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VOL. 8.

WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 5, 1892.

No. 8.

MRS. HARRISON DEAD

For Twenty-four Hours the Watchers Awaited the End.

Almost the Entire Family Were Present at the Deathbed—Mrs. Harrison Met Death with the Patience and Resignation of a Devout Christian.

"Mrs. Harrison is dead!" That was the message sent broadcast over the Capitol City and the whole world from the White House Tuesday morning, October 25. "A good woman gone" will be the solemn response from every heart throughout this nation, as the sad but not unexpected realization of all fears is made known.

Just as the hands of the clock, which had measured the long hours of her last illness, stood at the mark of 1:40 a. m., the end came—the end of a truly noble woman, whom all knew loved; whose reputation carried respect and admiration wherever it went, and whose death the whole nation will mourn as a personal bereavement.

The end was so peaceful and quiet that it may be embodied in the lines of Hood:

"Our very fears bailed our hopes,
Our hopes our fears bailed
We thought her dying when she slept,
And sleeping when she died."

Mrs. Harrison met death with the patience and resignation of a devout Christian, and her last days were comparatively free from pain. For twenty-four hours the President and family had been almost constantly at her bedside awaiting the end.

The night was without special incident, but late and early—so frequently that he could have slept but little, if at all—the President was in and out of the sick chamber, and was never away for any length of time.

All of the family in Washington were present at the deathbed except the three little grandchildren and the venerable Dr. Scott, the father of Mrs. Harrison, Mr. and Mrs. Russell Harrison, Lieut. and Mrs. Parker, Mrs. Dimmick, and Mrs. Newcomer. In addition, Mrs. Harrison's faithful maid Josephine and Miss Davis, the trained nurse, were in the room. The members of the family spent a few minutes around the lifeless clay, and let a veil be drawn over their deep grief.

Mrs. Harrison at noontime was still conscious. A little before that the President, leaning over her, asked if she wished for anything. With the old-time smile that the approach of death only made more tender and trustful, she answered low, but very distinctly: "No, dear."

Hour after hour slipped away, each leaving the patient weaker in turn, yet so gradual was the decline that it could not be said positively at any minute that she had materially failed. The measure of the ebbing tide was the respiration, which slowly sank from about 15 at nightfall to 12 at midnight. The physician had said that if she tided over that hour she might and probably would survive until daylight. So frequent glances were cast at the clock which was steadily ticking away the lifetime of the invalid, and there was a visible air of relief when the gong sounded 12, and one critical point was supposed to have been passed.

The hope inspired by the doctor's last statement was only of short duration. About 12:30 o'clock, while he sat by Mrs. Harrison's side with his fingers lightly pressed to her pulse, his practiced hand discerned a noticeable weakness of the heart's action followed almost immediately by a slight decrease of respiration. He notified the grief-stricken family

grouped around the couch that the end appeared to be very near, and that unless she soon rallied from the stupor into which she then was drifting, she could scarcely live half an hour longer. This intelligence had a most depressing effect upon the President, who had been in constant attendance on his afflicted wife for over nine hours, and he sustained himself with the greatest difficulty.

At 1:30 o'clock Dr. Gardner said that Mrs. Harrison was still alive, but he did not see how she could live much longer.

The minutes passed with frightful rapidity. The almost pulseless form, however, still retained the sacred spark. As the hands of Dr. Gardner's watch pointed to 1:40 the agonized apprehension of the sorrowing family was realized. After examining the countenance and feeling the pulse of the now motionless form, Dr. Gardner sorrowfully announced to those around him that life was extinct.

OUTCOME OF AN ATTACK OF GRIP DURING THE WINTER OF 1890-'91.

Mrs. Harrison inherited tuberculosis, but her illness dates back to an attack of the grip during the winter of 1890-'91. This was followed by bronchitis, which lasted several weeks, but without apparent serious results. While at Cape May during the summer of 1891, she contracted a severe cold, and the bronchitis returned, lasting during the summer. Last January the cough again made its appearance, when Dr. Gardner, her physician, was called in. In March Mrs. Harrison had a second attack of grip, followed by pneumonia.

CAROLINE SCOTT HARRISON.

Early Life, Marriage, and Elevation to the Highest Social Position.

Caroline Scott Harrison was born in Oxford, Butler county, Ohio, the daughter of John Witherspoon Scott and Mary Scott, granddaughter of George McElroy Scott and Annie R. Scott, great-granddaughter of John Scott and Jane M. Scott, and great-great-granddaughter of Robert Scott, who was a member of the Scottish Parliament before the union of the crown. Her great-grandfather, John Scott, was commissary general of the Pennsylvania line, and rendered efficient service in the revolutionary struggle for independence. Her father, Dr. John Witherspoon Scott, was a pioneer minister of the Presbyterian Church, and educator at Oxford, O. He was the president of a well-known young ladies' academy at that place, where his daughters were educated. It was here that Benjamin Harrison, then a student in Miami University, met Miss Scott.

Gen. Lew Wallace, in his life of Harrison, says: "It happened that President Scott had a daughter—girlish, intelligent, witty, and attractive—in whom the young man quickly discovered all the qualities that entered into the composition of his ideal of a perfect woman. Suddenly he gave up attentions to the gentle patrons of the academy in general, and became more a slave to his books than ever. For a season there was much wonder over the change. At length it was explained—he was engaged to marry Miss Caroline W. Scott, the president's daughter. The contract argues great courage and confidence in his future, when it is remembered that he was poor and just out of the junior class, and but eighteen years of age."

They were married at Oxford, October 20, 1853, and removed to Indianapolis in 1854.

In the summer of 1854 Mrs. Harrison paid a visit to her parents at the old home at Oxford, and there, on August 12, Russell Harrison, their eldest child, was born. After this event in the family circle, the young mother having returned in the autumn to Indianapolis, the proud husband rented a small house and began life in earnest, his faithful and industrious wife doing her own housework

in a cottage of three rooms. The steady gains in fame, practice, and pecuniary rewards in two years found Mrs. Harrison presiding over a larger and more pretentious house. Here their second and last child, Mary Scott Harrison, was born. The couple steadily grew in the estimation of their neighbors, and Mr. Harrison achieved fame in politics.

In 1881 Gen. Harrison entered the Senate of the United States, and Mrs. Harrison became a member of that distinguished circle, the wives of Senators. In her Washington residence of six years, Mrs. Harrison extended her sphere of usefulness. Her name was associated with noble charities and church work. The Garfield Hospital owes its present success in a large degree to her active interest as one of its first directors.

Mrs. Harrison's life during her husband's struggles for success as a lawyer, legislator, soldier, and statesman was that quiet home life which is so characteristic of American homes, the influence of which is clearly manifest in the character of our American citizens in their thrift, energy, and progress. During all these years she showed herself the self-sacrificing, self-denying wife and mother. In every position she filled, whether as the wife of the poor lawyer, the daring soldier, the Senator, or the President of the United States, she displayed rare adaptability.

Funeral Services.

The sunlight which came into the East Room of the White House when the curtains had been raised lighted up a scene unusual for that famous apartment. In this chamber had been held some of the most noted gatherings in the history of the Nation. Distinguished personages were there, but they came to pay tribute to the memory of the dead, not to honor the living. The woman who had taken part in so many of these assemblages was sleeping in a flower-decked casket. To her memory, to the honor of a life full of noble deeds, these friends had gathered to pay homage. All nations were represented, but the pomp, the insignia of rank, the splendor, had given place to a hush of admiration. Those present came as friends, not as diplomats.

The services over the remains of Mrs. Harrison were brief and simple, but solemn and impressive. Few were the words that were said, but, touching a responsive chord in every heart, and recalling scenes similar in character, but coming nearer each fireside, they were sufficient to bring tears to many eyes. The services were conducted by Dr. Hamlin and Dr. Bartlett. The music was by the surprised choir of St. John's Episcopal Church. This same choir had sung when Secretary Tracy's wife and daughter were removed from that room, and Mrs. Harrison had been deeply affected by the music. She had often spoken of it afterward, and for this reason the hymns yesterday came from this choir.

When the doors of the East Room were thrown open to admit the first arrivals the scene was touchingly beautiful. Chandeliers cast a flood of mellow light, the windows having been darkened. The mantelpieces were banked with ferns and flowers, at each end being a large palm. Around a casket were grouped a wealth of floral offerings, through which friends of Mrs. Harrison testified to their appreciation of her worth in life and their sorrow at her death.

A HUSH OF DEATH.

Down the long carpeted private corridor came the honorary pall-bearers in double file, each dressed in somber black. Vice-President Morton and Secretary John W. Foster headed the line, while following them in the order named came Secretaries Elkins and Attorney-General Miller, Postmaster-General Wanamaker and Secretary Tracy, and Secretary Noble and Secretary Rusk.

They were assigned to seats in the first row nearest to the catafalque.

There was a hush as of the death that was present, for the assembled witnesses of the last sad scene in the official home of her who had passed away knew that those whose grief made them akin to the humblest citizen of the land standing at the pine coffin of some loved one were about to enter the chamber.

