, That the proposed national election bill, now pending in Congress, is a direct blow at the rights and liberties of the people of all the States in that it foully and tyrannically seeks to deprive them of that lawful and proper representation in Congress to which, as producers, tax payers and lawful citizens of a common country, they are entitled, and would leave all their varied and valuable interests in this particular wholly at the will and pleasure of the paid tools and spies of any dominant party.

*Resolved*, That we regard such a measure as tending to a dangerous centralization of power in the hands of the General Government and its allies, the trusts and monopolies, and as a peculiar menace to the civilization, peace and prosperity of Virginia and the South, now happily undisturbed.

J. T. Price, of Slater, Mo., writes of President Polk's speech at that place: For three hours he held his audience enchanted, and as Sabine county is the center of Missouri culture—one noted too for its State influence in politics—the speech is sure to influence for permanent good a very large circle of thoughtful citizens. Besides treating economic and social problems with a profound analysis and lofty tone of morals and patriotism, he awake in our people a spirit of action to make Wall street the only "Mason and Dixon's line" of the future. Kind, genial, entertaining and courteous, with every one conversationally; also President Polk will hereafter have a host of co-workers and warm friends too in middle Missouri. As to our hearts of him it might be said like Caesar, "veni, vidi, vici," which to a "reb" from a "fed," in addition to thanks, means a very sincere compliment, for peace hath her victories not less than war—in truth grander and everlasting, of golden sheaves, sweet fruits and rosy joy, with no ashes, except for the tares of error.

THE ECONOMIST goes to friends in nearly every State in the Union, and many kind letters come which give fresh courage in the performance of duty. One from J. D. Tate, Hammonsville, Ark., tells better than editorial could of the subtle sympathy among the brotherhood, and how what is being done by the national organ is appreciated. Sending in some names, it concludes: "I wish to be understood by you that I am not after any premium or commission, but rest assured that I will do all that I can for the advancement of our cause, and I know of no method by which I can accom-

plish so much as by using what little influence and energy I may possess in extending the circulation of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. It must be by some mistake that you still send me two copies of your paper, as I did not intend it that way, not being able to pay any more than it is necessary that I should, being an ex-confederate soldier, considerably maimed by wounds; fifty-five years old; have a wife and six children; the oldest nine years old, the youngest thirty-six hours old, (and a fine boy he is). I work my little farm alone, and make nothing otherwise."

An address to Alliance men of the second Congressional district of Georgia, by Capt. L. O. Jackson, President Decatur Co. Alliance, has been inclosed, from which a liberal extract is given: "It is an admitted fact by the Representatives that the oppression does exist. At the same time they repudiate our measure of relief as unworthy of their consideration, and fail to present a substitute. The untenable attitude that they occupy in relation to the bill has been fully ventilated through the unsubsidized press, and therefore it is not important to refer to it. It is sufficient to know that the farming class is being pauperized by legalized robbery, and it matters not whether by the tariff, banking, or trusts, our representatives should have the manhood to combat either and all of these evils. But, forsooth, when a relief measure, emanating from the people, is submitted it is met and resisted by a caucus of our own Democratic Representatives, and, judging from the objections they urge against it, before they had investigated the merits of the bill, we are given to understand, by the discourtesies shown our delegation, that on account of our stupidity, we do not know what is best for us, or must we assume that the adverse position taken in regard to the bill is their subterfuge from the just indignation of a neglected constituency? A crisis is upon the country, and if it is not met promptly and effectually we may leave as a legacy to posterity a condition of affairs worse than slavery. It is within the grasp of the agricultural class to avert this calamity, and they will doubtless do it if they can be made to feel the importance of it. Hence the great responsibility that rests upon the better informed of our Order, for it becomes their imperative duty to educate by patience and painstaking in their duties and obligations, that the end may be fraught with blessings of liberty and prosperity to all classes. We could not contemplate a state of affairs more appalling than the picture in which the blood of Americans is grappling with a moneyed oligarchy which is now a menace to our free institutions. It may be assumed that a more conservative element will control the next national Congress. If so, what measures of relief may the country hope for? Will they, too, fumble with the tariff while the people are being robbed of their produce and homes? No; not if such patriots as L. F. Livingston are sent there. We need such men to represent us as will give special attention to the interest of the people and not the one-idea politician who despises the days of small things, who makes a strike possibly once in a term for the gratification of a sordid, selfish ambition for national notoriety, and recognizes only the newspaper men as his constituency, whose pottage for concessions of principle is now and then an Agricultural Report and a few free garden seeds. The jute trust has made the use of cotton bagging a necessity from principle, and I should regard the abandonment of its use at this time as a most dangerous concession of that principle. But it would not in any degree be less so than the sub-treasury plan. While the use of cotton bagging is a monument over the grave of the jute trust, the sub-treasury scheme foretells the fate of the infamous monetary system of the country, which threatens by centralization the destruction of our Government. I believe in pressing the sub-treasury bill upon Congress by every available means, and if it accomplishes nothing more it will magnify the unjust and discriminating financial system of the Government. It will show to the people that while our representatives have been fumbling at the spigot the main leak has been at the bung, and that which has been regarded as the principal issue has been in a great measure a decoy for our representatives. No doubt the enormous tariff has much to do with agricultural depression, but it is not the main cause, and while the Democrats have been monkeying with conservatism and applying reform ointment to Uncle Sam's tariff sore shin the great national cancer has eaten into the vitals of our Government and threaten to destroy it. I hope that the brethren present will express themselves freely and fully upon the question of our representative in Congress, and if we should deem it desirable to make a change, take such action in the matter as we may unite upon."

## THE REFORM PRESS.

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

The Wichita (Kan.) Eagle tells what's in the air:

There is trouble ahead, deep as the sea and as wide for the political bosses of this country. There is a state of affairs and it is a serious one and it seems unadjustable from any party standpoint. It takes a thousand bushels of corn to pay the taxes on an average Kansas farm; and all the wool of a whole flock of sheep, together with the hide and meat of their carcasses, to do the same thing in Ohio. It takes ten thousand bushels of corn, or the product of half a dozen farms to pay the salary of a single public officer in Kansas, and the united effort of a whole year to pay the interest on the mortgage of the average farm in Illinois. Capital alone is protected as found invested in the manufacture or with the combine, while the laborer only sweats to increase the accumulations of the protected trusts. The question of price is no longer fixed by the cost of production, but by the lowest possible margin on which the producers exist. Bountiful crops are a burthen and mean depression rather than prosperity. The demand for dividends on values that were never invested are mercilessly wrested from the commerce of the country, the demand being enforced by interstate commissions and pooling associations, which find their full warrant in the law. Relief must come soon to all the States lying West of the Alleghanies or both old political parties will disappear as flax in the flame. The present trouble is a culmination of abuses, weakness and blunders which have been fostered in unwisdom and permitted by the political blindness of years. That partisanship is partly to blame, that corruption is partly to blame there is little doubt, but that greed with its uneven hands and unjust methods is at the bottom, there seems no doubt. The only possible sudden relief would be a general war in Europe, or disastrous and continuous failure of crops for the other side of the earth. The paid instruments of great commercial centers of the Atlantic seaboard, the Punch and Judy puppets of interest accumulating capital, tell us of better times for the Western bread producer and the Western meat producer that never come.

The Alliance Tribune (Topeka, Kan.) says:

The State Journal suggests "if the Lord is on the side of the Farmers Alliance, we had better be praying for rain." No doubt this class of newspapers would like to see the farmers spend all their time praying for rain instead of spending their time reaching for the scalps of the political shysters who have legislated the country into its present deplorable condition, and then standing on their hind legs shouting overproduction! We recently heard one of those overproduction fools deny that a woolen blanket was in any sense an agricultural product, but argued that there was a great overproduction of blankets.

The Early County News (Blakely, Ga.) tells how it is down that way:

"I'm in favor of kicking the last one of 'em out of the Democratic party," said somebody to us concerning the Alliance the other day. "Yes," said we, "and you will turn the bone and sinew of the party out, too." To quote a trite truism, "ain't it amusing to hear the tail talk about wagging the dog."

The Southern Alliance Farmer (Atlanta, Ga.) sees how it is:

The Alliance, as an order, does not belong to any political party. In some of the Northwestern States, a majority of Alliancemen may be Republicans. We notice that Judge Stewart in some of his speeches endeavors to prove this. He need not waste time in proving that in a State which has a large Republican majority, the majority of the Alliance are Republicans, for that needs no proof. In Georgia not only is there a large Democratic majority, but most of that majority are members of the Alliance, and of course the Alliance of Georgia are, with a very few exceptions, none but Democrats. The effort of the Savannah News, the Macon Telegraph and others, to create the impression that the Alliancemen of Georgia are not Democrats, is as futile as Hardeeman's race for Governor. If the Alliancemen of Georgia are not its Democracy, in the name of all reason, who are the Democrats. The idea that because the Republicans and Democrats of the North and West all join the Alliance is no

more reason for saying Southern Alliancemen are not Democrats, than it would be to say Southern Masons, or Odd Fellows, or Red Men are not Democrats, simply because these orders allow Republicans to join them. Because, as Alliancemen, we want to see certain legislation which the order in the West favors, is no reason that as true Democrats we can not favor the same measures. There is nothing right or fair in this fight which these papers and the politicians are making on us, and the farmers see it. Let them go on with their opposition to the Alliance until they find that their very opposition has strengthened this cause and it has grown far beyond their influence or their reach. These unfair opponents of the Alliance may as well recognize the fact that the country is under no obligation to the politicians, and that it is the people who are going to run this Government, or know the reason why. One thing is very, very certain, they can not make a greater failure than the politicians have done.

The Greer County News (Frazer, Tex.) calls attention to the principle involved in the campaign in Texas:

The voters of Texas are terribly in earnest, so far as the railroad commission business is concerned. And well they may be. Oregon is shipping wheat to Fort Worth, a distance of 2,000 miles, at a cost of 15 cents per 100 pounds. The Greer county farmer is made to pay 30 cents per 100 pounds for shipping his wheat from Vernon to Fort Worth, a distance of only 163 miles. The Kansas farmer ships his wheat to Dallas for 15 cents per 100 pounds. The freight on a car load of farming implements is more from Dallas to Vernon than St. Louis to Dallas. Is this right? It is not Mr. Hogg that the people of Texas are contending for. It is a principle.

The Great West (St. Paul, Minn.) brings up an old subject:

That mortgage census is one of the dirtiest political frauds ever consummated in this country. The plutocrats who rule this country never will let you know the stupendous indebtedness of labor while they rule the people. We have now in hand some facts to publish hereafter. The census enumerators in many places, or in all places, simply ask, "Is your farm mortgaged?" "Yes." And that is all. No question as to amount. Mortgages of non-residents, as in our own case, do not get on the lists at all. When the reports are made not one-half of the amount of mortgages will appear.

Of the campaign in South Carolina the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal takes a broad view:

The anti-Tillmanites in South Carolina are conducting what they choose to call "a campaign of education," and they charge the Tillmanites with carrying on "a campaign of slander." It would be difficult if one should care to disturb the pages of dusty figures which must lie for one side or the other, the mud and the vituperation to decide what is "education," and what is "slander." The "education" certainly smells most rankly of slander, though the "slander" is, of course, not to be questioned as possibly being anything else. A part of the "education" was to publish abroad that Hampton had been grossly insulted at Columbia and Aiken by rabid Tillmanites. General Hampton denies this. He says, if he is reported aright by a Tillman organ, that he does not believe there was any attempt to show disrespect for him. Another part of the education seems to be to persuade the discontented people of that State, who are weary of ring rule in the State and in municipal governments, that the ring is really a virtuous and patriotic body, that it has governed well and deserves to be perpetuated in power. If we understand the "movement," as it is called, it is a protest from the people against the continuance of the ring in what is looked upon as a usurpation of power and subversion of the rights of the people. This ring is no phantom. It is real bone and sinew. It has firm hold on power, and will be shaken from its perch only with great difficulty. It raises the cry of "Democracy" and "Down with Independents" to deceive the people into believing that office holders and office seekers constitute the Democratic party. The people protest and revolt against this ring. They are not for Tillman. They are for themselves. They are not fighting for Tillman. They are fighting out the issue whether they shall govern themselves, or whether an office-seeking coterie of politicians shall keep themselves in power. Tillman's personality sinks in the great cause of the people. He is but a leader. The fight is for principles.

and self-government. As to slander, that is the stock in trade of both sides of most political controversies. Argument and soberness are given to the lightning and the gale, and for a time it would seem that Ingalls' "iridescent dream" of politics ever being pure were true, and that the decalogue had no part in office seeking. South Carolina politics need a cleansing, and we should remember, before we abuse Tillman and the "movement" too much, that as Hippocrates said, "desperate diseases require desperate remedies."

The Union (Luray, Va.) says:

The reform press is ignored and sneered at by some of the partisan papers. They do not want their readers to know what a terrible power the reform press has become among the farmers and laborers of this country, but it is of no use, they may as well give up, the reform press is ahead, for truth and justice (their motto) will always come to the front.

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

Our letters this week would glorify a patriot's heart, and throw an aureole of light around even the pictures of the old revolutionary camp fires. "Rouse ye, men! Even the poor of earth are awaking. Justice to the poor is the righteousness of God!"

The Kingman (Kan.) Journal says:

Already the political liars are getting in their dirty work. They are alarmed at the rapid growth of the Alliance and a corresponding depletion of the ranks of the old parties. The Democratic shoulder hitters are telling the Democrats who belong to the Alliance that it is only a scheme to strengthen the Republican party. While on the other hand the Republican bosses are using the same arguments among their members, and that the Alliance is simply organized to defeat the Republican party. These tricky liars and boodlers are getting paid for this dirty work, and in order to defeat the honest voters of this county, the trust combines, under the control of Wall Street, will spend millions of money to lead the voters astray.

The Union (Brookfield, Mo.) says:

If there is anything in the tariff reform hoodoo, now going on, why do not the journals that work it off in every issue point out some of its excellent effects—possible and prospective?

The Iowa Tribune thinks:

Three hundred Congressmen that would sit still and allow a speaker to prevent legislation by hiding bills from the House ought to go home to their mothers and wear dresses and bibs.

The Tennessee Watchman (Knoxville) puts it:

With all the other reforms financial reforms come uppermost, and the Farmers Alliance has the good sense to know that fact. The farmers of this country are getting exceedingly tired of Wall street domination and diction. A twenty-four per cent dividend on bank stock tells the story.

The Kentucky Home Journal is the name of a new paper, published by the F. and L. U. Pub. Co., of Grayson, Ky. It says:

Farmers, think of this: In 1867 you received just as much again for the product of your labor as you do to-day. That is, the same amount of labor that brought \$2 then will only bring \$1 now. The reason is plain. Then there were \$52 per capita in circulation, now only about \$5, and in order to make the \$21 claimed by Secretary Windom, there must be \$16 worth of English diplomacy and American bossism.

The Progressive Farmer (Raleigh, N. C.) State Alliance organ has a leader on Senator Vance:

We publish a letter in this issue from Senator Vance to Elias Carr, Esq., president of the State Alliance, in regard to the sub-treasury plan. Our people had been led to believe that Senator Vance would readily support the bill, even in its present shape. It will be remembered that many letters and resolutions of thanks have been sent Senator Vance during the past few months, thanking him for his advocacy of the bill and his work in its behalf. We are at a loss to account for his actions in the matter. Senator Vance admits that there has been much bad legislation, and many things have not been done which should have been done. So far as we can see, his main objection is a doubt as to its constitutionality. If it is unconstitutional why did he not

say so sooner? If it is unconstitutional why did he introduce it and pretend to be a friend to the measure and its projectors? We understand that Senator Vance either suggested some changes, or made them himself, in the original bill. Why did he not get it in proper shape then? Neither Senator Vance nor any of the outspoken opponents of the measure have said why or how it is unconstitutional. There is a reason for everything. None of them seem to know why it is unconstitutional. The government loans money to railroads, to banks. It builds custom-houses and postoffice buildings; it allows men to put whiskey in warehouses, and hires a man to carry the key of each warehouse. Less than four years ago there was a panic in Wall street, New York. The government sent millions of dollars for the use of the speculators until they could recover. Yet all of this is constitutional. It is also constitutional for the government to make thousands of consumers pay a tax to enrich only hundreds of manufacturers. If no other influence has been brought to bear on Senator Vance and others who are against the measure we can account for it in two ways: The Senators and Congressmen are ashamed of the record they have made in the last twenty years, and Mr. Vance, in common with the other members are not willing to admit that the "hay-seeders" have solved the problem—have pointed out the remedy. We do not hesitate to use the same language about Mr. Vance that we used concerning the letter written by Congressman Mills, of Texas. We have not been paying him \$8,000 per year for twelve years to tell us a thing is wrong without giving some good reasons. A ten-year-old boy can do that and for less money. The farmers in twenty-three States have gotten up the sub-treasury bill. The St. Louis convention was composed of men of intelligence, many of them the equal of Senator Vance or any of our representatives. They thought the measure constitutional. Nothing has ever been so generally discussed by all people and none of our representatives, nor newspapers, nor lawyers, nor farmers have been able to prove that the sub-treasury bill is wrong. They have said so, but a child can do that. There are some features in the bill that might be left out, but in a general way it would be of great value to the farmers. Senator Vance may have underestimated the strength of the Alliance. Men living right here in the State have done this. He may think he can ignore its demands, but he will find it contains more than "one-third" of the back-bone of the State. Senator Vance is a brainy man, but we contend that the thousands of Alliance men in North Carolina know a thing or two. He would have us believe that he knows more than the hundreds of intelligent farmers from twenty-three States who met in St. Louis last December. The farmers of North Carolina pay Senator Vance. It is his business to work for them whether the measures are constitutional or not. He should do it, and if the bill is not in proper shape he should have gone to work and put it in shape. If he is not willing to serve the people we want to know it. We can't afford to pay men \$8,000 per annum and then allow them to put up their brains against the entire State. The moral of it all is this: We must go back to the old way of electing farmers to Congress and the United States Senate. It becomes more and more apparent that those who call our friends are our enemies. Begin this year. Delays are dangerous.

Plain Talk is a Republican paper, published at Vermillion, S. Dakota, from which the following leader, under the caption, "The Farmers' Movement," is extracted:

Attention has been more or less directed of late to the farmers' movement in the Southern States and to its probable disastrous effect on the fortunes of the Democratic party in the South. The tribulations of the late confederates would be sufficient cause for Republican rejoicing were it not true that the same agencies which are chafing the Democrats down South are menacing the peace and ease of the Republicans up North. The Farmers Alliance is preaching precisely the same political gospel North and South, East and West, in no less than twenty-nine States of the Union. Right here in South Dakota they are teaching the same principles among Republicans that they are promulgating among the Democrats of South Carolina. Their work in Nebraska is along exactly the same lines as in Alabama and Arkansas. If the Democratic party in the South is in peril at their hands, how is it with the Republican party in the North? Here in South Dakota these people have gone farther and more fully disclosed their purposes than in any other State. The Independent party was organized and named at Huron on the 6th instant. Their convention was very large and very en-

thusiastic. This new party means to harm the Republican party of South Dakota. Its speakers and leaders declare that this is only the beginning, and that the new party under this name will be organized rapidly in many other States North and South. They profess to believe that the time is ripe, the conditions auspicious, and that their principles are commendable to a large majority of the people in all the agricultural regions. They even flatter themselves and threaten all others that the Independent party will hold the balance of power in the next Congress and carry the presidential election of 1892. All this may be taken with many grains of allowance; nevertheless the movement is a fact which can neither be ignored nor bluffed out. On the 9th of June, only three days later than the Huron convention, the new party held a ratification meeting at Mitchell, which is said to have been the largest political gathering ever held there, if not the largest ever held in the State. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that in numbers and enthusiasm they created a profound sensation. The central doctrines of the new party are:

1. Full legal tender money, to increase in volume with the increase of business, and to be issued to productive industries by the General Government without the intervention of banks of issue.

2. Government ownership of railroads, telegraph, and telephones, and service at actual cost.

3. Free and unlimited coinage of silver.

4. An absolutely secret system of voting.

These propositions are of such a character that, just at this time, they are attractive to a great many people. Unless squarely met and fairly answered no man can safely undertake to say how many recruits the Independents will call to them and enlist under their banner. The problem of meeting these people and these propositions is first presented to the Republican leaders of South Dakota. Right here is the initiative. The responsibility is grave and weighty. We have a peculiar people. A large majority have heretofore been radically Republican, but a large majority of the Huron convention have been Republicans heretofore. And it has become a saying that, here in South Dakota, "it is not safe to bet against anything that gets loose." Prohibition "went," and there are plenty who believe that equal suffrage will "go" at the next election. What may not "go"? The new party is not made up of farmers alone. The Knights of Labor are hand in glove with them in this State, and the relation between the farmers and the labor organizations in all parts of the country is close and intimate. How will the Republican party in South Dakota meet the issue? How can the party safely meet it? Last year the State convention was largely influenced by popular sentiment. It adopted a platform and made certain nominations which the leaders would not have had so but for the pressure of public opinion. Representing popular sentiment the party went to a grand success at the polls. If it pursues a sufficiently liberal course this year it may repeat the history of last year. Popular feeling will not justify the party this year in any back up or side tracking. The principles of the new party are generally popular with the masses. The Republican party must be the exponent and champion of popular ideas or it must be the wise teacher to satisfy the people that public sentiment is at fault and wrong. The Republicans of South Dakota should adopt such a liberal platform as will satisfy the people that it is a better, wiser, safer reform party than any other party, new or old. And more, it must nominate candidates who are able to go upon the stump and everywhere demonstrate this fact. The new party is already thoroughly organized in a large majority of the precincts of the State. It has been four years organizing. Its members are full of active energy. For the next four months they will lose no opportunity to proselyte. They carry on their work in the homes of the farmers and laborers. They have prepared for a thorough canvass of the State by able speakers. Their converts will need no "drumming" to get them to the polls. They are already making formidable headway. No such spirit of activity and devotion prevails in the Republican ranks. As to platform and candidates the Republican party must place itself on a level with the spirit of the times. Given—a broad, progressive, liberal platform, and candidates who have thought along the line of the new departure and are able to go before the people and discuss the new issues with the Independents and prove that there is no good reason for Republicans in this "off year" to wander away in pursuit of experiments—a Republican victory sure and complete may be achieved next fall. But if, instead, there be "monkeying with the machine," the Republicans

of South Dakota are liable to get sand in their eyes before the end of the season.

As a choice bit of reform literature, the following from a speech by Senator Cockrell, of Missouri, is extracted from the Congressional Record (Washington, D. C.):

No, Mr. President, this bill is in my judgment infinitely worse than the present law, and there is no comparison between this bill and the bill as passed by the Senate. The bill as passed by the Senate, I believe, if the Senate rejects this conference report, we can yet get adopted when it shall have been brought before some deliberative representative body. That bill places gold and silver upon a perfect equality. It took the silver metal from its degraded position under the law and put it upon a perfect equality before the law with its brother metal gold; and when that is done by law there will be an equality between them in value, and it is the duty of the United States to restore that equality between them in value, and it is the duty of the United States to restore that equality before the law. The Senate bill gave to silver all the legal powers and rights and incidents held by gold to-day. That is right. This bill gives to silver none of the incidents of gold—not one of them. It absolutely stops coining under the present law after one year. It does not take effect for thirty days after the date of its passage, I believe. There will then be only some eleven months left in which we can have a coinage of \$2,000,000 per month of silver, and then we have silver in the United States a mere commodity, a mere article of merchandise. We have placed it in the warehouse called the sub-treasury, and what will my distinguished friend from Ohio say when the farmers' National Alliance and the Labor Union shall present their demands before the Finance Committee for the establishment of a sub-treasury for the deposit of cotton, corn, tobacco, wheat, and oats? If silver is only merchandise, if silver is only a commodity, if silver has none of the qualities of money, why not treat these other commodities as you treat it? There is but one answer to the question.

Farmers and Laborers Light (Princeton, Ind.) exactly so:

The growing sentiment in favor of independent political action is causing the party politicians much uneasiness. Leading political papers, despairing of squelching the move by treating it with silent contempt, have turned loose a volume of vituperation and slanderous abuse. The bum politicians and office-seekers are vainly trying to toady to the bosses and maintain the good will of reformers. But midst it all the farmers and laborers of the country go quietly on nominating their own candidates and preparing for a desperate struggle with the shysters and political thieves which have almost destroyed the liberties of the people. There is no question as to what the result will be provided we stand firm. Let not the party lash frighten us into the old party lines, but let us boldly and defiantly assert our freedom and victory is assured.

Dakota Ruralist (Huron, S. Dakota) says most truly. This paper is one of the leading reform papers in Dakota or the West, and knows exactly the true condition.

Why the preposterous attack on the leaders of the Alliance? Is it not a fact that the people are tired of having party war cries dinned into their ears whilst the plutocrats of each party are crows of a feather to rob the operative and producing classes? Is it not a fact that the farmer and operator are tired of the spoils-leaders of the present dominant parties? Will these classes take the crimes of robbery, bribery, perjury, and treason, of which the leaders of the old parties are each and severally guilty, and impute these same crimes to their own leaders at the beck and command of these traitors, perjurers, bribers, and robbers who have heretofore enjoyed the products of their crimes in comparative safety? No. It is only a stop thief cry. The people don't want party government; they want for themselves just what the bankers, lawyers, railroad companies and quasi-private monopolies all get, namely, economic administration—that is, a dollar for a dollar—no less. The entire machinery of the old parties means only about forty cents on the dollar.

Industrial Union (Quicksburg, Va.); just right:

There is no time for Alliance men to be sitting on the fence. This is a fight between the people and the political manipulators and money sharks of our country. And it behooves every man to get down to solid work and help make this fight for freedom. Come, let every man buckle on the Alliance armor and help make a square fight.

Official Organ of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

Volume 3.

SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1890.

Number 19.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.:

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST PUBLISHING CO.

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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Maryland, Baltimore, August 5.  
Alabama, Montgomery, August 5.  
Mississippi, Starkville, August 5.  
Louisiana, Baton Rouge, August 5.  
North Carolina, Asheville, August 12.  
Tennessee, Nashville, August 12.  
Missouri, Sedalia, August 12.  
West Virginia, Charlestown, August 13.  
Arkansas Alliance, Camden, Aug. 19.  
Virginia Lynchburg, August 19.  
Georgia, Atlanta, August 19.  
Texas, Dallas, August 19.  
Kansas, Topeka, October 15.  
Kentucky, November 11.