At the head was Benjamin Harrison, the husband, his official position forgotten for the time being by the assembled friends in the sympathy which went out from the hearts of all those present. Leaning on his arm was Mrs. J. Robert McKee, the tender and loving daughter, whose devotion to her mother knew no fatigue. The face of the President was of a deathly pallor; the traces of mental suffering were deeply marked. Mr. Russell B. Harrison, supporting his wife, followed the father and sister. Then came the venerable parent of the deceased mistress of the White House, the Rev. Dr. Scott, escorting Mrs. John F. Parker, the niece of Mrs. Harrison. Mr. J. Robert McKee and Mrs. Mary S. Dimmick, the son-in-law and niece of the dead woman; Hon. J. V. L. Findlay, of Baltimore, the President's cousin, and Mrs. Findlay, and Lieut. John F. Parker and Private Secretary Halford were the others comprising the family party.

They came slowly down the long corridor, passed the banked palms and flowers, passed the great portraits of former Presidents of the United States, and entered the room of death. All rose to receive them.

When the friends had resumed their seats in silence, the daylight was admitted and Dr. Hamlin, the pastor of the Church of the Covenant, read the opening passages of Scripture, "In my Father's house are many mansions," and the other selected passages which followed.

This was followed by a brief prayer, which was closed by the Lord's prayer, which all present repeated in low tones after the officiating clergyman.

Dr. Bartlett read from the Scriptures passages appropriate to the occasion.

As the closing words were uttered, the choir of St. John's Church, stationed in the adjoining room, sang the hymn:

Abide with me, fast falls the eventide;
The darkness deepens, Lord with me abide.

The strains were softened by distance, lending added pathos and solemnity to the scene.

It was just 10:40 o'clock when the services concluded. They had lasted barely forty minutes. The honorary pall-bearers, preceding the casket, formed a passage-way on the main portico of the mansion, and stood with uncovered heads while the eight body bearers bore it to the hearse.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., Oct. 28.—All that was mortal of Mrs. Harrison rests in the tomb. The funeral services were quietly unostentatious. The special train bearing the President back to Washington left at 5:30 o'clock.

Just before his departure the President gave the press the following note to the public:

MY DEAR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS: I cannot leave you without saying that the tender and gracious sympathy which you have to-day shown for me and for my children, and much more, the touching evidence you have given of your love for the dear wife and mother, have deeply moved our hearts. We yearn to carry you with us to rest near the hallowed spot where your loving hands have laid our dead; but the little grandchildren watch in wondering silence for our return and need our care, and some public business will not longer wait upon my sorrow.

May a gracious God keep and bless you all. Most gratefully yours,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

The Indianapolis News this afternoon printed a fac-simile of an autograph letter from President Harrison to his old pastor in this city, the Rev. M. L. Haines, under date of Washington, October 20. It reads as follows:

MY DEAR MR. HAINES: I thank you for your comforting letter. The old prayer meeting room has been very often in my thoughts, and I could almost

hear the prayers of old friends who still gather there for those who left them, first for heavy cares and now for heavier sorrow. God bless you all. Most sincerely yours,

BENJ. HARRISON.

PLANS OF PARTISANS

New York and Indiana the Real Battlefield.

Both Sides Figure Out a Majority—A New York Political Factor that May Cost the Democrats Many Votes—A Dastardly Outrage in Alabama.

Special to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Oct. 28.—An attempt was made at 10 o'clock to-night to burn the buildings in which were the People's party headquarters, Bowman's law office and Manning's newspaper business office. The fire was set in a photograph gallery and was under good headway when discovered. No great damage was done. A low, chunky white man was seen to come from the buildings a few minutes before the fire. No special clue.

J. C. M.

PLANS OF THE PARTISANS.

New York and Indiana the Real Battlefield—Both Sides Claim a Victory.

Chairman Harrity of the Democratic National Committee, in an article in the current number of the North American Review indicates the States in respect to which his party entertains hopes or expectations. He says:

The Republican party can abandon special efforts in the States of Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Nevada, and South Dakota in the West, and in the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island in the East, only at great and obvious peril. * * *

In the States commonly regarded as destined to be decisive—namely, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana—we fight from the vantage ground of having won the intermediate elections since 1888 by increasing pluralities. The assurred votes which Michigan under her law of district representation will give us should not be overlooked; nor the possibility that the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and South Dakota may cast their electoral votes in whole or in part for Mr. Weaver by reason of the fusion of parties in these States.

Mr. Harrity assumes that the vote of the solid South, including Delaware and West Virginia, will be cast for Cleveland. In addition to the 159 votes of these States he would need 64 votes to win. If he should carry the pivotal States named by Mr. Harrity, New York (36), New Jersey (10), Indiana (15) and Connecticut (6), he would get these 64 votes and 3 to spare. He would thus win if fusion should be a complete failure in the West as well as in the South. Since he has 4 reasonably sure votes in Michigan under his law of district representation will give us should not be overlooked; nor the possibility that the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and South Dakota may cast their electoral votes in whole or in part for Mr. Weaver by reason of the fusion of parties in these States.

The deputy sheriff of Shelby county went to serve some papers on a Kolbite farmer, and the latter resisted because, as he alleged, the deputy was not a proper officer, as the sheriff himself had not been legally elected. A fight ensued, and the farmer struck the deputy on the head with a rail, felling him to the ground, and then took the papers away from him. Shelby is one of the counties in which there are contests over the county offices pending in the courts.

Mrs. Gougar Sues Congressman Morse.

BOSTON, Oct. 28.—Hon. Elijah A. Morse has been sued in the United States circuit court by Mrs. Helen M. Gougar, of Indiana, for \$25,000 for alleged libel. Mrs. Gougar has also sued the Attleboro Sun for \$10,000. The suits arise out of a letter which Mr. Morse wrote on October 10, and which was printed in the Sun, and in which Mr. Morse declined a joint debate with Mrs. Gougar and made some remarks not creditable to her. The writs are returnable in May in the United States court.

The Republicans are not to be outdone in electoral figuring. They do not admit the possibility of more than a mere handful of Weaver votes in the West, and do not concede the probability of any—not even of Weaver's success in Nevada. They figure

HUGHES BECOMES AN ISSUE.

A New York Political Factor that May Cost the Democrats Many Votes.

A large number of Knights of Labor and their sympathizers assembled at the People's Theater in New York last night at the benefit performance tendered to James Hughes, the Knight of Labor imprisoned for extortion at Rochester in aid of the appeal fund in his case. The performance was given under the auspices of the United Clothing Cutters' Local Assemblies 2853 and 2904, K. of L.

The K. of L. general lecturer, James A. Wright, said: "What are we going to do about it? James Hughes' treatment? James Hughes' treatment? Well, the executive board of 231 will remain in executive session until after the election. We are going to issue documents showing how laboring men have been treated by the Democratic governors of Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and New York. We will get 'hunk' with National Committeeman Harrity and his party. The Knights of Labor is a political organization this year, as the Democratic party will learn on election day."

General Master Workman Powderly concluded the evening program with a bitter attack on Gov. Flower, Chairman Harrity, Gov. Pattison and the Democratic party. He began by telling how on March 17, 1891, Hughes was arrested in Philadelphia without warrant while consulting with the speaker on matters relating to the welfare of the Knights of Labor. Mr. Powderly then reviewed the efforts made by the leaders of the Knights to prevent the extradition of Hughes from Pennsylvania. Gov. Hill had been appealed to, and he said that he had signed the requisition papers perfunctorily, as they were in proper form. Still he dictated this telegram to Gov. Pattison: "Gov. Hill says Gov. Pattison may take all time necessary for a full consideration of Hughes' case." Gov. Pattison was then asked to grant a few days to present Hughes' side of the case, but Pattison replied that the New York officer was awaiting the order of Hughes' delivery to him, and he (Pattison) would direct Hughes' return to New York the next day. "This New York officer," said Mr. Powderly, "was simply a detective in the employ of the Rochester combine. Harrity was there in Harrisburg at the time, secretary of state. He held all the papers on the case. He lent no aid to the Knights; in fact, he was favorable to the Rochester combine. And yet this man, Harrity, is now daring to ask the workingmen, the fellow-workers of James Hughes, to vote the Democratic ticket. Lately we have asked for another favor from another Democratic executive. We have gone to him in the attitude of supplicants, cringing before him, and we have been insulted and spurned."

"On October 17 I wrote to Gov. Flower asking him to intercede in behalf of Hughes, and I expressed my regret that he had misunderstood the language of the petition sent him, telling him that the word 'demand' was used inadvertently and thoughtlessly, and that nothing more than a request was intended. Flower chose to ventilate his anger against the labor organizations in an outrageous interview given to the press. If every American workingman felt as I do over this conduct of the governor of the State of New York; such a man as Flower would never again sit in the executive chair at Albany. Those who were instrumental in putting Hughes into a felon's cell claim that their party is the party of the poor, of the workingmen, of the common people; the Democratic party cannot fool us longer. We made Flower the Democratic governor of a Republican State. If you workingmen do your duty here, you will teach the Democratic party that they must treat you as men and American citizens when you ask justice; you will teach Flower that you, as sovereign people must not be insulted and scorned, you will teach men like Harrity that you are men of intelligence and cannot be deluded into voting for your enemies. I cannot say one good word of the Democratic party, and I am unable to understand how any workingman can vote for its candidates."

The chief supervisor of elections has been notified and will prepare papers necessary to the appointment of supervisors at once.

Gov. Hill Scores MacVeagh.

NEW YORK, Oct. 26.—Gov. Hill has set the State to talking by the following bitter denunciation of his last speech in this city:

I believe in a healthy, strong, and vigorous partisanship. This does not mean the manifestation of a narrow, hide-bound, or selfish spirit. I respect an honorable opponent, who honestly differs with me upon the public questions of the hour. I deprecate the custom, already too prevalent among our public men, of personal abuse and intentional misrepresentation of the position of adversaries. In a country like ours there must always be two great parties and our differences should be treated with decent and respectful consideration.

Neither have I anything but contempt for the ostentatious zeal of the new convert, who, after having for years enjoyed the honors and emoluments of position conferred upon him by his party, only assumes to see a new light, recurs around and bitterly assails his henchmen and political associates with venomousness.

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martial so ordered it. Attorney Watson attacked the legal existence of the National Guard, stating that the act creating it was unconstitutional, because it puts the guard under control of its officers instead of under the governor of the State. The act he branded as a weak, vicious, and revolutionary law, and the men who framed it, if they knew what they were doing, were guilty of treason.

Judge Porter said the impression of the court was that a court-martial convened now, in time of peace, could only inflict military punishment.

Attorney Watson raised the question of the legal right of the National Guard to be at Homestead, to aid civil authorities in maintaining the peace. The governor has the power to call upon the National Guard to resist an invasion, suppress a riot or insurrection, but is not given the power expressly to call them out to aid the civil authorities in maintaining peace, for which purpose they were ordered to Homestead.

Another point the prosecution will attempt to show is that Private Iams was not legally enlisted. He entered the guard before he was 18 years old, without the consent of his parents, as is required by law.

Electoral Vote.

The following table shows how the electoral vote was divided in 1880, 1884 and 1888, and the number of votes each state has in 1892:

STATES.	1880.	1884.	1888.	1892.			
	Garrison.	Hancock.	Blaine.	Cleveland.	Harrison.	Cleveland.	Elected.
Alabama	15	6	10	10	11	8	1
Arkansas	5	5	7	7	9	2	1
California	3	3	3	3	4	2	1
Colorado	3	3	3	3	4	1	1
Connecticut	6	4	6	6	4	2	1
Florida	1	1	1	1	3	1	1
Georgia	12	10	10	10	10	9	2
Idaho	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Illinois	13	7	6	14	13	7	2
Indiana	3	10	2	12	4	5	1
Iowa	10	10	1	5	1	1	1
Kansas	5	9	1	1	1	1	1
Kentucky	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Louisiana	1	5	1	6	4	1	1
Maine	4	4	4	4	4	4	1
Maryland	3	3	6	6	5	5	1
Massachusetts	10	2	5	7	9	4	1
Michigan	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Minnesota	5	2	2	2	2	2	1
Mississippi	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Missouri	4	10	14	2	12	6	2
Montana	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nebraska	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
New Hampshire	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
New Jersey	18	18	11	23	15	19	3
North Carolina	3	6	1	4	4	3	1
North Dakota	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ohio	10	5	7	14	15	6	2
Pennsylvania	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rhode Island	2	7	7	2	20	10	1
South Carolina	1	6	6	6	5	5	1
South Dakota	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Tennessee	3	7	2	8	3	6	1
Texas	11	11	11	11	11	11	1
Virginia	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Washington	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
West Virginia	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Wyoming	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	175	155	85	234	160	165	30

The New York Registration.

NEW YORK, Oct. 31.—The total registration in this city was about 25,000 under the estimates made by Mr. Croker and the Tammany leaders. They, however, explain the shortage by saying that the falling off in the registry is in Republican localities. Mr. Croker, in an interview to-day, reiterated his prediction that Mr. Cleveland would have 75,000 majority in this city. Mr. Gilroy also made a similar prediction, but it is not believed that either one expects to see his prediction realized.

The Republicans claim that the claim of 75,000 majority in this city for Cleveland is made simply for effect outside the State. This is an estimate of the vote of this city, prepared by the Republican State committee to-day: Total registry, 309,830; less 6 per cent not voting, 18,000, and 8,000 scattering, 283,830; Republican vote, 116,000, Democratic plurality, 51,830.

Mr. Harrison polled nearly 107,000 votes in the city four years ago and they believe he can easily get 116,000 here this year. In fact they claim that it is more likely to be over that figure than under.

Altogether the registration in this city is not as satisfactory to the Democrats as they would like to make out. If the Republicans hold their own it is difficult to see how Mr. Cleveland can get over 60,000 majority in this city.

In 1888 the Republicans went down to the Harlem River with 85,538, and to carry the State they must do as well this year.

They claim 100,000 in the State which, outside of the cities, is heavily Republican.

From the registration, and from the increase made on previous Presidential elections, a conservative estimate places the total vote in this State at about 1,420,000, an increase of 90,000 over 1888, to be divided among five parties, Democratic, Republican, Prohibition, Socialist-Labor and People's. The last three can be counted upon to do very little, and 50,000 votes is considered a liberal estimate, divided as follows: Prohibition, 3,000; People's, 15,000, and Labor, 500.

The prosecution held that military regulations gave the officers no right to inflict punishment without a court-

A CALAMITY HOWL.

Democratic Editor E. K. McClure Ar. reigns Monopoly.

At Wilmington, in reply to Gov. McKinley, Editor McClure spoke as follows:

I plead for the industrial people of the land, and I plead for the only true protection that can be given them under our laws. The so-called protection of labor by high tariff taxes levied upon labor, and the consequent denial of the markets of the world for our exceptional energy and skill, is simply robbery and fraud—a mockery, a lie. [Applause]. I plead for free opportunity for the American worker; I plead for his deliverance from the bondage of monopoly and greed that enslaves him while falsely professing to enlarge his freedom, and that deprives him of opportunity and wages and dooms his family to want. I do not come with the plea of the agrarian. When the property of the highest and the humblest is not alike sacredly protected by law and by law-loving public sentiment, it is anarchy, and anarchy means woe to all classes and conditions. The honest, earnest, industrious, as well as the earnest and industrious who are not honest, will always accumulate, while the idle, the thriftless and the vicious waste. Some will gain and others will lose in all conditions of life, and the man who rails against wealth simply because others are more fortunate than himself, merits little sympathy; but it is every man's right to demand, under our free institutions, that wealth shall be honestly acquired, and when acquired, shall be honestly used. [Applause]. The men who rob labor by tariff taxes levied ostensibly for the benefit of labor but withheld from labor, and contribute their ill-gotten wealth to debauch our elections and to buy the right to increase taxes upon the people for their own exclusive benefit, are not only dishonest in the acquisition of wealth, but equally dishonest in the use of it. [Prolonged applause].

It is against the steady encroachment of the centralized wealth that has piled up its thousands of millions by legislation for the few to the injury of the many, that I protest. Centralization of political power was bred by war, but it has survived its hideous parent, and now centralized power has gradually given us centralized wealth until to-day a great party openly advocates laws designed solely to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, and laws which none would have dared to advocate a generation ago. This centralization of wealth, and the power it logically creates, have come suddenly, stealthily, unseen and never violently felt, until its monstrous mastery is finally visible in every channel of industry, of finance and of trade, and labor is now taxed oppressively on all it consumes, while the protection given it law is taken from it by unblushing robbery. [Applause].

They tell you that the nation was never so prosperous; that the Republic has made matchless strides in advancement under what they call protection. Yes, the American people, with their free schools, their free newspapers, their railroads, and telegraphs, have advanced. God gave them the fairest and most fruitful land of the world, and American energy and skill have made it blossom as the rose; but who most share the blessings of the wealth our labor is daily increasing? The free nation in which labor is not prosperous is a libel upon government of the people. It is labor that produces every dollar of wealth we possess, and in the wonderful development of wealth how has labor fared? We have increased the wealth of the country fully \$100,000,000 since 1860, that is, during the present generation, and who possess it? Forty years ago sixty out of every 100 heads of families in the United States were their own homes; to-day only thirty-six out of every 100 are thus blessed.

Why this increase of homeless workingmen when they have produced almost countless wealth in a single generation? If the nation is prosperous why should not labor enlarging its homes instead of lessening them? Of our 65,000,000 people not less than 10,000,000 are in want of bread from January to January. Many gather the scantiest subsistence by begging for labor; many give up the hopeless struggle, and sink the man in the tramp, while others plod on through crime to the jail, or through sorrow to the almshouse. We have 65,000,000 population, and of the boundless wealth that you are told has been developed by prosperous labor, 31,000 now own one-half of all of it. Here is the true solution of the policy of the centralization that has come upon us, creeping as softly as the growth of the grass in springtime, until a number less than half the population of Wilmington possess more than one-half the entire wealth of the continent. And this is called prosperity! [Applause]. A policy that has reduced the owned homes of labor nearly one-half, while 100,000,000,000 have been added to the wealth of the country; that has centralized wealth until one-half the whole riches of the land is possessed by 31,000 of 65,000,000, and that has within a few years centralized a 1,500,000,000 in monopoly combines to increase the cost of the necessities of life, might be called prosperity for the very few, but what of the people who are the sovereign power of the Republic? [Protracted applause].