## Book Notice.

**THE MITE**, a collection of songs calculated for the use of the Order, has been received. It seems to fill a long-felt want, and appears to be in every way suited to the object intended. All must admit that the meetings of the Order are much more pleasant when there is music. By the use of this little book songs composed specially for such occasions can be employed, which would no doubt make such meetings more interesting. Price \$1 per dozen, or 10 cents each. Address Mrs. Florence Olmstead, Douglass, Kansas.

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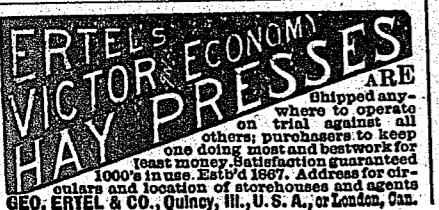
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Washington, D. C.

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## Do you wish to know something about THE SUB-TREASURY PLAN

This is the scheme for the relief of the producing classes, indorsed by the St. Louis meeting of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. A bill embodying its provisions is now before Congress, and the subject engages the attention of the country. Do not let your opinion be biased by prejudice or misrepresentation, but send to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C., and get a pamphlet of 32 large pages, with a full and minute explanation of the plan. Price, postage prepaid, single copy, 10 cents; eight copies, 50 cents; twenty copies, \$1.00. By freight or express, at purchasers expense; 100 copies, \$3.00; 500 copies, \$12.50; 1,000 copies, \$20.00.

THE facts, statistics, and general information contained in The National Economist Almanac will never go out of date. Although that book is called an Almanac, it is really a hand-book of valuable information.

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Roadsters, Carriage and Saddle Horses, Southdowns (pure Walsingham Strain), Bronze Turkeys, Pit Games, Pigeons.

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## SCHOOL SUPPLIES.

If you want the best desks, the best "aids to school discipline," slate paper, or any other style of black boards, or any other "tools to work with" in the school-room, such as maps, globes, charts, or black boards, the best thing to do is to write to the J. B. Merwin School Supply Co., St. Louis, Mo., for special introductory prices on these articles. This firm furnishes the best goods at the lowest prices, and will take pleasure in answering all inquiries. Address the

J. B. MERWIN SCHOOL SUPPLY CO.,  
1104 Pine street, St. Louis, Mo.

We speak from personal knowledge, as we have dealt with this firm.—[Ed.]

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 3.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 26, 1890.

No. 19.

## THE MATTER OF SECTIONALISM.

The material interests of the West and South are identical in nearly every particular. It is useless to dispute that whatever is good for the wheat grower of the West is beneficial to the cotton grower of the South. This principle is being rapidly learned, both in the West and South. No doubt this identity of interests, together with natural inclinations, would have brought the people of the different sections together years ago but for the evil designs and base misrepresentations of unscrupulous politicians. With the least possible excuse, real or fancied, the politicians of the two old political parties begin an onslaught upon each other. This apparent show of earnestness gradually revives old animosities among the people or begets new dissensions which in the end array the sections against each other. This is not done for the sake of any principle involved or for the material or moral benefit of the people, but simply and wholly for the purpose of perpetuating the reign of the politicians. This is no fancy sketch, but a shameful reality, one that the people have been compelled to endure for the past quarter of a century.

Recently, however, the influence of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union has been felt to a remarkable degree upon all classes of society, both West and South. It has been a protest against present political conditions and methods from a source heretofore silent upon such questions, and from this fact alone has challenged the attention of all candid observers. Just what effect the Federal election bill recently passed the House will have, or to what extent it will reopen sectional hostilities, is difficult to determine at this time. The source from which this bill emanated—New England—is positive proof that it is intended to provoke disturbances, breed riots, and prepare the way for further acts of repression. If this scheme is successful, sectionalism, with all that term implies, will again curse the people of the South and West, and the East will, as usual, fatten and thrive in consequence. It is to be hoped that the organized wealth producers of either section will resist all such efforts, and refuse to be made a tool by monopoly and greed to the extent of again falling into a pit prepared expressly for them by the wily politicians and money owners. The people of both sections have similar interests to protect,

and to do so must stand together in opposition to the same false and unjust methods that spoliate both alike. Let nothing loosen the cords of fraternal feeling that now for the first time in years bids fair to bind them together in one great brotherhood, whose motto is, "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none." Let this fraternal feeling continue to grow, instead of being torn asunder, and the farmer of the North and West, together with the planter of the South, will in the ultimate realize fully the wisdom and justice in such action. Let not the designing politicians who seek to increase and intensify local or sectional prejudices and animosities among the people succeed in their nefarious schemes, but rather let the planters and farmers of these sections resist these attempts at division, and together march forward to industrial and political freedom. The power of money to oppress and monopoly to plunder is felt alike by both sections, and relief, if it ever comes, must come to both through the same medium. Would it not be wise to recognize this fact at once, and prepare to act in accordance.

## THE SURPLUS.

The reckless manner in which the present Congress has appropriated money has been the subject of much comment through the press and among the people. This feeling of late has intensified to such an extent that a halt has been called in order to ascertain the amount of appropriations already made, those that must of necessity be made, and the probable amount of revenue to meet them. Investigation upon that point shows that up to the present time the appropriations so far provided by Congress and approved by the President amount to \$230,101,000 in round numbers. In addition to this sum \$109,300,000 in appropriations have passed either the Senate or House. There are other appropriations not considered yet that must be provided for—such as the miscellaneous appropriation of about \$5,000,000, for dependent pensions \$45,000,000 or more, for the sinking fund and interest on the public debt at least \$100,000,000, and a deficiency of about \$6,000,000, making a grand total of about \$505,000,000. Even this enormous sum does not include the subsidy expense or the cost of operating the Federal election bill, which taken together will doubtless require \$20,000,000 more. Taken altogether this Congress has planned for an

expenditure of fully \$525,000,000. To meet this vast expenditure is the public revenue, which the highest estimate puts at about \$450,000,000. These figures disclose a deficit of \$75,000,000. But when this revenue is calculated on the basis of the McKinley tariff bill this deficit is increased to about \$125,000,000. The passage of the silver bill, with the rider concerning the national bank deposits, was an acknowledgment of an expected deficit; nothing but that and the fear of the sub-treasury bill would have induced Congress to pass such a bill. It further shows that Congress considered bank notes without any redemption fund fully as safe as United States notes with a redemption fund of 33 1/3 per cent.

For many years the Secretary of the Treasury has kept constantly on hand \$100,000,000 in gold to redeem \$300,000,000 in United States notes (greenbacks) that no one wanted redeemed, and considered this policy as absolutely necessary for public safety. Now by the provisions of this bill about \$60,000,000 of money is covered into the Treasury that has been held heretofore to redeem national bank currency that is being retired. This leaves fully \$60,000,000 of national bank bills outstanding which the law says shall be redeemed, without one dollar as a fund for their redemption. This whole legislation is a scheme to squander all available funds, and thereby force the Government to fund the debt which matures in 1891, and through this refunding perpetuate the national banking system.

#### BONDED WHISKY.

In every letter written against the sub-treasury plan, the right of Government to build and operate the warehouses contemplated in the bill has been denied. It has been pronounced unconstitutional to build warehouses and receive farmers' produce for storage. Learning through the press that the basement of the post-office at Kansas City, Mo., was being used as a warehouse for whisky, a communication was addressed to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to ascertain under what authority of law this storage was permitted. The following answer was received:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 12, 1890.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST PUBLISHING CO.,

511 Ninth Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I have to acknowledge the receipt by reference, of your letter of the 10th instant, addressed to the Honorable Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and in reply to the inquiry therein contained, relative to the authority under which the basement of the United States Custom-House and Post-office building at Kansas City, Mo., is used for warehouse purposes, particularly for the storage of whisky, I have to refer you to act of Congress approved April 29, 1878, chapter 67, page 39, volume 20, U. S. Statutes at Large, and to section 2962, Revised Statutes.

Respectfully,  
GEO. S. BATCHELLER,  
*Assistant Secretary.*

The act of Congress referred to provided for the purchase of suitable grounds on which to erect a

building to be used as a post-office, custom-house, bonded warehouse, and office of Internal Revenue collector. Section 2962 of the Revised Statutes referred to is as follows: "Any merchandise subject to duty, except perishable articles, also gunpowder and other explosive substances except fire-crackers, which shall have been duly entered and bonded for warehousing, in conformity with existing laws, may be deposited, at the option of the owner, importer, consignee or agent at his expense and risk, in any public warehouse owned or loaned by the United States, or in the private warehouse of the importer, the same being used exclusively for the storage of warehoused merchandise of his own importation or to his consignment, or in a private warehouse used by the owner, occupant or lessee, as a general warehouse for the storage of warehoused merchandise; such place of storage to be designated on the warehouse entry at the time of entering such merchandise at the Custom House."

The above citations constitute the authority by which the Government at this present time purchases lands, builds warehouses and receives whisky on deposit for storage. Now, if it is lawful to make such provisions for the care of corn after it has been manufactured into whisky, why can not the same legal rights apply to corn before it has been so transformed? In other words, what particular legal rights has whisky over the products from which it is made. It may be claimed that there is a tax to be collected on the whisky; so there would be on the corn, or wheat, or cotton, after it was taken on deposit. Some will say there is no money loaned on the whisky, while there would be on the corn, wheat or cotton. That is not true. There is money loaned on the whisky for a period of three years if desired, in the shape of wages paid for storekeepers, gaugers, etc. At the present time the Government has a loan against whisky in store to the amount of more than \$8,000,000, and a storage capacity for 68,512,070 gallons of distilled spirits on hand in warehouses. If money can be loaned to whisky distillers in a blind, deceptive manner, why can it not be loaned to farmers in a legitimate business like method?

REPORTS from many sections are coming in that the census, so far as the mortgage indebtedness is concerned, will be perfectly unreliable. This is in strict accord with a fixed purpose among money owners. The true situation of the borrower must not be known, for in that case the occupation of the lender would be destroyed. It is safe to assume that all attempts to ascertain who is responsible for this treachery to the people will be a failure. No matter how strong the law may be made, if the construction of it is left in the hands of the unscrupulous politician or time-server, it can be so manipulated as to serve their purpose. The executive committee have called the farmers' attention to this matter.

#### A FINANCIAL HISTORY.

##### COURSE AND EFFECT OF LEGISLATION SINCE 1861.

###### NO. 22.

Under the resumption act greenbacks and fractional currency were retired at a rapid rate until the people became so enraged that Congress, fearing to go further, passed the act of May 31, 1878, which forbids further contraction. What is known as the Bland silver bill was passed February 28, 1878, which remonetized silver, and compelled the Secretary of the Treasury to coin at least 2,000,000 standard silver dollars each month. A few bills relating to the currency and the national bank extension act of 1882 have been passed since that time, with which the reader is no doubt familiar. With this number the articles on financial legislation will close. There is no part of the economics of this country that can be studied with more profit or less pleasure. Its history since 1861 is a detail of fraud, corruption and plunder that no other nation on earth ever submitted to. No other country, ancient or modern, ever permitted such crimes to go unpunished. But here in America, those who have been foremost in perpetrating these outrages, are still retained as the trusted servants of the people. The legislation of the present is an open disgrace, and is growing worse with each session of Congress. There is hardly a member that is returned for a second term but is interested in some scheme to rob and plunder the people. There are exceptions to this rule of course, but they are not frequent. Every one should keep fully posted upon all legislation touching finance. It is the one great factor in the Government that brings prosperity or adversity to the people. It is of more consequence to the farmer and laborer to know how Senators and Representatives stand upon the financial questions than upon all others. In conclusion, let me urge upon every one to make a careful investigation of the subject of national finances which, when once understood, will be a sure guide by which to consider all other questions of public policy.

#### THE SITUATION IN MISSOURI.

Missouri papers show that some confusion has been created in the Order by the publication of articles calculated to mislead the Order, and that the Journal of Agriculture is principally responsible for these misleading statements. That paper is severely criticised for its evident desire to side-track the Order into a partisan political move in which it can attach the entire order to the tail of its kite, and deliver the whole thing to its favorite political party. It is not the purpose of THE ECONOMIST to lay any strictures upon the Journal of Agriculture; that journal will, no doubt, have plenty to do if it can appease an offended and indignant people, who will brook

anything better than treachery from an ostensible friend. The following extract from a letter written by the national secretary, J. H. Turner, to the president of the Missouri State Union expresses the situation so fairly and fully that it is here reproduced and indorsed:

I am just in receipt of a letter from a member of the Order in your State inclosing a secret circular sent out to the membership, which is headed "Editor's office, Journal of Agriculture," and is signed "Phil Chew." Said circular purports to be mailed to the secretary of each subordinate Union in the State, and contains: First, a "Platform of the Journal of Agriculture;" second, a statement that among the most important matters to come before the next State meeting of the Farmers and Laborers Union of Missouri was the taking of the Farmers and Laborers Union of Missouri into the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union; third, a letter containing many false statements in regard to the Order, signed "J. M. W.;" fourth, some questions; fifth, a puff of the said journal, and notice that other papers will be offered as State organ; and sixth, a blank form of indorsement of said journal, instructing delegates to the coming State meeting to vote for the Journal as State organ. I am thus careful in describing the secret circular so that no mistake may be made as to the document to which I refer. I believe said secret circular is calculated to do much harm to the Order in your State, because it contains several false statements, and the letter it contains signed by initial letters only, having received the indorsement of Mr. Chew and the State organ, is such a deliberate piece of mischief-making falsehood as to merit the active condemnation of the entire Order. The constitution of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union, from January, 1887, to October, 1889, and under which the Alliance in Missouri was organized, contained the following law governing amendments:

#### "ARTICLE VI.—AMENDMENT.

"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 two-thirds majority, and not then unless it be ratified by three-fourths of the State organizations of the Order within one year."