This centralization of political power that has given us this appalling centralization of wealth, is a crime against our free institutions and a crime against the whole people of the nation. [Applause.] It is a crime that never takes a step backward until it is throttled and overthrown. This land must either progress to the enrichment of the few and in the oppression of the many, or it must tear up by the roots the whole system of monopoly that now hangs like a millstone upon the noblest people of the world. [Applause.] There is no middle ground in such a conflict. Rome boasted of her boundless prosperity as her long line of Caesars degenerated into luxury and licentiousness, and her riches multiplied nobles and slaves. The people were not sovereign. Stripped of all the inspirations of manhood by physical and moral decay created by the festering corruption of despotic rule, the same race that bore the Eagles of Rome in triumph into every known land, degenerated into mercenaries and slaves; and at last when the sullen tramp and the hoarse shouts of the barbarians from the Northern forests came to spread desolation, pillage and murder, the mistress of the world fell because civilization of power and wealth had debauched and enervated the

bravest people of the age, and the dust of centuries swept into oblivion the altars and temples of Roman grandeur. [Applause.] Centralization of power, centralization of wealth, twin monsters of debauchery and oppression, smite them at the polls. [Prolonged applause.]

HOW THEY FIGURE IT OUT.

A Table Furnished by Ex-Journal Clerk Smith, of the House.

This is valuable only for comparison. It is not given for any other purpose. It will do to consult after the election.

STATES.	1st Cong.		2d Cong.		
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THE SLUMS.

How They Are Filled, and How They May Be Emptied.

(Discourse by Rev. Alexander Kent, at the People's Church, Washington, D. C., January 31.)

Last Tuesday morning I received the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 26, 1892.

Rev. Alex. Kent.

Sir: I send you by this mail a copy of the Journal of the Knights of Labor, in which you will find an article written by T. V. Powderly on the slums of large cities. We desire to arouse public sentiment upon this subject, which we think is worthy of our best efforts. Can we ask that you make this a subject for a discourse on next Sunday morning? By so doing you will confer a great favor on the labor organizations of this city. Respectfully,

L. P. WILD,
District Master Workman.

The letter of Mr. Powderly, above referred to, calls attention to a "resolution from D. A. 66 of this city, passed at the Toledo session of the General Assembly of K. of L., embodying a request for investigation by the National Department of Labor, through order of Congress, of the slums of cities of over 200,000—their occupations, earnings, sanitary conditions, environments, and methods of living." A petition praying for the passage of a bill securing such investigation is found in same paper, which Mr. Powderly urges all readers to sign and circulate and send in duplicate to the Senate and House of Representatives.

It is hoped that Congress, at its present session, will see its way to the passage of such a bill. The Commissioner of Labor, I may say regards the measure with favor, looking upon the work proposed as one of practicable value to the country.

I am glad to throw any influence I may have on the side of such a movement, as the first thing to be done in solving this problem of the slums is to find out what creates them, where the people who fill them come from, what carries them there, and what keeps them there.

The word "slum" is supposed to be an abbreviation of asylum. And, really, this is what the slum is to multitudes who, for one reason or another, desire to hide themselves from their former associates and companions, or who seek, perhaps, a refuge from the clutches of the law whose penalties they have incurred. A wretched sort of refuge it is, but, after all, easier to endure than what is often involved in avoiding it.

I have just read with painful interest Mr. Jacob A. Riis's study of the New York Slums, entitled "How the Other Half Lives." It appears to be a candid, careful and sympathetic presentation of life as he was able to see it among the tenement dwellers of an American metropolis, who now comprise three-fourths of its population. Mr. Riis attributes very much of the degradation and misery among the poor to the character of the tenement houses. Built solely with a view to profit on the part of the builder and owner, they afford to the occupants nothing of the conveniences, comforts or privacy of the real home.

In them all the influences make for evil. They are the hot-beds of the epidemics that carry death to the rich and poor alike; the nurseries of pauperism and crime that fill our jails and police courts; that throw off a sum of 40,000 human wrecks to the island asylums and workhouses year by year; that turned out in the last eight years a round half-million beggars to prey upon our charities; that maintain a standing army of 10,000 tramps; and that touch the family life with deadly moral contagion.

Notwithstanding the miserable character of the accommodations furnished by these buildings, the rent is enormously high, rarely ever yielding less than 15 per cent on the investment, and according to some witnesses, an average of 40 per cent. But the many have no choice in the matter. The cost of dress and living in other and respectable surroundings puts this out of the question. Here, if they can pay their rent, they may live as they please and have no questions asked. To do this they are often obliged to take lodgers—to divide their scanty room with others—and thus, huddled together like pigs in a sty, they eke out a miserable subsistence, and lose all that makes life worth living. It was hoped at one time that rapid transit would tend to check this overcrowding, and that the multitude of laborers would seek their residence in the suburbs. But this proved a vain hope.

"We know now," says Mr. Rus, "that there is no way out; that the system that was the offspring of public neglect and private greed has come to stay; a storm center forever of our civilization."

His only hope is that the greed of capital that wrought the evil may itself undo it as far as it can be undone. "Neither legislation nor

charity," he says, "can cover the ground." Homes must be built for the working masses by those who employ their labor, but tenements must cease to be "good property" in the old heartless sense. "Philanthropy and 5 per cent is the penance exacted." But this, you perceive, is sentiment, not business according to nineteenth century ideas, and will find little favor, I fancy, with the competitive employer. If this is the only hope of the poor, it is surely a forlorn one, and one that must grow more and more forlorn as the competitive struggle—or war, as the Tammany chief, Mr. Crocker, would characterize it—becomes sharper and fiercer.

But perhaps we may get some other clue to the problem if we consider, as far as our information will permit us, the causes that are working to increase our tenement-house population. First and most conspicuous among these we may name immigration. There are, of course, individual Americans, not a few, found in these poor districts, but there is no American community, and the Americans who are found there belong generally to the criminal or impoverished classes. The respectable, competent American workingman, so long as he is able to get employment, will not herd in the way common to foreigners.

According to Mr. Riis's report there are in addition to the mixed crowd of which the Irish constitute the largest element, distinct communities of Italians, Germans, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Hebrews, Scandinavians, Bohemians, Arabs and Negroes. These combined make a total tenement-house population of 1,250,000. When we consider that since 1855 more than 11,000,000 of immigrants have come to this country, and that more than half of this number have come since 1880, by far the greater part landing in New York; and when we consider further that many of these are of the poorer and less capable classes, and not a few already paupers and criminals, it is easy to understand why the congestion in New York in tenement-house districts surpasses that of any other city—even the densest populations of Europe and China. The tenth ward of New York has a population of over 334,000 to the square mile, while the greatest crowding of Old London was at the rate of 175,816, only a little more than one-half. It would be a mistake to suppose that all of these tenement-house dwellers are in abject poverty. A considerable number of them are living, or vegetating quite a little within their income. Some of them even save money out of very meager wages and go into business for themselves, or return to their native land. But, as a New York Supreme Judge—quoted by Dr. Strong—says:

There is a large class, I was about to say a majority, of the population of New York and Brooklyn who just live, and to whom the rearing of two or more children means inevitably a boy for the penitentiary and a girl for the brothel.

But we may name as second in the list of conspicuous causes of this congestion, the general setting of the currents of the popular life toward the cities. From 1790 to 1880, the whole population increased twelve-fold, the city population eighty-six-fold. In 1800, there were only six cities in the United States that had a population of 8000 or more. In 1880, there were 286.

The immense fortunes made in the great cities, in the various forms of business, legitimate and illegitimate, appeal powerfully to the minds of aspiring and ambitious youth. To those who have business tact, steadiness, and firmness of purpose; who resist the temptations of the city, and who are not too scrupulous to avail themselves of the ignorance or weakness of others, the city affords a grand field for the display of their talents. The very presence of these surplus laborers is, financially, a boon to them.

They cheapen labor and furnish a market for cheap goods. To those who yield to city temptations, or who lack the nerve or shrewdness for a business career, the path that leads to the slums is always open. And so the country yields its quota—and not a very small one either—to the ever increasing army of crime and poverty.

A third cause of the increase in slum population is found in the dissipation and debauchery that break down and bring to ruin large numbers of those who are born to comfort or even luxury, but who, from love of pleasure and an excessive self-indulgence, have fallen from their place of vantage. Not a few of these have furnished recruits for the criminal contingent, and others have gone to swell the hosts of the improvident and vicious. But deeper and more potent than all causes combined—that indeed which lies back of them all, and in which they have their root—is our barbarous system of competitive industry, or unrestricted individualism. It is to the operations of this that we owe the presence of these impoverished multitudes from the older civilizations.

The present peace of Europe is in all probability due to the exodus of those millions, the poorer and more

vicious of which are threatening us with trouble. Had these millions remained crowding the cities of the old world the congestion would have bred revolution there long ere this. Had they not come to our cities we would have had no serious problems of the slums for generations yet to come. But they did come, and came with a hope, doubtless, of finding opportunities for earning livelihood here which were denied them there. Not a few of them have bettered their condition. Thousands even of these tenement dwellers are earning more and living better here than they did in their old homes. But in doing this they have come into competition with a better class of workmen and laborers whom they have been obliged to underbid in order to get work. Accustomed to poor diet and narrow quarters, they are able to do this and live. The American would die where the Italian or Polish Jew would live and thrive. And this is the serious side of the slum problem for the better class of workmen and laborers in this country. The pressure of such competition, if nothing can be done to remove or lessen it, means slum life for them also. Already, as Mr. Powderly says:

Good men and women are driven to these disease-breeding haunts, and morals in such places are like the atmosphere around them. It cannot be otherwise, for where filth and contagion dwell, morality and purity must die. These people must work for a living or starve. They are willing to work, for it is not laziness that drove them to the depths of the slums. Their labor is not appreciated at its worth by those who perform it, or by those who are enabled to get the benefit of it for a life-starving wage. The effect of this system is pernicious in the extreme, for it makes the price paid to slum labor the standard which avaricious employers would pay to those who have not yet descended to the depths of poverty and vice in which the dwellers of filthy tenements and reeking basements must drag out a miserable existence.

Now this state of things in a land teeming with plenty, and professing a religion whose cardinal doctrines are the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, is a burning shame and a blazing disgrace. It is not due, let me say, to any lack of charity, or charitable disposition on the part of the well-to-do. If charity could solve the problem it would have been solved long ago.

But such is the pressure which our present industrial system puts upon the masses, and such the desire to be ministered unto which it infuses into all who catch its spirit, that every effort to relieve poverty in a large way is followed by relaxation of effort on the part of the poor, and an increase of the number calling for relief soup-houses. Charity therefore must be dispensed with great caution, and even niggardliness in order not to aggravate the evil we desire to remove. Cases of utter destitution and helplessness must of course have relief. All others should have work, and work at wages commensurate with the service which they render. For if paid less than their service is worth, when measured by the common standard, the tendency is to lower the standard—to cut down the wages of others and so add in this way a tributary to swell the stream of poverty. But here is the rub. Work cannot be had by the unskilled many. Charity organizations cannot find it for this class. Even the skilled workman of steady habits is often obliged to go idle. But work for the unskilled, at living wages, is almost impossible to get. Yet the unskilled are not to blame for their want of skill. Many of the older ones are skilled in service no longer required, but they have no training for the things needing to be done. Most of the younger have had no training whatever, and nothing of the mental and moral discipline that fits them to take training. What then can be done to lessen this evil? Mr. Rus says there is no remedy, and I think he is right so long as the present system continues. But even under this system, something may be done to lessen the evil.

It is true that the only measures that seem to me likely to be of any value are such as look toward a change of the system and are preparatory for it. Thus, one of the first things that ought to be done, in my judgment, is to provide for a sound, ethical training in our public schools.

But a sound ethical training is a training especially that qualifies for, and inclines one to the discharge of those duties which he owes to his fellows. It proceeds upon the line indicated by what is called the royal law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

To love our neighbor as ourselves is to shape the whole conduct and business of life with an equal regard for his welfare and our own. This is only ethical. It does not permit us to use the school as a grind-stone with which to sharpen our wits that we may cut a smooth path through life for ourselves, but as a means of developing all our powers that we may be able to dwell together in a spirit of justice, helpfulness and brotherly love. A sound ethical training will

dispel from the mind forever the deadly illusion that we can really advance our own interests. It will establish in the mind an abiding conviction of the solidity of the race. The one thing more fatal to our own best interests than all others, because the one that mars our manhood, and robs us of life beyond all others, is cruelty or indifference toward our fellows.

And this conviction is not a luxury to be indulged in on Sundays, or applied only through channels of beneficence or charity. It is a working conviction intended for every day use and to be applied to every avenue of business, of politics and society. A generation trained in this sort of ethics having the courage of their convictions would soon work a revolution some way in our political and social system. The theory of business on which men strive and scheme for all they can gather of what others have earned, by which the chief share comes to the strong or cunning, and nothing is left for the weak or dull, would seem absolutely monstrous to a generation so trained.

Again I would recommend a national and rapid extension of industrial education to go hand in hand with the ethical and one of the chief means indeed of carrying forward the latter. The eye and hand should be trained together with the mind. Each should supplement and aid the other. The young should grow up with the feeling that all powers, whether of mind or body, are ours for service; that is, for the doing of something that the world needs to have done, and through the doing of which it will be enriched and bettered.

It should be taught to make no distinction as to dignity or honorableness of service, between that performed by the hand and that rendered by the mind. While all should be encouraged to use all gifts, all acquirements, they should be taught that all work that is serviceable to man done in spirit of service, that is of usefulness, is equally honorable. A generation so trained to ethical conduct and industrial activity could not fail to take great strides toward the solution of all social problems. Of course the nation could not consistently undertake a work of this sort on a national scale—could not put industrial education into all our schools without making proper provision for the employment of those it had taken the trouble to train. Of course on the theory of the survival of the fittest—the theory of the present systems—they might be left to take their chances, but on this theory they might be left to shift for themselves also in the matter of education and industrial training. Public school training proceeds upon the supposition that proper training may fit all for service; and the attempt to train all, involves logically opportunity on the part of all to use the training they have been given. The nation has no right to permit business to be a pug in the corner game, where any friction of the players must be left without a corner. The right to render service, that one may have service rendered, is the very first right the nation ought to guarantee to every citizen, man or woman. It is of much more consequence to the people of this country that they be guaranteed this right in order that they may protect themselves from hunger and cold and nakedness, than that they be protected from abuse or outrage at the hands of any foreign power. These foes are in our midst. Hundreds of thousands of our fellow-men give ample evidence of past and present suffering from their assaults. Nor are these assaults confined to men. They are made equally on defenseless women and children—on many of the best and purest and noblest of our land.

Is the nation powerless against these foes? Is there nothing it can do to arm these citizens, to put them into line, and enable them to conquer a peace for themselves? Is it at liberty to spend millions of treasure, and if need be to shed rivers of blood to maintain its dignity and vindicate the rights of its sailors to protection from a foreign mob? And has it no right at all to interfere in any way with the more terrible ravages of these internal foes? If this be so, then government is only the instrument of the strong for the protection of the strong, not the instrument of the people for the use and protection of the people. But it is said, of course, the people have the right to use the Government for such purpose if they deem it wise. This would be going back to methods of the past, to that paternalism which has always proved destructive of the liberties and energies of a people, and from which present civilization is only fairly emerging. If this argument were not used so often by the great editors and statesmen, and other dignitaries of the country, I should be tempted to call it stupid and silly. What analogy has an administration which is "of the people, by the people and for the people" to paternal government? Where is the pattern? When the people of a city decide to furnish and

control their own water supply, or their own gas, or electric light, or to own and run their own street railways, through the agents they appoint, is this going back to paternal government? When the people of the United States decide to build their own post-offices instead of leaving this matter to individual enterprise, have we returned to paternal government? If not, suppose they go a step farther, as Postmaster Wanamaker suggests, and nationalize the telegraph, the telephone, the express service, and the savings banks; would that be a return to paternalism? Surely, no more than the other. The extension of the application doesn't change the principle.

If the public school system and the postoffice are not instances of paternalism, the people may do as many things as they please through their general agent without any more liability to the charge. An administration which is of the people, by the people and for the people is fraternalism whether it be limited in its agency to the conduct of politics, or whether its powers be extended to affairs of business. It is simply a question for the people of this country to decide how far and how fast the affairs of this country may be turned over for better and wiser regulation to the men of its choosing. I believe the time is very near at hand when they will demand any radical measures looking to the breaking up of these selfish and artificial arrangements in the world of business by which the masses are held so utterly in the power of the classes.

Perhaps one of the first measures to be taken by the people of this country in self-defense, and as a protection against dangers which a certain kind of immigration increases, will be to pass a law restricting and regulating it in general. Not a little of what our Nation has taken into its capacious stomach has proved very difficult of digestion and assimilation. A good deal of it lies very heavy, close to the point of entrance. Dyspeptic symptoms are quite pronounced already. Care in future diet is deemed important.

But I am not a specialist in matters of this sort, and having nothing but considerations of seeming expediency to guide me, do not care to dogmatize. If the controlling elements of this country were right, if the people at large were wide awake to the necessity of justice and honesty in politics, I should incline strongly to the continuance of our former liberal policy, but I see great danger in the presence of masses of people in all our large cities, who, having no knowledge of our institutions, and no sympathy with their real purpose, are simply the tools of demagogues, or scoundrels, to carry elections. I grant at once that many of these foreigners are among our best and most truly Republican citizens. But when we reflect that great cities have a mighty influence in shaping the destiny of a country, and remember that in the largest cities of our country the foreign element is dominant—ranging from 62 per cent in Cincinnati, 63 in Boston, 83 in Cleveland, 88 in New York to 91 in Chicago, one is pardoned for fearing that the influence of those cities may not be altogether in line with the principles of the Republic. According to Mr. Rus, the very worst characters of these slums have their vote, or rather are voted on election day. They are reached through the saloon. They sell their vote for liquor. Even the men that are sent to the island, are taken out and voted, re-sentenced and returned.