The constitution of the National Agricultural Wheel in force till October, 1889, and under which the Wheels in Missouri were organized, contained the following law governing amendments:

#### "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."

Delegates from said National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union and National Agricultural Wheel met in Meridian, Miss., in December, 1888, and agreed upon a consolidation of the two orders under

the name of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and also agreed upon a form of constitution for the proposed consolidated order, and instructed the presidents of each order to issue his proclamation of dissolution of his order for the purpose of consolidation whenever three-fourths of the State bodies should ratify the consolidated constitution which was known as the constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America. It is a matter of record and of history in this office that the requisite number of States did so ratify during the month of July and August, 1889, and that the presidents, having received official notice of same early in September, issued their proclamation of consolidation to take effect October 1, 1889. Reports from the secretaries of both Missouri State Wheel and State Alliance in joint session in August, 1889, under seal show that both ratified and agreed to consolidate.

The constitution of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America by order of the requisite number of State bodies, one of which was the State Farmers and Laborers Union of Missouri, contains the following law governing amendments:

#### "ARTICLE IX.—AMENDMENT."

"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."

This positively delegates to the national body when in session the power to amend the constitution without referring such amendments to the States for ratification as the constitution of the Alliance had previously required, and conformed to the usage and law in the Wheel in which, as shown above, ratification was not necessary. Another provision of the national constitution ratified by both the State Alliance and State Wheel of Missouri as a basis of consolidation in August, 1889, was:

#### "ARTICLE IV.—FEES AND DUES."

"Section 1. The fee for a State charter shall be \$10.  
"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 November of each year."

This having been adopted by the State Union of Missouri in August, 1889, and having gone into effect on the first day of October, 1889, the State Union of Missouri did, by its own act, owe to the national on the first day of November, 1889, five cents per capita due on each male member in that State for the year beginning October 1, 1889, and ending October 1, 1890. The national body met in St. Louis December 5, 1889, and the State Union acknowledged the legality and supremacy of same by sending delegates to its meeting, and the national recognized the State Union of Missouri as a legal branch by seating its delegates. Now, since the State Union of Missouri recognized the Farmers and Laborers Union of America it must have recognized its organic law which it had so recently ratified, and which expressly authorized that body to amend the constitution.

That body did amend the constitution in several particulars, the most important of which was a change of name from Farmers and Laborers Union of America to "National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union." It did not change or amend the above quoted clause

regulating the revenues by a per capita tax of five cents; it did not change the clause defining qualifications for membership, nor it did not change the law governing amendments. What changes it made were made by authority of the State Union of Missouri, and other States that ratified the constitution giving them such authority. \* \* \*

Now, a few words as to the pretended letter Mr. Chew publishes and thereby indorses, the one signed "J. M. W." I might well say it is false from beginning to end, and Mr. Chew knew it when he wrote it, if he did write it, which seems probable, but for the benefit of those not well posted I will answer it in detail.

In the first place it does not involve a change of name for the State body of Missouri, as the States are not required to make their names conform to the national. Texas has never changed her name from Alliance and Louisiana has never changed her name from Union. Next as to expense. There will be no change of charters, and therefore no expense for same. There will be no change of outfits, and no expense charges on outfits. No new seals will be required, and therefore the total expense he foots up to \$6,240.04 is entirely false, and not one cent of it will have to be incurred. The total and only expense or payments that the membership in Missouri or any other State have to make to the national is five cents for each male member every year in advance, commencing October 1, 1889, just as Missouri State Union voted that it should. The delegates from Missouri have an equal say with all other members of the national as to what shall be done with the money that goes into the national treasury. The statements as to the expense of the officers of the national are as false and misleading as the other statements of the entire letter. I have just made report for the first six months of the year to the executive board, and the entire amount of expense of all kinds, including all officers' traveling expenses, etc., does not exceed \$2,000. The entire amount of salary account for same time is \$5,750, making a fair estimate of the total expense for officers' salaries and all expenses of all kinds of the national Order for the entire year to not exceed \$15,500. The expense however of the national meeting was about \$6,150. The letter in question puts the expenses at least \$8,000 more than my books show they have been. The Missouri State Union should not pay the national dues from its funds; that was not contemplated, and is not done by any State. They should collect the five cents per year extra from each male member of the Order.

The success of the Alliance in driving out sectionalism has been most happily illustrated in President L. L. Polk's tour throughout the North and West. Although heralded by the subsidized press as a rebel brigadier and as leading a reform that was threatening the perpetuity of the Republican party, yet he has met with unusual kindness, and immense crowds have gathered at every meeting to hear him speak. If the South and West would drop New York and New England, and join forces for the common good, the problem that now confronts this Government would be solved at once.

#### RECIPROCITY.

BAR HARBOR, ME., July 11, 1890.  
DEAR MR. FRYE: I have just received intelligence from the highest commercial authority in Havana that American flour, under the new duties imposed by Spain, can not reach the Cuban market under a cost of \$11.46 per barrel, counting the shipping price in New York at \$4.80 per barrel. Spain holds the market for herself, and is able to send European flour at a price which totally excludes the American flour from the markets of Cuba and Porto Rico. Other articles of American growth are likewise taxed by Spain to the point of prohibition. This one-sided commerce will seriously injure the shipping routes which are still in American hands, largely if not exclusively. It would certainly be a very extraordinary policy on the part of our Government, just at this time, to open our markets without charge of duty to the enormous crops of sugar raised in the two Spanish islands. Cuba and Porto Rico furnish the United States with nearly or quite one-half of the sugar which we consume, and we are far larger consumers than any other nation in the world. To give a free market to this immense product of the Spanish plantations at the moment Spain is excluding the products of American farms from her market would be a policy as unprecedented as it would be unwise.

Our trade with the American republics, as well as with the West India Islands, has been for many years in a most unsatisfactory condition. The aggregate balance of trade with all Latin America is heavily against us. A single illustration will suffice: Since we repealed the duty on coffee in 1872 we have imported the products of Brazil to the extent of \$821,806,000, and have sold to her only \$156,135,000 of our own products. The difference—\$665,671,000—we have paid in gold or its equivalent, and Brazil has expended the vast sum in the markets of Europe. You can readily see how different the result would have been if in return for the free admission of Brazilian coffee in our markets we had exacted the free admission of certain products of the United States in the Brazilian market. To repeat this error with sugar (to an amount three times as large as with coffee) will close all opportunity to establish reciprocity of trade with Latin America. The charge against the protective policy which has injured it most is that its benefits go wholly to the manufacturer and the capitalist and not at all to the farmer. You and I well know that this is not true, but still it is the most plausible, and therefore the most hurtful argument made by the free-trader. Here is an opportunity where the farmer may be benefited—primarily, undeniably, richly benefited. Here is an opportunity for a Republican Congress to open the markets of 40,000,000 of people to the products of American farms. Shall we seize the opportunity, or shall we throw it away? I do not doubt that in many respects the tariff bill pending in the Senate is a just measure, and that most of its provisions are in accordance with the wise policy of protection. But there is not a section or line in the entire bill that will open a market for another bushel of wheat or another barrel of pork. If sugar is now placed on the free list without exacting important trade concessions in return, we shall close the door for a profitable reciprocity against ourselves. I think you will find some valuable hints on this subject in the President's brief message of June 19, with as much practical wisdom as was ever stated in so short a space. Our foreign market for bread-stuffs grows narrower. Great Britain is exerting every nerve to secure her bread supplies from India, and the rapid expansion of the wheat area in Russia gives us a powerful competitor in the markets of Europe. It becomes us, therefore, to use every opportunity for the extension of our market on both of the American continents. With nearly \$100,000,000 worth of sugar seeking our market every year, we shall prove ourselves most unskilled legislators if we do not secure a large field for the sale and consumption of our breadstuffs and provisions. The late conference of American republics proved the existence of a common desire for closer relations. Our Congress should take up the work where the international conference left it. Our field of commercial development and progress lies south of us.

Very sincerely yours, JAMES G. BLAINE,  
Hon. W. P. FRYE, United States Senate.

The above communication shows conclusively that Mr. Blaine has an opinion of his own upon this subject, and does not hesitate to make it known. It is rather refreshing to hear such a prominent leader

declare that his party must reconstruct its one great economic measure in order to meet the demands of modern ideas. Reciprocity, whether between individuals or nations, is honorable and proper, and as such should receive due consideration. It is an exchange of equivalents to the benefit of all. No matter how much Mr. Blaine's motives may be questioned, one thing however is true, he presents a strong case, backed by reason and good common sense.

#### THE SILVER BILL.

Below is printed in full the text of the silver bill as it passed the Senate and House, and will, no doubt, become a law. It is an unfortunate piece of legislation in many respects. It will make the hopeful despondent and the hopeless more desperate. The people felt sure that Congress would grant them free coinage of silver, for this they had petitioned by the thousands, and urged by letter and through the press. Their demands have been ignored and their petitions thrown into the waste basket, and many who have heretofore doubted the power of money and plutocracy to dictate legislation will be firmly convinced by the passage of this bill. Never before has a surrender to Wall Street been more abject or complete. Never before has the East shown its power to control national legislation more plainly than by this measure. The first five sections demonetize silver and increases the already despotic power of the Secretary of the Treasury. Section 6 is a full and complete acknowledgment that the boasted surplus in the Treasury has been squandered. Men whom the people have trusted have betrayed them, and an unseen power has robbed them of free coinage of silver at a time when success was almost within their grasp. How long will such conditions last?

SECTION 1. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States to be prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury, in such form and of such denominations, not less than \$1 nor more than \$1,000, as he may prescribe, and a sum sufficient to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 2. That the Treasury notes issued in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be redeemable on demand, in coin, at the Treasury of the United States or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and when so redeemed may be reissued; but no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom, then held in the Treasury purchased by such notes; and such Treasury notes shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes and all public dues, and when so received may be reissued; and such notes, when held by any national banking association, may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve. That upon demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his dis-

cretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin two million ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars until the first day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury.

SEC. 4. That the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act shall be subject to the requirements of existing law and the regulations of the mint service governing the methods of determining the amount of pure silver contained, and the amount of charges or deductions, if any, to be made.

SEC. 5. That so much of the act of February 28, 1878, entitled "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character," as requires the monthly purchase and coinage of the same into silver dollars of not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion is hereby repealed.

SEC. 6. That upon the passage of this act the balances standing with the Treasurer of the United States to the respective credits of national banks for deposits made to redeem the circulating notes of such banks, and all deposits thereafter received for like purpose, shall be covered into the Treasury as a miscellaneous receipt, and the Treasurer of the United States shall redeem from the general cash in the Treasury the circulating notes of said banks which may come into his possession subject to redemption, and upon the certificate of the Comptroller of the Currency that such notes have been received by him and that they have been destroyed and that no new notes will be issued in their place, reimbursement of their amount shall be made to the Treasurer, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, from an appropriation hereby created, to be known as "National bank notes: Redemption account," but the provisions of this act shall not apply to the deposits received under section 3 of the act of June 20, 1874, requiring every national bank to keep in lawful money with the Treasurer of the United States a sum equal to 5 per cent of its circulation, to be held and used for the redemption of its circulating notes; and the balance remaining of the deposits so covered shall, at the close of each month, be reported on the monthly public debt statement as debt of the United States bearing no interest.

SEC. 7. This act shall take effect thirty days from and after its passage.

THE following is taken from an editorial in the Progressive Farmer, Raleigh, N. C., of June 15. From this it appears that it proposes to stand by its guns:

The truth is, there is always two sides to a question, and generally there are palliating circumstances attending things which we too often overlook in our haste to commend a thing we think is right, or condemn what we think is wrong. The Progressive Farmer is an Alliance paper. It is not run in the interest of Senator Vance, nor of the Democratic party, nor the Republican party. However, it has given Senator Vance more advertising in its columns during the past six months than any paper in the State. The name of Vance has appeared in its columns oftener, editorially, or in communications, and having more than twice as great a circulation in the State as that of any other paper, and all this being praise of him partly on account of his supposed advocacy of and willingness to push the sub-treasury bill, or a good substitute, and partly because of the great confidence of our correspondents and ourselves in him as a man. After all of this you are bound to admit that we have good reasons for even severe criticisms. In our editorial we said in substance that if the sub-treasury bill was not constitutional, Senator Vance should have

continued to work for it, as he is paid to do, until the farmer said stop; we will abandon this bill. We stand on the same immovable platform. We are now going to take Senator Vance's own words in support of this. In the Washington news published in the State Chronicle on last Friday, we find that Senator Vance has changed over to our side. The silver bill was under discussion in the Senate. Mr. Plumb said: "That in the particulars which he regarded as essential the bill was comparatively unobjectionable, supposing always that a compromise had to be made."

In reply to the above Senator Vance used the following language: "It is admitted that the bill is not what it ought to be. Common sense would dictate then that we try to make it what it ought to be."