What is the use of our Christian churches, if, having the ear of the only men who have power to change this thing for the better, they cannot rouse them to earnest effort in this direction? Of what avail is it to interest them in the condition of the heathen Indian or African, if they are unmoved by the far worse than heathen degradation to be found at their own doors?

Well! well! these queries I suppose are profitless. Nobody will answer them. Nobody can answer them, and yet out of all this seething mass of error in thought, consistency in action, and blindness to present duty, I have faith to believe that good for the race will surely be evolved. And I have also to think, and trust that somehow and somewhere it will appear that life even to the lowest and most unfortunate is a boon and not a curse.

But we should not make this trust an excuse for idleness or indifference. We should see in that which justifies it an encouragement to effort. For this trust is not grounded in any tendency that can become effect without human thought, human affection, human endeavor. There is no power in the universe that can create a happy social order, without human co-operation. Truth, justice and love must be seen, practiced, felt by individual souls before they can find embodiment in social institutions, or laws or customs. The best in the universe can only be expressed through the best in humanity. And the best in humanity only is capable of perceiving or coming into

sympathy with the best in the universe.

To really love the true, the beautiful, and the good, is to come into fellowship with this; to feel that it is the very soul of the universe, the one abiding eternal reality. In this view, evil becomes rootless, transient. It is a barnacle, an excrescence. It has no basis in the ideal which alone is the permanent real. This fault is the true inspiration to high thinking and noble living. We are workers together with the highest and the mightiest, and because we are, we are sure that our labor will not be in vain.

The True Date of Discovery.
New Orleans Picayune
The public press for several days past has been filled with accounts of the celebration of fêtes in New York city in honor of the 400th anniversary of the landing of Columbus, which took place on Friday, October 12, 1492. In view of the fact that Congress has declared Friday, October 21, to be the official anniversary, and it is to be celebrated at Chicago in connection with the Columbian Exposition, some confusion has been caused by the honoring of two separate dates for the same purpose and to commemorate the same event. Is New York's day or Chicago's day the correct one? By the ordinary calendar reckoning, the anniversary falls on October 12. By the real duration of time the anniversary is on the 21st inst.

The explanation is as follows: Each solar year by which our time is reckoned consists, as ordinarily stated, of 365 1/4 days 6 hours. In order to get rid of the fraction it is disregarded until every fourth year, when the four quarters are taken up and counted in the year, which is accorded 366 days, and is known as leap year. By the ordinary reckoning, the Columbus anniversary comes back every 12th of October. But the ordinary reckoning is not the true one. Each year does not contain 365 days, 6 hours, but 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 48 seconds of being 6 hours, and by reason of this deficiency it is plain that in a long period of time fewer days would get into the calendar than had actually been measured by the revolutions of the solar system.

The year is measured from the time the sun appears at the vernal equinox until it returns to that point. When the calendar was adjusted, in 1525 A. D., the vernal equinox took place on the 21st of March. In 1582, in the time of Pope Gregory XIII., the equinox occurred on the 11th of March. Astronomically it came at the right time, but by the calendar it came ten days too soon. There were not enough days in the calendar, so the Pope, after consulting the astronomers and mathematicians, inserted ten days into the reckoning, so as to bring the spring equinox back to the 21st of March. But, in order to prevent a recurrence of this error, he arranged that three of the leap years which occur in 400 years shall only be counted as common years. The leap years which are thus to be degraded as those which terminate in two ciphers, but whose preceding figures are not divisible by four. Thus 1600 is properly a leap year, but 1700, 1800 and 1900 must not be counted, because while the whole numbers are divisible by four, the two leading figures are not, and they are to be regarded as common years. Pope Gregory made his revision of the calendar in 1582. Then the error was ten days. At the time Columbus discovered America, in 1492, it was counted at nine days, and therefore nine has been added to October 12th to get the astronomical date of October 21st. It thus appears that it would be proper enough to celebrate either date, as far as authority goes.

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The publishers of this paper have given a bond
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faithfully carry out all subscriptions and other
contracts.

The following is the resolution unanimously
adopted at the national meeting of the Farmers
and Lumbermen's Union of America:

Resolved, That THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our
adopted official national organ, has so boldly and
fearlessly advocated our cause and defended our
principles thereof.

It is resolved by this National body, That we
heartily approve of the course pursued by the
Economist, and that every member of the Order shall
subscribe and read the paper as one of the best
means of education in the way of industrial free-
dom.

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

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N. R. P. A.**SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN.**

The speech recently delivered at Cooper Union, in New York city, by the great leader of the Republican party, may fairly be considered as the highest and most perfect official interpretation by that party of its position upon the current issues of the political campaign.

If he has taken position, or expressed sentiments that are not sound, it is fair to conclude that it is impossible for any man to take a sound position on that platform. This speech has been extensively quoted by the Republican press, and held up to the public with a triumphant claim that it is the acme of political wisdom, and that its arguments cannot be answered. The Democratic press, on the other hand, have condemned and ridiculed, and answered it in piecemeal from a partisan standpoint, but not in any case has the subjects involved been impartially examined from an economic standpoint. It is desirable this should be done, and the readers of THE ECONOMIST will appreciate such an examination and approve the true conclusions reached, no matter whether they favor the Democratic, Republican, or People's party.

Mr. Sherman reduced the political questions of the day to three issues—the tariff, silver, and State banks. He cited at length acts of early Congresses and expressions of statesmen to show that a protective tariff was not unconstitutional, but did not offer any satisfactory argument upon that position. The Democratic doctrine that a protective tariff is unconstitutional is sound, and Mr. Sherman may satisfy a partisan audience by his references to the fact that it was unconstitutional under the constitution of the confederate States, and his adroit play upon their prejudices, and by claiming that because early Congresses passed protective tariff laws, and early statesmen advocated them, they must be constitutional, but that line of argument does not satisfy the mind of a reader when he sees it in cold print. The fact is that modern Congresses and modern statesmen understand the Constitution better and know with greater certainty what is constitutional than did any that preceded them, because they have the benefit of nearly 100 years discussion of the subject, and of all the decisions of the courts.

A protective tariff is unconstitutional because it is taxing one industry to build up another. Mr. Sherman's excuse for a protective tariff is that it will assist American labor and thereby increase the home market. He admits that for this purpose large sums have accrued to the American manufacturer as a result of the protective tariff laws, and then holds up his hands and meekly says there is no way to make the American manufacturer divide this immense profit with the American workman. If there is no way to make the manufacturer pay it to the workman, and Mr. Sherman still resists on its being paid to the manufacturer, why does he not confess the deception of saying it is to help American labor, and honestly confess it?

admit that it is for the sole benefit of the manufacturer?

It is impossible to longer fool the farmers who pay this tax and the laboring men for whom it is levied in such a way that he never gets it. Of the two policies in regard to the tariff question, the Democratic is far preferable to the Republican because, while the Democrats would reduce the tariff and let in foreign-made goods to compete with home manufacturers, they would be reducing the cost of living, which would stimulate consumption of all kinds and make labor plentiful, and therefore tend to keep up wages. The protective tariff idea makes the manufacturer a monopolist with no check upon his avarice, and his high prices acts as a blight upon consumption, which makes labor a drug upon the market, and this monopolist accuses the low tariff advocate of wanting to bring in pauper-made goods of Europe, while he brings the paupers themselves here to compete with the intelligent American workman.

The doctrine of protection has had the seal of condemnation placed upon it by the American people, and the attempt of Mr. Sherman, by means of sophistry, to rehabilitate, in a grab that will be acceptable, is a complete failure. The day has come when the people are demanding a return to first principles of "equal rights to all, and special privileges to none," and the watchword is "more money and less taxes," this means that the taxes paid the Government must be reduced to the necessary expenditures of Government economically administered, and that no side taxes will be paid to individuals or corporations to perpetuate the tendency of the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few at the expense of the many. If the choice lies between the Republican and the Democratic doctrines, the Democratic must be accepted by every rule of right and policy, but even that can be vastly improved. Mr. Sherman's address will be treated further in a future number.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

Every Alliance friend should at once go to work to preserve the order from the evils that attend the political campaign. The election is now at hand, and the result will soon be known, and if properly met and managed even a defeat of the People's party, if it should occur, will not weaken or injure the Farmers Alliance. One of the very best things to do at this crisis is to induce every man possible to read THE ECONOMIST. Get them to subscribe; but failing in this, have a few copies in each neighborhood to lend, and induce Alliance men to read them. It is no use now to calculate and discuss whether it was a mistake for the People's party to make a start this year, or not, that is all waste time, the Alliance is not responsible for the starting or the success of the People's party. In the Alliance are men of every political and religious belief, and all are welcome and have equal rights. The People's party indorsed the Alliance demands and many Alliance men joined it, and that is all there is of relation between the two. It may be, four years hence, that other parties will indorse the principles involved in these demands and offer even better methods for securing them. If they do so, no one will criticise Alliance men who dissolve their present political affiliations and follow the demands.

It will soon be time to lay aside politics, and all hands pull together to build up the Alliance. The Economist will furnish the material to make every lodge meeting interesting, and it is the duty of every American citizen to be posted upon the legislation of his country and the issues before the people.

The payments for pensions during the first quarter of this year amount to \$40,367,575 as against \$25,440,529 in the first quarter of last year. This increase is simply appalling, as it means probably as much as \$170,000,000 in pensions this year, with the certainty that another year will swell the amount to over \$200,000,000. Is it not time to agitate an income tax? Say, rather, to enact it.

THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

The seventh regular session of the Supreme Council of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union will convene in Memphis, Tenn., November 15, and will be a meeting of more than usual importance. It is just one week after the national election, and as much of the excitement and feeling engendered by that contest will not have fully died out by that time, it has been suggested to the national executive board that the session be postponed to later in the fall, but an examination of the laws shows that they have no right to change the date as that is fixed by the constitution.

Every political contest has been attended more or less with a tendency to disorganize the Farmers Alliance, but none has ever exerted so much influence in that direction as the one now drawing to a close. The members of the Alliance have been more interested in this political contest than in any that ever preceded it because one party has indorsed the Alliance demands and made them an issue.

This has produced confusion in the minds of some good Alliance men who have in consequence become possessed of the mistaken idea that since the People's party, as an organization, should indorse the Alliance demands, the Alliance, as an organization, should indorse the People's party. While, perhaps, very few have expressed or contended for this idea, the action taken in many sections by the membership would seem to indicate that they believed in it. In such localities a spirit of intolerance has prevailed to such a degree that good and true Alliance men who indorse the Ocala and Indianapolis demands, but continue their affiliation with the old political party, have found the Alliance so unpleasant on account of the intolerance of those who differ with them as to methods, that they have drawn out of the order. Nothing could be more certainly fatal to the order than to restrict its membership to affiliation in one political party only. This is a farmers' organization, and not one in any sense partisan. Note who are eligible to membership: First, a person must be over sixteen years old; second, he must be a farmer, farm laborer, a country mechanic, school teacher, doctor, or preacher, and, under certain conditions, the editor of an agricultural paper may be admitted.

Nothing whatever is said about party; on the contrary every candidate before being obligated with the pledge of the order is asked if he is willing to take a solemn obligation, which he is assured will not conflict with his political or religious liberty. This must settle the question of the right of every member of this order to belong to whatever political party he may choose. Let the rights of every member, be he ever so humble, be carefully respected.

But the contention of the campaign has been very bitter; men's motives have been impugned, and their acts and words bitterly criticised. Brethren of the order have said things of each other that are calculated to injure both them and the order, and immediately at the close of this campaign of bitterness and excitement, the supreme council of the order convenes, bringing all hands face to face to discharge official duties resting upon them to legislate for the good of the order. They have a chance to show that they are men—grand men—who can rise superior to their own personal feelings and faithfully represent the important interests entrusted in their hands.

Can they do this by getting together and quarreling about who was to blame for the mistakes and errors of the political campaign, or by arguments as to the fealty of this kind of Alliance man, or that kind, or by listening to the slanders and backbiting of the man with a grievance, whose only capital to make himself prominent consists in the hard things he can say of some man who has done a hundred times more good in the world than he has? Evidently not, and it is believed and hoped that the delegates to this important session of the supreme council will completely

lay aside political prejudices, no matter how difficult that task may be, and without prejudice of any kind freely confer together as to the best means of promoting the interests of the Farmers Alliance as a non-partisan co-operative farmer's organization.

Let the man with a grievance, or the one bent on stirring up political strife, or securing political revenge, be kindly but firmly given to understand that he is in the wrong place to dispose of his goods, and let the meeting be devoted to business.

The unborn child of the future will rise up and call these men blessed if they inaugurate a policy that will perpetuate the Farmers Alliance, and usher in an era of prosperity which will again make it embrace the rank and file of the farmers in the States in which it is organized.

Without the Alliance all hope of reform or of better times for the farmer will quickly vanish, because neither of the old parties will, and the new party can't, do a thing. It is the wish of the people that the order be built up to much greater proportions than ever before. How can it be done is the great question for delegates to solve in preference to every personal ambition or prejudice.

One very important thing is to reassert the force of the laws above quoted, which have been in force from the beginning, and which are designed to make every man who is eligible to membership feel at home regardless of his politics. Another important thing is to select officers who are best fitted and qualified to do the work in hand. Another is to abolish all salaries and let the secretary only be paid for services actually rendered. Places wanting a national officer to speak should be willing to pay his expenses. There is less work attending the duties of national officers than there is attending the duties of like State officers.

Another important item of economy will be for the Supreme Council to heed the wishes of the various State Alliances as to the delegates which shall represent them. There is always many present who are not delegates, but have some friends from their State who will recommend that they be seated, and as a consequence the Supreme Council has their mileage and per diem to pay. The rule which usually governs in such cases, and is just, is for each State to be entitled to as many votes as the paying membership indicates, but that no person be allowed to cast that vote except those chosen by the State Alliance. If the State Alliance selected proxies to serve in the absence of the delegates, they are entitled to do so, but if not, a delegate should not be allowed to select and appoint his own proxy, because he does it at the expense of the National Alliance, and without authority from the State Alliance.

Another important matter is the indebtedness of State secretaries to the national. Those State delegations from States which are in arrears for fees and dues cannot, under the constitution, be seated. If there is a dispute, the matter should be referred to a committee and settled before they are seated. If the State is not able to pay, the matter should be brought before the Supreme Council, and if remitted, then the delegates can be seated, but it is a great wrong to override the constitution and seat more delegates than the States are entitled to, as was done at Cincinnati. The law is that States which have paid the 5 cents per capita dues on active membership for one year in advanced upon the membership of last July are entitled to two delegates from the State at large, and one for each \$1000 dollars or majority fraction thereof. That is to say, a State that has paid between \$500 and \$1500 will be entitled to three delegates, between \$1500 and \$2500, four delegates, and between \$2500 and \$3500, five delegates.

Let us come together forgetting that there ever was a political canvass, and remember that the Alliance is the farmers' great reserve force for good and right and justice, and that its mission will never be accomplished while there is evil to be met and wrong to be righted. It is above politics, above business, above our personal infirmities and is worthy

the prayers and support of all patriotic citizens because it is the only hope for the freedom of posterity.

THE BALANCE OF POWER.

It is conceded by both Democrats and Republicans that the balance of power in the Fifty-third Congress will be made up of People's party, Farmers Alliance and independents. Fifty-eight members of the present Congress have failed to secure a renomination—forty-one Democrats and fifteen Republicans, and two Farmers Alliance (Otis and Clover).

Twenty-one of these are from Southern States, who are forced out of the race, due, in a large measure, to their sentiments of antipathy to the demands of the people and the Farmers Alliance. The same may be said of the Republicans in the Western States, who have begun to understand that protection protects only the owners of their mortgages in the East.

The best interest and welfare of the West and South are in perfect accord, and the remedies they seek through legislation are identical. The Republican party in the West have no claim for the support of the people so long as it continues its present attitude and enmity to the West's greatest industry and resource—its silver mines. An estimate appears in a recent issue of the Washington Post, prepared by Mr. Henry H. Smith, late journal clerk of the House of Representatives, which purports to show that the reform movement will be represented by thirty members who will be the balance of power.

A strong fight is being made in every State, and it is earnestly hoped that this estimate will be exceeded. With the control of the House, through the balance of power, the people should not overlook the election of State legislatures, as there are nineteen United States Senators to be elected in 1893. One-third of this number would give the reform advocates the balance of power in this branch of Congress.

With the virtual control of both branches of Congress, the people will have made great advance toward a position where, if they cannot dictate the policy of legislation, they will be consulted, and can, in a great measure, prevent a continuation of legislation for the benefit of monopoly and the oppression of labor.

The Fifty-third Congress will be rich in its opportunities to serve the nation, and will have more important measures to consider and dispose of than there has been in many previous sessions.

The Pacific railroads will be before them asking for further concessions, involving millions of acres of land and hundreds of millions of dollars. The promoters of the Nicaragua canal will endeavor to involve the country in endless obligations. The administration will call upon this Congress to ratify the result of the international monetary conference and bind the country to a financial policy from which there will be no relief short of revolution.

It is well known that the bill is already framed that will in all probability pass the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, repealing the present Sherman act almost irreparably destroying silver. The Farmers Alliance is not a political party, and THE ECONOMIST is the organ of the Farmers Alliance only, but THE ECONOMIST endeavors to present to its readers the conditions and the situation, and the people must do the thinking for themselves, and then voting as conscience dictates.