Ah! there, dear Senator Vance. We have got you where the wool is long enough to hold you awhile at least. You do not hesitate to say that your duty and that of your fellow member is to hold on and make the silver bill what it ought to be. You evidently are in favor of the passage of the bill. Why did you not say the same about the sub-treasury? Why didn't you say, "boys, the sub-treasury bill is not what it ought to be," but common sense would dictate that we try to make it what it ought to be. Go it boys, it may not be constitutional, but we can make it constitutional. My farmer friends down in North Carolina are nearly all in favor of it, so are the farmers of other States. He should have said all of this, and a great deal more, and he should have continued to talk it in unmistakeable language. The principles of the sub-treasury bill are all right. "They are those which I have for ten years advocated." The principles of the silver bill are all right, too, but the bill is crude. "But common sense would dictate then that we try to make it what it ought to be." We think the most ardent friends of our "junior Senator" will agree with us, after a careful reading of the above facts, that he has placed himself in another awkward position. The principles of the sub-treasury plan are all right. He "has been advocating them for ten years." If the principles of a man are good he is safe. He may make great mistakes. But if his principles are good there is hope that something may be done. If the principles of a bill are wrong, it being an inanimate thing, it can not change. But when they are right, as he admits, we have Senator Vance and 416 other well paid legislators in Washington City, whose business it is to try to put them in first-class shape. Senator Vance says he can not honestly support a measure that he thinks is unconstitutional. There is another palliating circumstance for our course in this. This is not the first time laws for the relief of farmers have been discarded. The farmers have about come to the conclusion that every thing they want is disposed of with that stereotyped word—"Unconstitutional." Now, why is this? The farmers as a mass are generally very unselfish. They will take one-half if they can't get a whole thing. The Constitution of the United States is the most reasonable thing in the world. It could hardly be improved. It grants freedom and liberty to all and equal rights to all. Why is it that the most reasonable class of people living under that Constitution have failed year after year in getting what little they have asked for, and after having made all manner of concessions have been met with that wonderful, wonderful word—"unconstitutional!" All professional and business men

agree that the farmers' prosperity is their prosperity. That is true. Then if the farmers should get a little class legislation would not everybody be benefited to some degree. Our opinion is, and many things point that way, that many of our law-makers and their associates have decided that the farmers and other laboring people must be kept down—must be kept ignorant; must be held in subjection, or they will feel their power and overthrow their schemes to enrich themselves and build palaces and wear fine linen every day. That is our opinion. God alone can answer this correctly.

Now Senator Vance's opinion of the sub-treasury bill may be right. His opinion or yours, dear reader, is only that of the man. It is not a matter of opinion. A large portion of our people have said they wanted the bill or a better one passed. They must have relief. Senator Vance refuses to push the measure, and after all our trouble he throws it aside and writes a letter and advises us to fight for relief inside the party ranks; to fight for tariff reduction and all that. His advice is good if there was a possibility of carrying it out. We must continue to fight as he advises on that. But in throwing down the sub-treasury bill he puts us back where we started, back to issues that have been kept alive for years without result. He discards the sub-treasury bill which if passed would have taken our farmers out of the hands of the stock and grain speculators and enabled them to have held their produce some little time so they could have disposed of it at much greater advantage. Where one county could not have been entitled to a warehouse it could have been built on county lines and two or three counties could have got advantage of the system. The bill might have been made constitutional. The opinions of Senator Vance on the constitution does not feed people. It does not lift the mortgages from our farms and homes; it does not give bread and money to widows and orphans. When the children of this day are growing up in ignorance for want of money Senator Vance's opinions will not pay for their education. No, it is not a matter of opinion. It is a matter of so much importance that the existence of this government hangs as by a tiny thread which the sub-treasury bill might have strengthened until the thread became a rope. We have endeavored to explain ourselves and injure no one. We have, we think, made it plain that we were defending our principles as Alliance men instead of making war on Senator Vance or the Democratic party. The Alliance is non partisan. When it was first organized it wanted political reform. It wants it yet. But it will expect to get it through the dominant party. The majority rules in the Alliance. A majority of the Alliance men are Democrats, and notwithstanding the signs of disintegration which have been conjured up by some of the newspapers of the State, we have no fears. The Democrats in the Alliance will vote as they please. The Republicans in the Alliance will do the same. It is alleged that Alliance men have urged a third party. If true they have done it without the authority of the majority of Alliance men. Any Alliance man who intimates that there is a third party being formed does himself and the cause an injustice.

THE sub-treasury has not been proved unconstitutional; the Alliance refuses to accept mere assertion.

## OFFICIAL.

General Circular Letter.

To the Brotherhood under the jurisdiction of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

BRETHREN: From articles recently published in the "Great West," the Alliance journal devoted to the commercial interests of the farmers in Minnesota, and other papers devoted to the cause, it seems that there is great cause for apprehension that the census being now taken will not properly show the indebtedness upon farms as evidenced by farm mortgages, as was intended by the law passed that should govern the superintendent of the census in taking his census this year. The object for evading the requirements of that law is patent to every thinking man, and that is, it will furnish official testimony to counteract what everybody knows to be a fact, that the country is covered with mortgages, and that the mortgages upon farms are a fertile source of oppression and lack of prosperity. It is not strange that a certain class in this country should be deeply interested in making such showing from an official source; but it is highly important that the farmers of this country should know if the census is being improperly taken, and that the result obtained will not be correct. To this end I deem it best to address you as members of the Order, and request that any member who is personally cognizant of any failure on the part of any census enumerator to properly take a record of all the mortgage indebtedness, should investigate and verify his belief in regard to the matter, and send a notice to me at this office, when I will take pleasure in looking it up. Do not jump at conclusions, and make a report simply because the enumerator has not interrogated you personally, but find out if possible whether he has taken a record in your county, or whether he has interrogated any member of your family, or whether he has received the proper information from the party holding the mortgage; in fact, whether it is possible for him to have obtained the information in any way at all. Most especially would notice of cases where the enumerators have failed or refused to accept information on that subject be important. Let it be remembered that we are not actuated by any desire to find fault or pick any flaw in the administration of the census matter, but that we simply want to arrive at the exact truth, and know that the result secured shall be correct and reliable.

Respectfully submitted,

C. W. MACUNE,  
Chairman Executive Committee.

SPECIAL attention is called to an extract from the Southern Alliance Farmer found in the reform press columns. Among the many papers contending for Alliance principles, none have fought more gallantly, or conducted its discussions upon a higher plane of fairness, justice or sound reasoning. While it has been aggressive it has also been temperate. Such a paper, with such a cause, is well worthy of commendation.

SENATOR VEST has joined the Congressional opponents of the sub-treasury bill. His letter is of the pattern prescribed by the caucus said to have been held.

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE  
NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.  
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Advertisements inserted only by special contract. Our rates are twenty-five cents per agate line. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement required.

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

The following is the resolution unanimously adopted at the national meeting in St. Louis:

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

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

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.

## Notice to the Farmers of Pennsylvania.

The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union will establish headquarters at the American Farmers Encampment, at Mount Gretna, Lebanon county, Pennsylvania, August 17th to 23d, inclusive, where the objects, aims, and purposes will be fully explained by courteous gentlemen, and all information furnished and literature distributed that will assist those who are interested in becoming familiar with our work. Every one, and especially the farmers, visiting this encampment are cordially invited to call at the Alliance headquarters.

For further information address J. H. TURNER,  
511 9th street northwest, Washington, D. C.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Publishing Company, has now in press a large edition of Dunning's "Philosophy of Price." This work has been well received by the public, and is considered a standard educator on financial questions. The price has been reduced so that now it will be sent post-paid for 25 cents, or given for two new subscribers for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. Booksellers and papers wishing to use it as a premium supplied at low rates. Address NATIONAL ECONOMIST Publishing Company, 511 9th street, Washington, D. C.

## THE SCHOOL BOOK TRUST.

Uniform text books are absolutely necessary to modern methods of teaching; and, in order to secure such uniformity, great power has been placed in the hands of county and State school superintendents. In nearly every State they are permitted to dictate the particular publications to be used, and also to determine when changes are to be made. It is upon these officers that the scheming book publishers put in their work. All sorts of plans are laid and pretexts manufactured to induce changes to be made and books of other publishers substituted. In many instances these plots have been successful, and the pockets of the people have suffered in consequence. This contest was, however, among the publishers; the more

bitter it grew the cheaper and better the text books became. The best talent obtainable was used in their preparation, and the mechanical work improved with each edition. All improvements were utilized and every point seized to perfect methods of education. Of course this was expensive to the publishers but beneficial to the people. At the same time the prices obtained afforded a reasonable profit. Now that a trust has been formed by the leading publishing houses of A. S. Barnes & Co., D. Appleton & Co., Irwin, Blakeman & Co., Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., and Harper Bros., together with enough smaller concerns to represent 90 per cent of that branch of business, all this will be changed. Competition will be eliminated, and as a result, school books will become cheaper in quality and dearer in price. This recent addition to the trust family is labeled the American Book Company, with headquarters at Philadelphia. It will be somewhat difficult to contest against this trust, as it is quite thoroughly entrenched behind the copy-right laws, and abundance of capital, and a thorough organization. There is also a kind of fetish connected with educators and educational matters, that precludes to a large degree the reduction of services, means or methods, to the cold calculation of dollars and cents. In this fact lies much of the demagogism and useless expense of the modern American system of higher education. When the remuneration of an educator is questioned, or the price of an educational work is thought excessive, it is the rule to hold up both hands in holy honor at these almost sacreligious ideas. The farmer will find this class of educators in hearty sympathy with this combine, and to attack one is to fight both. Something must be done, and that at once, in order to protect the people from being plundered. Perhaps no better opportunity will be afforded to test the merits of the anti-trust bill recently passed by Congress; this trust is national in its scope, and therefore comes within the plain provisions of this act. Had it not better be tried?

THE State Alliances in nearly all the States convene during the month of August, and brethren who have been elected delegates at the recent meetings of the County Alliances, Wheels, or Unions should begin to ponder upon the duties and responsibilities devolving upon them. They have been chosen to represent the farmers of the county in a legislative capacity, and they will go to the State meeting with expenses paid and a fair remuneration allowed them for the time employed. They are under a very strong moral obligation, having accepted the trust, to go and stay till the business is all transacted. It is too common for brethren to begin applying to be excused that they may go home on the second day, and each day the number increases. Nothing much can be done in a body of one hundred members on the first

day but organize, and nearly all the unwise and extravagant legislation that has been enacted can be traced to the last day of the session, when members were in a hurry to get through. A delegate's duty to his constituents is imperative that he make his arrangements before going, so that he can and will stay as long as their interests demand that he should. It is a good plan for the State body when first convened to pass an order that no delegate will be paid his mileage and per diem who does not remain until the session closes.

SPECIAL attention is called to the last few lines of section 2 of the silver bill printed in another column, that says "it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law." This is a perfect example of pure fiction, and no one knows it better than John Sherman, the man who wrote it. It is not now, nor has it been the policy of Government for nearly thirty years. The Republican party has always been the enemy of silver. It inaugurated a war against it, that finally encompassed its demonetization and degradation. It has steadily refused to recognize it as a money metal of the country, and through this bill has again relegated it to a place among the baser metals.

B. H. CLOVER, vice-president National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union and president of Farmers and Laborers Alliance of Kansas, sends the following characteristic communication which every member of the Alliance North and South can read with profit, and no doubt with gratification:

The long looked for time has come and gone. Our Bro. L. L. Polk has been to sunny Kansas, and we have met him face to face, and "we are his." He captured us by that great heart of his. The last vestige of sectional hate is blotted out. The white rose of peace is blooming as it never did before. Such crowds; such hearty greetings. Bro. Polk won the hearts of all he met, not only for himself, but for the grand cause he represents. At Emporia, Winfield, and at Columbus the crowds were only equaled by the honest, patriotic enthusiasm.

Our Bro. Beaumont also kept up his end. The happy scenes can not be described, and only by being present could any one fully appreciate them, and now brothers of the South, is it not time that we, the great common people, we, who in time of war, or time of peace, must bear the heat and burden of the day, is it not time I say, that we should get still closer together, and say to the oppressors of humanity, "Hither shalt thou come, but no further?" Shall we longer listen to those who would "alienate us only to prey upon us," and have greatness thrust upon their own unworthy selves? "Listen no longer to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely."

THE nomination of President Buchanan for Governor of Tennessee is a glorious evidence of the growth of Alliance sentiment in that State. Now for Congressmen!

## HAILWAYS, THEIR USES AND ABUSES.

Their Effect Upon Republican Institutions and Productive Industries.

BY JAMES P. HUDSON,  
Author of "The Railways and the Republic."

No. 6x.

## THE OPERATION OF THE REFORM.

Let us conclude the consideration of the railroad question by imagining what would be the result if a system of transportation were established, in which any person having the capital necessary to operate an engine and train of cars would have the privilege of entering into competition for the transportation of freight from any point on any railroad to any other point where the business might require. The most obvious result of such a reform would be, that it would furnish a natural and spontaneous settlement of all disputes with regard to railway rates. At present, if any section considers itself over-charged, or if any interest has complaint of discrimination to make, it must be referred to some tribunal for redress; and the question will be decided by the opinion of such commission, legislature or court. But tribunals are necessarily fallible, and in nine cases out of ten, they will be prejudiced against one party and for the other. The decisions, therefore, not resting upon the natural operation of the law of demand supply, are apt to be unjust, and are sure to be unsatisfactory either to the people or the carrier. The reason why such decisions of a fallible and limited tribunal necessarily furnish an unsatisfactory method of settlement for all such cases, may be seen by the fact that no such disputes ever arise as to the proper price to be charged for a car load of wheat, or for a suit of clothes. If a man thinks that the person from whom he wishes to buy grain or clothing charges too much, he has the privilege of going to some competing seller. The consequence is, that the universal opinion with regard to the proper price to be charged for staples or services furnished under free competition, is shown by the price fixed by that force. But the exclusive privilege of railway transportation on the one side, and the appeal to a fallible and human tribunal on the other, inevitably produces unsatisfactory results. If the same force was in operation in railroad transportation as in all other branches of trade and industry, no such limited and unsatisfactory appeals would be necessary.

This reform proposes to put such a natural force into operation. If any locality considered itself over-charged, it could neither appeal to a competing carrier to bring its cars and trains into competition for its business, or by the expenditure of a few thousand dollars, it could start its own cars and trains for the transportation of its own freight. The free action of competition under such conditions would furnish an infallible test as to the proper charge to be made for transportation.

The remedy would be equally complete and thorough as against all attempts to concentrate any branch of business in the hands of the favorites of the railroad, by personal discrimination, giving the favored shipper a vital advantage over his competitors in the charges for transportation. Whenever such an attempt was made, the shippers discriminated against would have the natural and complete remedy at their

disposal. If the railway carriers, performing their transportation for the time being, would not give them equal rates with their rivals, some other carrier could be found in the condition of universal competition who could carry their freight at just rates. Or, if no competing carrier could be found ready at hand to rectify the evil, any interest so discriminated against could, by means of a slight investment in engines and cars, furnish its own transportation at the lowest rates that would return the first cost of transportation. The entire sting of local and personal discriminations would be taken away, from the fact that any attempt to discriminate in favor of a special shipper, or a special locality, would be at the cost of the carrier who undertook to enforce such a discrimination. The evil and wrong of such attempts at present is that such discriminations are enforced at the cost of the people discriminated against. The moment that such discrimination means the loss of traffic and profit for the carrier which enforces them, that moment the abuse will be entirely wiped away.

Whenever the reform is established, that any competing carrier can send his engines and cars over any railroad, the attempt to hold the charges for transportation at an arbitrary level by means of pooling combinations will also be rendered entirely futile. The best evidence of this fact is, that in transportation upon the lakes and ocean, where every carrier is free to compete, as is contemplated in this reform of the railroads, pools and trusts are unknown. No railroad corporation would be foolish enough to undertake to establish a combination by which profits might be obtained on three or four hundred million dollars of capital, one-half of which is fictitious, when any one, by the investment of one or two hundred thousand dollars, could enter into competition with such a pool, and enjoy all the profit which would be sought by the members of the pool by means of the combination. Every advance of rates by such a combination would simply mean the summoning into existence of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of dollars of additional capital to engage in the competition. The power of the pool to maintain itself would be entirely wiped out, and corporate capital would be forced to accept its profits on the same basis, and under such forces as assign the profits to capital and enterprise engaged in the fundamental branches of industry.

It is also a natural and legitimate conclusion, that such a system of universal competition in railroad transportation would put a stop to the success of the great operation of stock-watering and manipulation of railway securities, which has furnished the basis for the creation of the great railway fortunes during the past twenty years. There would be nothing to forbid the creation of twenty million dollars' worth of stocks for the building of a railroad where the actual cost was ten millions; but the ability to secure earnings on that illegitimate creation of fiat values would be taken away. Now, it is possible for railroad promoters and manipulators to float upon the market vast blocks of fictitious securities, because the exclusive privileges of the railway permits a hope that they can force from the public the necessary returns to pay dividends upon the fictitious securities. Under the system of universal and free competition all hope of imposing upon the industries of the nation the cost of biased capitalization would be futile at the outset. The only losers by the creation of watered stocks

would be the people who were deluded into purchasing such inflated investments, and the fact that the investing public had been victimized by one or two well known examples of that sort, would render it impossible for the shallow swindle to be repeated. Under such a system, the value of railroad securities would rest upon the same sound and legitimate basis as the value of real estate property, or mortgage securities, and, as has already been pointed out, with the vice of stock watering eliminated from the capitalization of the railways, a vast reduction of fixed charges would be permitted, which would make the returns upon railroad investments almost as secure as those upon Government bonds; and when that element of security was indisputably established, a large reduction in the charges necessary to attract capital into the railway business would permit the business to be prosecuted upon a material reduction of the present returns.

In short, the reform of railroad abuses, by giving every one the right of competing in all branches of railroad transportation, subject only to the regulations necessary to establish security and celerity in the operation of the railways, and the payment of the necessary tolls required to remunerate the capital engaged in constructing and maintaining the tracks upon which all carriers would be free to compete, aims at the establishment of natural and legitimate forces to control the charges of transportation exactly as the present charges for the production of agricultural staples or the distribution of merchandise are controlled by the same forces. There may be some difference of opinion as to the details of the method by which this reform is to be put in operation. The Government might undertake the establishment and the maintenance of tracks over which all carriers should be free to compete; and the direction of trains in operation might be given the authority which would attach to the orders of a recognized representative of the Government itself.

I believe that the same result can be attained more fully and satisfactorily by permitting private enterprise to continue in the work of building railroads and maintaining them for the free use of competing carriers. Under such a condition new roads would be built wherever the hope of traffic sufficient to yield remunerative tolls was held out, and whenever traffic should grow to such volume as to permit a reduction of tolls consistently with the returns to the capital invested in the railroad, such a reduction would be made. The whole business would be left subject to the natural and legitimate forces which fix the charges of all industrial services and staples, by the equitable and beneficial operation of competition in demand and competition in supply, acting with equal force on each other and fixing a right and just reward, which each department of industry is entitled to. There is no doubt that such a reform is practicable, and that when it is honestly and thoroughly put into force it will take away the great majority of the causes by which vast fortunes are contracted in the hands of the few at the cost of the laboring masses.

ATTENTION is called to a communication in another column from Mr. W. C. Munroe, of Goldsboro, N. C., in regard to the constitutionality of the sub-treasury bill. He is an eminent lawyer, and takes issue with Senator Vance upon this point.

## APPLIED SCIENCE

## In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## "LEGISLATORS, HAWKS AND GRASSHOPPERS."

Dr. Henshaw, chief of Division of Economic Ornithology, United States Department of Agriculture, has a good article on hawks in *St. Nicholas* for July. In this article the disposition to follow old writings in claiming too much benefit and too little harm-doing for our larger species of hawks is only slightly manifested. Dr. Henshaw points out a fact to which the writer has often called attention, viz., that just as there are man-eating lions and tigers, so there are in the larger species hen-eating hawks. It is for those to say who ask protective legislation for the species, how the law is to set a mark on these hen-eaters that every man finding them may slay them. When the learned gentleman denounces the folly of legislators in spending or causing to be spent large sums of the scarce and precious money of the people to pay for the destruction of hawks which, in many places and seasons, do more good than harm we go with him. To pour out our wrath upon a legislator is one of the enjoyable pastimes of the period; it is so easy to do, and so hard to hit one of them a lick amiss. But if one of our good Alliance brothers happens to see a big hawk swoop down upon his hen yard and seize and carry off a hen-mother vainly endeavoring to protect her brood, and if our said brother shall then and there in hot blood shoot and kill that hawk, shall the law lay hold of him to impose on him the pains and penalties and fines denounced against criminals? We think not. The good hawks do in mainly in the destruction of field mice. Several of the species eat grasshoppers freely, but in most localities this is of little consequence. Hereabouts grasshoppers do little harm, and we suspect that our flock of mammoth bronze turkeys eat bushels of them where all the hawks in Howard county eat a teaspoonful. Out in the "Bad Lands," in the kingdom of the grasshoppers, doubtless all hawks prey on the hoppers, for it is a case there of hopper or no dinner, and there is known to be a learned professor in Washington who has made his dinner on hoppers, accordingly.

But the multitude of hoppers in that kingdom is as the sands upon the shore of the sea, and to eat them up with hawks will be a slow business.

There used to be a belief among the old plantation negroes that in the land of the hereafter there is a lonely sea shore, piled with countless tons of sand. To this shore once in seven years comes a little bird and carries away a single grain of sand, and until this little bird has carried away from that shore the last grain of sand, the wicked must stay in torment. But the wicked will be out before the hawks eat the hoppers.

What is wanted in the modern legislator is common information, common sense, and common honesty, and of these three the greatest is common honesty. However, the legislator of the period is apt to know no more about hawks than he knows about a sub-treasury, or free coinage, or the true inwardness of the Alliance movement. How little that is made abundantly clear during the last sixty days.

If any have failed to comprehend it, the true intent and meaning of the Alliance movement, it is to in-

quire whether legislators, magistrates, judges, servants of the people, have or have not due qualification for the duties which they ought to perform by education, by common sense, and by common honesty. By education we mean not merely technical information and practice in that narrowest of narrow grooves, technical law. We mean not a mere proficiency in Latin, Greek and higher matter, but a broad, extensive, and not less accurate than extensive information about common things which concern common people. By common sense we mean that readiness and accuracy of judgment which springs from a knowledge of men and things. By common honesty we mean that a man will not steal even if he believes he can get away with the loot. We mean that a man will not break his oath and dishonor his pledges made for the sake of getting office at the demand of a caucus. We mean that a man shall know, and live up to that knowledge, that there is neither difference nor distinction between official rascality and personal honor.

## JAPAN CLOVER AND RED CLOVER.

We have a letter asking an opinion as to the quantity of Japan clover seed proper to be sown the acre, and also as to the method of sowing common red clover in cornfields at the last planting of corn. We suspect that a considerable proportion of Japan clover seed does not germinate the first year, and that by the second year the seeding of the first growth will render further sowing useless. The third year it will be at its best; about  $\frac{1}{2}$  pounds per acre we believe to be a sufficient sowing; the seed weighs about 25 pounds per bushel. On a second visit to Virginia this plant was observed to be taking the country near Leesburg, South of Goose Creek. How it came there the writer knows not, but there is the place for it. In that section are extensive tracts of unenclosed old fields, constituting a sort of range where much stock has always run at large; but besides broom sedge and hen grass, and here and there a spike of blue grass or a patch of red top, there was before the advent of the Japan clover little to graze on, and the carrying capacity of the old fields very small. Riding along the old Leesburg-Georgetown pike the new-comer was observed for four or five miles from the village of Franklin, an old wagon-stand and stage-coach relay, to and beyond Broad Run, taking possession of fence corners and slopes and side tracks, and of the very center of the road-bed of hard metalling; thence along all the public ways for several miles up Broad Run in the vicinity of Farmwell on the Washington and Ohio and Western Railroad, we saw numerous patches of it. It is certain, therefore, that as far North as that place it re-seeds itself naturally and does well. We believe that this statement fully covers the inquiries of our friend and brother who lives in Southern Maryland, where there is much land on which Japan clover will thrive and do well, and prove of great value. As to the sowing of red clover seed at the last cultivation in the growing corn, we have seen it perfectly successful repeatedly.

## The Alliance and the Politicians.

BY A. BARNWELL, OF MACON, GA.

To use a slang phrase, the old line politicians seem to be "souring on" the Alliance. It is not difficult to account for this when we consider that one of the prime objects of the Alliance is to look after their own

interests in all departments. This of course begins by investigation, and investigation does not always lead to satisfaction; on the contrary, oftener leads to discovery, and if discovery lead to attempted reform, it follows that every species of opposition will be projected against the reform, first in order to vindicate past remiss conduct and then to prevent, as far as possible, further discoveries contingent upon further investigation, ultimately leading to change of agents, if not of systems. In its early days the Alliance movement was belittled by constant predictions that early death would result from a process of disintegration which had its exponent in the expression "Farmers can't stick." This illusion has long disappeared. At each point in which it has entered business circles it is met with the cry that farmers can't manage business successfully, or that it is only a new form of trust, that the business agents are selfish and money-seeking, and at heart no better than the non-Alliance men, and many other of like false charges. Now, when they propose to look after their own legislation is it not natural that the old line legislators should raise a hue and cry, and should not all that is said by them, never mind how high they have stood in public favor, be qualified by a thorough recognition of their attitude toward the Alliance? Leaving generalities and coming to cases in point, we find the sub-treasury bill close at hand as a base for observations. That this bill did not meet with favor at the hands of our law-makers may not have proved more than that they deemed it inexpedient, but the manner of its reception is certainly significant and its bearings should be clearly understood. I trust I am not mistating the case when I say that this treatment has been in the main harsh and contemptuous, and this fact forces the conclusion either that the bill itself, or its source, or both, are justly the objects of this treatment, or else that the movers of the bill have the wrong men in Congress if they are desirous of true representation. As a matter of fact the inference which must be drawn from the public utterances of the few important men who have even designed to express themselves upon this subject, is that they do not consider the constituency from which the bill proceeds, competent judges of their own best interest. In place of calm consideration of the bill itself, and a careful examination of its backing, they seem to have rushed into the conclusion that it was a scheme for self aggrandizement concocted by a few irresponsible and unprincipled demagogues, and in no way understood or backed up by the mass of the farmers. This has led to a species of denunciation which does small credit to the statesmanship of some prominent men. It can fairly be said that their attitude has been about this: We will not argue this matter because it is beneath our notice, but we simply ask you to believe that your bill is foolish, corrupt and deceptive; your leaders have brought it forward knowing this, and deserve just condemnation therefor, but knowing your utter inability to understand all this, we don't blame you; only remember who we are and trust us. Now then, what is the Alliance to do? Bow under the rebuke of the great ones rather than incur the charge of ingratitude and disloyalty, or stand their grounds and require at least the most patient hearing and the most convincing proof that their demands are unreasonable, and in the absence of this quietly refuse to support the politician who asks of them a sacrifice of

their self-respect? It would seem that the latter course is inevitable. No one can deny that the situation is a serious one, and has some sad phases; saddest of these is the spectacle of men who have won honor and distinction at home and abroad making the fatal mistake of hurling themselves against a revolution under the blind assumption that it is a rebellion. One theory is certain, that at least in this part of the country the opposition of the politicians is well understood, and the man who denounces the sub-treasury bill to Georgia farmers had better be prepared with his substitute—"some better bid in the same line," or be prepared to step down and out.

THE Kansas Farmer of July 9 contains an article on "How to Checkmate the Money Power," that is well worth careful consideration. It is evident that the writer understands the advantages to be gained through a balance of power. It would annihilate the infamous caucus system, and inaugurate a method of legislating for the whole people. Space forbids giving it in full, but a liberal quotation is given in the following:

Who elects Congress? The people, mostly farmers. Whom do they elect? The nominees of party politicians. Who controls Congress? King Caucus. Who is he? A degenerate body of shrewd and selfish politicians whose policies are dictated by the comparatively few owners of the realized wealth that has been made by the labor of the people. See what a nice little circle these few questions and answers make. The logicians talk of a "vicious circle." Was there ever any more vicious than this? Was there ever any statement of our present political situation more true? Now, Mr. Farmer, it has been the history of our country that, when great evils have grown up from corruptions that have fastened upon existing political parties, the people have created new party machinery to meet their wants and to sweep away the evils. We need look no further back than the creation of the Republican party to see a complete illustration of what I mean. The present seems to me just the time for such an operation. Kansas, the great representative agricultural State, has the power and the opportunity to take the lead in the reform, and right to her hand, in the Farmers Alliance, is the instrument to use. If the farmers of Kansas will only unite and act harmoniously for their common interests they can create a new party which will break their fetters and restore to them their birthright to control their own affairs and eat the bread of their own earnings, instead of seeing the fruits of their labor swallowed up in the insatiable maw of grain gambling, money-lending, railroad-owning rings of the East. But how to do this? The answer seems to me a simple one. Let the farmers of Kansas, through their Alliance organization, agree to elect no one to Congress who will not pledge himself to hold aloof from the caucus of either party, and to elect no one to the State legislature who will not pledge himself to vote for no man for United States Senator who will not give a similar undertaking. Then, when the next Congress assembles, Kansas will be there in a solid delegation of independent, real representatives of her interests. They will be numerous enough, in any reasonable view of the future numerical strength of

parties, to hold the balance of power on all important questions. Pledged to independence of either party, they will have nothing to think of but the welfare of their constituents and, through them, the welfare of the farmers of the entire West. Kansas can do in the '90's for agricultural emancipation what Illinois did for negro emancipation in the '50's, and surely there will be as much honor in leading a crusade for the enfranchisement of white farmers as there was for black slaves. The movement once started, with the whole intellectual and moral force of the State of Kansas to back it, other States will speedily follow. Illinois and Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan, Nebraska and Minnesota, indeed, all the vast empire of the West and Southwest, will take up the line of March, and thus the farmer may have his fair share in dictating the policy of the government by the time the next Presidential election takes place. There will be an end then to such scenes as we have witnessed of late in Congress, when, for instance, the tariff and the silver bills were up, and when we saw the Western Republican members of the House voting in obedience to party dictates, voting in diametrical opposition to the interests of their constituents.

#### Is the Sub-Treasury Bill Constitutional?

[From the State Chronicle, Raleigh, N. C.]

Goldsboro, N. C., July 14.—He who can witness the effort of the farmers of this country to free themselves from the difficulties of their environment, with indifference, is worse than a brute. Therefore, although in no sense a politician or leader of thought, it has occurred to me that a discussion of the question of the constitutionality of the sub-treasury bill might not be out of place, and I hope not entirely without beneficial results. I take it that the bill in its main features is one to provide a more flexible currency, and in greater volume than we now have. If I am correct in this, I am of opinion that the bill is constitutional. In *Knox v. Lee and Parker & Davis*, 12 Wall, 457-680—which are some of the Legal Tender cases—the Supreme Court of the United States says, in speaking of the right of the United States Congress to make a paper legal tender: "To assert, then, that the clause enabling Congress to coin money and regulate its value tacitly implies a denial of all other power over the currency of a nation is an attempt to introduce a new rule of construction against the solemn decisions of this court. So far from its containing a lurking prohibition, many have thought that it was intended to confer upon Congress that general power over the currency which has always been an acknowledged attribute to sovereignty in every other civilized nation than our own, especially when considered in connection with the other clause which denies to the States the power to coin money, emit bill of credit, or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts."

In *Milliard v. Greenman* 110 U. S. the same court says: "A constitution, establishing a frame of government, declaring fundamental principles and creating a national sovereignty, and intended to endure for ages and to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs, is not to be interpreted with the strictness of a private contract." Again, "The breadth and comprehensiveness of the words of the constitution are nowhere more strikingly exhibited than in regard to the powers over the subjects of revenue,

finance and currency." Again, "Mr. Justice Johnson in concurring with the rest of the court (9 Wheaton 864) in upholding the power to incorporate a bank, gave the further reason that it tended to give effect to that power over the currency of the country, which the framers of the constitution evidently intended to give to Congress alone." Again, "It appears to us to follow, as a logical and necessary consequence, that Congress has the power to issue the obligations of the United States in such form, and impress upon them such qualities as currency for the purchase of merchandise and the payment of debts, as accord with the usage of sovereign governments." In *McCulloch vs. State of Maryland*, 4 Wheat, the same court says: "But there is no phrase in the instrument which, like the articles of confederation, excludes incidental or implied powers; and which requires that everything granted shall be expressly and minutely described." Again: "The sword and the purse, all the external relations, and no inconsiderable portion of the industry of the nation, are entrusted to its government." From these extracts, and more certainly from the general reasoning of the Supreme Court in these decisions, I think it apparent that the Congress of the United States has the power to provide for the issue of bills of credit, certificates of deposit—or whatever you may term them—to be used as money, upon deposit of farm, or other products, in warehouses or other designated places. There is no better reason for issuing certificates to be used as money upon deposit of the product of the mine than there is upon the product of the farm. The main purpose being to create a circulating medium, the building of warehouses, and electing keepers, etc., are but incidents, and are equally as legal, and I think more so, than the protective feature that is introduced into all tariff bills—the Mills bill and all. I might have been inclined to think that it was obnoxious to the charge of being class legislation, if it was not for the opinion of our court in *State vs. Harwood*, 104 N. C.

W. C. MUNROE.

CONGRESSMAN OATES has no constitutional scruples when it comes to voting away the people's money for personal benefits. In a debate, July 26, 1886, Mr. Oates said, in answer to an inquiry regarding the right of all the members of Congress to have clerks: "Perhaps that is the fault of the House, perhaps the trouble is that Representatives have not asked for what they are entitled to in this respect. I am in favor of members of the House who are not chairmen of committees having clerks." He favored each member having a clerk at \$6 per day. This would add about three-fourths of a million to the already large expense of Government.

THE bond owners are now happy; they have won the fight, and the bonds they now hold are payable, principal, interest and premium, in gold only. It would be interesting to know just how many millions it took to force this bill through Congress. Men in these days of corruption and trickery do not change their avowed beliefs and betray their constituencies without a consideration. It will now be in order to placate those whom they have so wickedly betrayed.

## FROM CORRESPONDENTS EVERYWHERE.

A. L. Watts, Coleta, Ala., in a communication says the Alliance is doing well, and the brethren are determined to stand their ground and fight monopoly and party bossism.

J. P. Gates, Carroll, Ga., sends words of encouragement and advises the members of the Alliance to stand firmly together and not be dismayed at the dangers which confront them.

John McMillin, Carlisle, Ind., writes that he is in favor of the sub-treasury bill, and that it meets with favor in that State. He says the Alliance is taking strong root and is destined to grow rapidly.

A. E. Cole, Fowlerville, Mich., writes concerning the rapid growth of the Alliance in Michigan, and the good work Bro. R. W. Coleman is doing. He predicts a State organization in time for the National Alliance meeting.

H. J. Johnson, Attala County, Miss., writes to add to his approval of THE ECONOMIST, and hopes it may continue in its present efforts to educate the people. Unsolicited testimonials of this character are always pleasing.

L. J. Newton, Cork, Ga., in writing about the satisfaction given by the advertisement in THE ECONOMIST, says: I am with you on the sub-treasury bill, and intend to stay with you until the measure is carried, or something similar.

S. J. Biles, Prospect, Tenn., writes that the present time demands men of iron nerve to safely guide the Alliance through the present contest that has been forced upon it. He believes in education as one of the most essential points of the organization.

D. L. Cady, Mason, Mich., writes that he is pleased with THE ECONOMIST, and wishes he could send in a large subscription list, but the people are poor. He believes in the final triumph of right, and that better times must come in the near future.

A. J. Twitty, Elm, Ga., writes in the warmest terms concerning THE ECONOMIST, and believes in the ultimate victory of Alliance principles. He deprecates sectionalism, and hopes the time will soon come when there will be no North or South, but one united and happy country.

Chas. A. Littler, Onondaga, Mich., writes that the Alliance is booming in that section; that many who have heretofore followed blindly the party leaders are now thinking and acting for themselves. He writes kindly of THE ECONOMIST and the work it is doing. Such letters from a State as yet unorganized, are indeed welcome.

The friends of Hon. T. M. Norwood, of the first congressional district of Georgia, are urging him to stand for Congress, and it is thought he will consent. Mr. Norwood has served in both Senate and House, and is an able, conscientious and honorable man, and it is hoped he will be sent in place of the present incumbent.

Jas. D. Goode, Latenache, La., writes that he is again in for the fray, that the people of his section are taking hold of the Alliance with renewed vigor. He has no use for monopoly, or the present class legislation. He is opposed to the lottery scheme, and like a true man denounces it as a blight upon the good name of his State. Such letters are welcome at all times.

J. H. Yeager, Holmes, La., writes that he is a farmer boy, but from his letter he has fully made up his mind as to what is right in the Alliance contest. He says we farmers have to work for thousands who do not know what work is; that the farmers labor while others sleep, and the idle receive all the benefits; that there is a time for all things, and the farmers think their time is drawing near.

R. M. Humphrey, general superintendent Colored Farmers National Alliance and Co-operative Union, Houston, Tex., writes one of his characteristic letters in which he says: The prospectus for the newspaper alliance meets his hearty approval; that education is the only hope, and the newspaper alone can reach all ranks of the people. Bro. Humphrey is filled with the hope that better times will surely wait on persistent efforts. A letter from him is like a benediction upon our labors.

A. M. McMichen, Etta, Ga., writes: We are still wanting the sub-treasury plan or something better, and we think our representatives who pretend to find so much objection to our plan ought to have given us something better, and not depend so much on printed speeches and

garden seeds to re-elect them; they have laid heavy burdens upon their few friends who are yet trying to hold them up by their rejecting the sub-treasury plan and refusing to support it. Seabourn Wright got it down about right when he said it was decided by caucus. I have said all the time no honest effort could defeat the sub-treasury bill, and if the prospects prove anything, it proves that re-election will be uncertain; a great majority of the people in this section are determined to be heard.

Major George Chrisman, of Rockingham county, Va., incloses a letter from his brother living in Iowa. The letter makes inquiry: "What is the occasion of the Democratic party South fighting your Farmers Alliance all around the board the way it does? Our Republican papers North are in great glee over these dissensions South, and are making a huge effort to arouse dissensions here between the Alliance and the Democrats by quoting your quarrels down there. Nat and myself are both taking some interest in Alliance matters, and they are growing quite encouragingly strong." The Alliance generally is most unpopular with the majority party, as it contends that those who control legislation are responsible for conditions. In fact, it is a reform movement, and wrong fights most vigorously when entrenched behind legal forms. The Republicans in Kansas, Dakota and Nebraska are no less roused than the South Democrats.

Mrs. S. J. Morrow, Fayette County, Ala., in a letter says very pointedly: There must be, or has been some superstitious idea that women don't work out on farms by the statements that are in office to day. If they will come down in Alabama and visit the farms in Fayette County they will find at least on every 19 farms out of 20 women hard at work in the cotton patch, and according to the statements THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST gives, the very men that our husbands have elected from time to time to make laws to protect us financially are the very men that have placed the women and children in the cotton patch. Now I think the best thing that can be done is to get rid of those statesmen, and put in men who know that the farmers are in a distressing condition. I hope that all the women that work on the farms will join in with the Alliance and pray to our State officers for relief for the poor, toiling, suffering woman and children. I am a farmer's wife, and have worked hard all this summer with my four children by my side.

Attention is called to the following report, which shows conclusively the rule of monopoly is not ended:

"Report of committee on cotton bagging and cotton seed to the third quarterly meeting of the Parish Union, held at Bartholomew Hall, Brodnax, La.

"MOREHOUSE PARISH, July 3, 1890.  
Whereas we have in the past suffered heavy loss in the sale of cotton seed by reason of combinations formed by the cotton-seed mills, whereby the price has been greatly depreciated:

"Resolved, That we advise the members of the Farmers Union throughout the parish to hold their seed, and, if necessary, pool them at some central place until they get a fair price for them, to wit, not less than \$10 per ton.

"Resolved, That to carry out the provisions of these resolutions, we advise each sub-union to appoint a committee of one to attend to the business, and that the president of the Parish Union appoint a general agent for like purpose.

"And whereas we do not think that the Union as a whole stood firmly enough by the resolutions adopting 'cotton bagging as a covering for cotton'; and whereas we feel reasonably sure that if we abandon the use of cotton bagging the jute trust will become reanimated, and again fleece the cotton raisers of millions of dollars by arbitrarily advancing the price of that article. Therefore,

"Resolved, That we advise all the members of the Union in our parish to use any suitable substitute when it can be possibly obtained; and further, we suggest that our delegates to the State Union be, and are hereby instructed to use their best endeavors to secure the passage of these or similar resolutions by that body.

"Resolved, That we further recommend that the cotton-seed question be brought before the cotton raisers of the South through THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

D. E. HARP,  
N. F. NAFF,  
W. M. MANN,  
"Committee."

## THE REFORM PRESS.

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

Bevier Appeal (Bevier, Mo.) says:

It seems that the members of the Farmers Alliance in several States are going to cut loose from the old parties and form an independent party. They are about tired of voting for parties that are controlled and owned by the trusts and monopolists of the country. Last Monday the executive committee of the Farmers Alliance of Minnesota decided to hold a State convention of the Alliance (for the purpose of nominating a State ticket) at St. Paul, July 16. A couple of weeks ago the Farmers Alliance and Knights of Labor of South Dakota met at Huron and decided to organize a new party. They also decided to hold a State convention at Huron on July 9. The Alliance and the Knights of Kansas are going to make things hum there too this fall. The good seed sown in the last few years by the true friends of labor and reform has fallen on good ground, and the men and parties that have proven unworthy the trust reposed in them by the people will find out that their day of reckoning is at hand.

Faulkner County Wheel (Conway, Ark.) says:

When the party papers cry paternalism against the farmers' demands, it is equivalent to saying the people are not capable of ruling themselves, and must not be trusted. Our present government is simply a government of corporations. How long will the people submit to them?

The Weekly Union (Luray, Va.), one of the brightest Alliance papers of that State, gives the over-production theory a very black eye:

It requires careful examination in order to understand whether or not there is any over-production in the products of the farmer. In the fall season of the year the farmers place on the market at one and the same time their entire year's labor, for it is then that they expect to meet all their obligations; this, of course, causes the markets at that time to be crowded with wheat, cotton, etc. This is perfectly understood by the speculative classes, who desire to come into possession of these products in order to make a large profit off of the money invested in them; for they know that they are the very best investment possible, as the people must have them before another crop has been matured. The great trouble arising here, and where the farmer is at the mercy of these speculators, is that they (the speculators) have the control over the volume of money at this time. The farmer must sell, and this is what the buyer knows; so he, by having this advantage over the seller is enabled to do the pricing, but just as soon as the bulk of the products are purchased and stored away in the possession of the speculator, he then being aware of the fact that these products must be obtained by the people for consumption, raises the price gradually in the face of the demand.

Nonconformist (Winfield, Kan.) contributes this bit of good sense and advice:

Enthusiasm is a good thing. It is the motive power that carries humanity through great emergencies, and over great obstacles. A cause without enthusiastic supporters is like a stream flowing through a level country, sluggish, and covered with the green slime of inaction. Enthusiasm with sober sense back of it will accomplish wonders. Enthusiasm alone, like the foam on soda water, is more show than substance. Don't mistake enthusiasm for sense. Don't mistake a huzzah, or a yell for the voice of reason. Enthusiasm and sense are frequently boon companions, and almost as frequently they are entire strangers. Enthusiasm without sense lacks caution as well, and seldom makes a move without putting its foot in it.

The Newspaper (California, Mo.) says: it is a high time such sentiments were published.

Phil. Chew, of the Journal of Agriculture, is at his old game of setting up a job to have his dirty sheet again selected as the official organ of the Alliance in this State, and at the same time is trying to have Missouri secede from the Alliance and set up a little kingdom of her own, presided over by Hall, Chew, Francis & Co., in this State, and carry the gullible in the order over to the Democratic ring masters; to do this he raises the cry of stop thief, as regards the business agency, and extortion against the national organiza-

tion, and endeavors to pose at the same time as the great benefactor of the farmers' movement in this State, proclaiming that he, Phil. Chew, has donated \$1,000 to the cause and came to the rescue of the order in its infancy when no one else would care for the infantile prodigy. For superabundance of cheek and unmitigated gall, we would place Chew in the front rank of the unnumbered host of the army of leeches who fatten and thrive off of the people by tooting their own horn. What the next State meeting wants to do is to get rid of all such pretenders and place the educational work of the order in the hands of those who are the friends of the movement, and give those gentlemen a private station. It will be immensely to the benefit of our order to do so. Let every local Union in Moniteau county consider well the appeal made by Chew to have his one-sided Democratic auxiliary sheet continued as the official organ and instruct your delegates to the next County Union in regard to this matter.

The Union Bee (Humansville, Mo.) says:

The drouth now prevailing in this county and Kansas, is not encouraging to the tax-ridden farmer, for the interest on his mortgage must be paid. If the Kansas farmer has no protected corn to burn next winter, he may sit by the light of a buffalo chip fire, read his Bible, and bless Senator Ingalls for the tide of prosperity which Western farmers now enjoy under the wholesome laws which he has urged through Congress.

Labor's Tribune (Carthage, Mo.); how will it be done?

If the American people are ever emancipated from party slavery, they will have to draw the cords a little tighter on individual conscience, and thus strengthen public morality. It is impossible for a people to be free where morality is low, and no one can doubt but that public morality is exceedingly low if the campaign year is a real reflection of what the people are on that line.

Southern Mercury (Dallas, Tex.) rather pointedly remarks:

It is a rule among civilized nations when a man dies to let his weaknesses and defects rest with his remains. But the Bible held up the names of Baalam, Judas, and Ananias as a perpetual warning to the people; our country keeps the name of Arnold on its pages. So, notwithstanding some of the Texas politicians are politically dead, the people point to their departed political skeleton as a warning to others who may be influenced by the giddy gauze of monopoly's delusive promises.

The New York World asks a question that will have to be answered many times during the coming election:

The silver bill, now to become law, requires the Government to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion monthly, whether it has any need of the metal or not. This is called "befriending silver as a great American product." Are the Farmers Alliance people altogether unreasonable in their demand for a like "befriending" of wheat, cotton and other "great American products?"

Turon (Kan.) Headlight: every member of the Alliance consider well this paragraph:

Farmers are often prone to be jealous of each other, and many seem to prefer to be led by a lawyer than by an equally brilliant man of their own calling. The Alliance has accomplished grand results in eradicating the jealousies which have been engendered in the years gone by, but there is still opportunity for more work in this direction. Farmers must learn to trust each other.

The Union (Henderson, Ky.) says most truly:

Some merchants have an idea that the Farmers and Laborers Union desires to make war on them. This is not the case. We have no quarrel with any legitimate business. Indeed we are ready to lend a helping hand to any man or class that are trying to earn an honest living in a legitimate way. We only desire to protect ourselves against an unjust combination of capital, and to educate ourselves in the principles of economical government, so that we may be able to understand matters of public interest and to vote intelligently for such measures as will promote the public welfare.

Southern Alliance Farmer (Atlanta, Ga.) in commenting on the sub-treasury bill says:

They all say the bill will create federal office-holders in each county under federal appointment, showing that their

spirit of unfairness will not let them say that the House bill provides that the officers shall be elected by the counties where the sub-treasuries are located. This shows a willful desire to evade the true issue and to deceive the people. Why not tell the truth and say that it is a measure suggested by a farmers' organization, and to pass it would be a concession to that organization, while to defeat it will injure that organization, and that the latter is greatly to be desired by all politicians and the capitalists whom they serve. If this is not the case, why has no Congressman proposed to amend the bill, or said I will do all in my power to protect the bill and pass it in the most available shape? The reason is that they have promised each other to fight it out with the farmers and down them once for all. Not a single objection brought against the bill is a good one. It is constitutional, it is just, it will do good, it is purely Democratic—but it is a farmer's measure. Hundreds of thousands of dollars will be spent to defeat the farmers in this movement. Thousands will be spent to defeat Col. Livingston in the 5th district; for the politicians believe to defeat him will be to defeat the Alliance. They are in a great measure correct, for he is the champion of the Alliance and the farmers' demands. The issue is coming every day. The strength and fidelity of the Alliance men is being tried. Let them stand to their guns, for the combination of brain and money against them is very strong. Brethren, be firm and true; stand by your order and its principles this season, and it will stand by you in the future. Don't vote for a man who opposes your organization and its plans under any circumstances, for no fair man will oppose us in this our first effort to gain independence, to put our wives and children above want. Don't allow any man to abuse or slander your order or its leaders, but stand to them though the heavens fall.

The Great West (St. Paul, Minn.) speaks out square in regard to the force bill:

Now, to close a mighty ulcer, for which the old party is wholly responsible, a biting, burning plaster is applied—in which is every element of progressive aggression and surely-developing tyranny. It is a critical station in history. At the rumble of unseen chariot wheels the heart ceases to beat, so before the opening portal of an unseen evil, we feel what we do not see—a danger to humanity threatening the near future, revolution, war, destruction. It is not a prophetic vision. It is a revelation from the records—bold, unchangeable, distinct—written in the fervid glow of the battle-field, on pages red with blood. It is a dangerous statute, with all its apparent necessities and advantages—a heritage of evil destiny for the generation unborn.

Torch of Liberty (Mound City, Kan.):

Ralph Beaumont, the irrepressible advocate of labor's rights, the man who when he first entered the ranks of labor's champions traveled to his appointments on foot because neither his audiences nor himself were able to pay his railroad fare, will be at Blue Mound on Wednesday, July 23, 1890. No man should fail to hear him. It will be the richest treat ever offered the people of Linn county. Eloquent, brave hearted, and a thorough master of his subject, he is without a peer among the public speakers of America. All who can should go to Blue Mound on the 23d of July and hear him.

The Torch of Liberty also gives a straight tip for Farmer Funston, and one he richly deserves:

No amount of honey-flogging by "Farmer" Funston can explain away his vote on the original House silver demonetization bill. On its return to the Senate he again voted against the interests of his constituency, by indorsing the arbitrary ruling of gold-bug Speaker Reed to place the bill in the hands of the Wall street finance committee appointed by Reed. He is now trying to make his servants believe, through his post-office papers in this district, that he voted to indorse Reed, and not against the bill; and in that, after he saw his mistake, he changed his vote—to get on the right side! Ah! yes. He should have said, after he attended the caucus and knew the bill would be killed, he got on the side of the people.

FROM Senator Vance's speech at Raleigh, July 4, 1890:

I want to ask you if we love liberty as did our forefathers? Have we the same regard for individual rights as they had? I am forced to say no. There is more sectional hatred

against the South in the North now than there has been since the great war. This hatred was first engendered by the effort of the Southern States to dissolve the Union. That hatred has died out; but when that section of country which tried to dissolve the Union, for reasons they thought good, afterward claimed its rights as a part of the Union, and tried to control its own State affairs, all that old hatred was rekindled and was fanned into a hotter flame, involving more danger to State and individual rights than anything I have ever known.

If Senator Vance is correctly quoted in the above extract, THE ECONOMIST is candidly and sincerely sorry, and regrets its utterance.

J. B. FURROW, president Iowa Farmers Alliance, sends the following complimentary and encouraging letter. From this showing the Alliance must be in good hands in that State:

I take pleasure in acknowledging from week to week your valuable paper, which I use as my textbook, educator and ice breaker of America. We are coming to the front in Iowa 50,000 strong. We have now in the field 15 organizers, 1,740 Subordinate Alliances, 75 Subordinate Granges and 65 Farmers Clubs, and the work has just commenced. We now feel the need of a State paper devoted solely and controlled by the farmers. We have some papers that are doing good work for us. I will here speak of the Iowa Homestead as one of our best papers, but we are ripe for a paper and will have one soon, I think.

The following preamble and resolution endorsing the National Executive Committee was adopted by Macon County Alabama Alliance, and the same ordered sent to the Alliance Herald, and also THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST for publication:

Whereas, it has become clearly evident that certain papers of the partisan press of the country have been subsidized by corrupt power, for the purpose of defeating the efforts and purposes of the great farmers' movement, and whereas it is also clearly apparent that one of the methods to be employed is to traduce and slander the officers and other prominent and influential members of our order, with the view of destroying the confidence of the membership in their appointed leaders and friends, and whereas this cowardly mode of welfare is waged against these brethren, however true and loyal they may be, whatever their character as men and as citizens, and whereas many of these slanderous papers live and move, and have their being in the support of the farmers, the men whom they would thus traduce and defeat, and whereas while we should respect and defend the freedom of the press only so far as that freedom shall be exercised on the side of truth and good government, and should condemn it when employed as an engine of corruption; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we earnestly recommend and urge the brotherhood throughout the country to note carefully and constantly the attitude of the press toward us, and when any paper by vicious and malicious misrepresentation of any officer of whatever rank, from the lowest to the highest in our order, or any member of the same, or by unfair methods against our order, shall seek to impair our strength or unity, that all such papers shall no longer receive in any manner the countenance or support of members of our order.

Official Organ of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

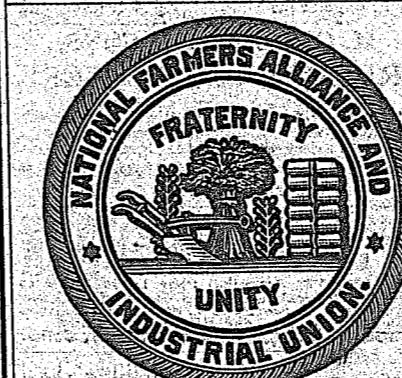
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