COL. ROBERT GATES on behalf of the citizens of Memphis has been very active in securing and preparing for the coming session of the National Alliance. Expensive and complete arrangements are reported as due to his energy and perseverance, assisted by E. G. West, who was appointed to represent the national committee.

INSPECTOR BYRNES, of New York, is admonished by Democrat journals, "to keep an eye on Dave Martin, of the Republican national committee." Poor Byrnes: Between watching Tammany and Martin, his eyesight will soon be as seriously affected as Hon. Bourke Cochran's.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Please read the following in the Alliance and bring to the attention of the membership:

We have received remittances for subscription to THE ECONOMIST from the following parties who failed to give their post-office address: O. B. Abbott, N. N. Hampton, George O. Feggin, J. S. Garrard, H. S. Carr, J. P. Alexander.

The following have ordered literature and failed to give addresses: W. H. Stark, A. B. Washington, F. M. Lauck, Waring post-office, writes for information, but gives no post-office or State.

J. C. Doolittle, Burton, writes for information but gives no State.

Simon King, Jr., Litchfield, writes for information but gives no State.

J. S. Roberts, of Shelbyville, writes a letter of inquiry, which can neither be answered nor investigated because he fails to give his State. All our records are filed by States; so to make a start in hunting complaints we must know what State the enquirer lives in.

A. J. Keith, secretary of Moore Hill Alliance, writes to us, but gives neither post-office or State.

W. A. Daison writes on business, but gives no post-office or State.

Somebody writes to have his paper changed from Melissa, Texas, to Roland, but forgot to give his name.

F. T. Tilley, secretary of an Alliance, wants THE ECONOMIST for the remainder of the year, but gives no postoffice or State.

Somebody at Avalon, Me., who forgot to sign his name, sends the names of Tom Kountz, Rinehart, Vernon county, and Wm. Bell, Bates county. We cannot send Mr. Bell's paper until we learn his postoffice.

The above remain from a large number of letters without post-office addresses received by us and placed in the suspense box to await subsequent letters of inquiry.

REDUCED RATES.

I am in receipt of notice from the following railroads, granting reduced rates to the Supreme Council, to be held in Memphis, Tenn., November 15.

Tennessee Midland Railway Company and Louisville and Nashville Railroad each have granted one and one-third rate on the certificate plan. That is, you must purchase a regular ticket to Memphis and have the agent from whom you purchase give a certificate showing you have bought the ticket and then present the certificate to me at Memphis to certify that you are in attendance on the council. When this certificate, properly signed, is presented to the agent at Memphis he will sell you a return ticket at one-third the regular rate.

Buy one straight ticket to Memphis and buy the return ticket in Memphis.

By observing these instructions a great deal of time and trouble will be saved.

Applications have been made to all railroads and I hope to announce rates within the next few days.

J. H. TURNER,
Secretary, N. F. A. & I. U.
All reform papers please copy.

MRS. HARRISON'S DEATH.

Beside the grave of the President's wife, the woman who married him in poverty and rose with him through an eventful life to prominence, the nation stands in sympathy and deep respect.

She was a character fine in the resolute virtues of home life, dignified in good deeds, refined in unostentatious performance of duty and obligation. The heart of the country was touched in its purest sense by the long struggle with tortuous pain in the White House, where a realized ambition lay dying. And to the husband of her youth and age, its tribute of humanity and Christianity is extended.

Stripped of all phases save universal brotherhood, it offers to him and his children in their personal bereavement its tenderest compassion.

Or Gen. Weaver's silver record Senator Stewart says: "He has fought for the free and unlimited coinage of silver ever since the fraud of 1873 was discovered. His speeches in the House on that subject are equaled by few, and surpassed by none."

WHEN the Republicans, leading for protection, say the increase of breadstuffs abroad last year and

SUNDAY CIVIL BILL.

An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums be, and the same are hereby appropriated for the objects hereinafter expressed, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893.

This bill is responsible for a great variety of legislation, and is invariably a subject of much contention between the Senate and the House. It passed the Fifty-second Congress after weeks of debate, and no less than three conference committees were appointed before the Senate and House could agree upon the details of "this raid of the Treasury"—to quote Congressman Bailey, of Texas. The two most notable features in this bill are the monetary conference, and the World's Fair, both of which are amendments added to the bill in the Senate, and from which they refused to recede, the Senate did however recede from many of its amendments. The bill, as passed in the Senate July 14, 1892, being \$12,214,476.43 greater than the bill as it passed the House, May 27, 1892, and over \$10,000,000 greater than the amount as finally agreed upon, and which became a law August 5, 1892.

Eighty thousand dollars is appropriated, and probably half spent now, to enable the President—a Republican President, Mr. Harrison—to appoint a commission to take part in an international monetary conference for the alleged purpose of adopting an international currency or fixing a uniform ratio in the value between gold and silver. The conference is called to meet at Brussels, Belgium, November 22, 1892, and it is generally supposed that an agreement will be reached that will be satisfactory to the bankers of this country and their associates and dictators in Europe; that will make the free and unlimited coinage of silver in the United States an impossibility, that will impose conditions to which the people of a free and enlightened nation, will not submit. And the compact thus made (our finances delivered into the hands of the money vampires of Europe and America), and this Government forced by an outraged people to recede from its agreement, we are confronted with the possibility of an international war.

Next comes the World's Fair appropriation, conveying a gift of \$2,500,000, to a private corporation to aid them in conducting an exposition.

Sixteen years ago men came to Congress to procure aid for the Centennial Exposition, when the money was appropriated as a loan.

Nine years later they came again to procure aid for the New Orleans Exposition, and again money was appropriated from the United States Treasury as a loan. But now, with a subtreasury bill before Congress and the people behind it, precedents are set aside and we are told that it is unconstitutional to lend the Government money, but in order to accommodate this corporation, Congress attempts to practice a subterfuge upon the people, and instead of a loan, which the people would have an equal right to demand, they make a gift of the \$2,500,000.

This appropriation was taken off of the sundry civil bill, where it properly belonged, if anywhere, and a separate act passed, appropriating the \$2,500,000 or 5,000,000 silver half dollars of special design, to be known as souvenir coins, the Government paying the expense (\$50,000) of coinage. Ten thousand dollars has been offered for the first of these coins to be struck, and \$5,000,000 will no doubt be realized from the sale of the entire 5,000,000 half dollars. Thus it is that \$2,500,000 of silver coinage is retired from circulation, as these coins, prized as souvenirs, will not be in circulation.

August 6, 1892, the Committee on Ways & Means brought in an adverse report on Mr. Watson's subtreasury bill. Bankers borrow money from the Government for 2 per cent and use it to conduct their business. It is loaned to them on twenty years' time and renewable when due if the banker so desires, and which money they lend to the people at six to

ten times what it cost them, making millionaires of bankers and paupers of borrowers.

The manufacturer of distilled spirits can borrow money on his Government warehouse receipts; the importer of dry goods and other commodities can let his goods stay in the Government depositories at small cost for storage, while he makes other and more profitable use of his money instead of paying the custom duties, and can borrow money on his Government warehouse receipts.

These are the people who control legislation, who subscribe money to promote legislation (commonly known as lobbying) for the benefit of corporations, to procure loans and gifts for such enterprises—and who have a subtreasury. The farmer who pays 75 per cent of all the taxes collected, who represents the best brawn and sinew of the land, and whose toil produces the wealth of the country thinks that a subtreasury law will afford him some relief, and will be fair and reasonable, but he and his measures are met on the floors of Congress with contempt, their champions sneered down by a mob of conscienceless politicians and their measures consigned to oblivion.

The reader should carefully study this exhibit of expenses of the Government, and bear in mind that sixty public building bills, carrying over \$10,000,000, have been favorably reported by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and are on the calendar. The committee recommending them—a Democratic Committee—says they are needed for the accommodation of the people, but not one has passed at this session. This \$10,000,000 is made to wait until after the Presidential and Congressional elections, and then at the next session they will doubtless have their day in court, and a largely increased sundry civil bill will be passed. Besides all this, the sundry civil bill will have to be largely increased at the coming session to meet river and harbor contracts authorized at this session, and amounting to over \$40,000,000. The aggregate appropriations had already reached over half a billion dollars and wherever it was possible appropriations were made to wait until the next session.

APPROPRIATIONS.—UNDER THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

Printing and binding records..... \$ 6,500

International monetary conference..... 80,000

United States and Mexican boundary survey..... 50,000

Postal and telegraph stations..... 250,000

Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid..... 10,000

\$396,500

UNDER THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Public buildings, repairs at Capitol..... \$ 1,915,500

Lighthouses, pavilions, service, etc..... 3,720,310

Post office, cutter service..... 952,000

Engraving and printing (paper currency)..... 5, 1,038,730

Coast and geodetic survey..... 450,730

Miscellaneous expenses..... 3,002,765

\$11,089,345

Miscellaneous expenses include \$100,000 for enforcing Chinese exclusion law; \$750,000 for fuel, lights and water of Government buildings.

Under the Treasury Department, transportation of money, recoinage and reissue, express charges, inspectors of buildings, purchase of vaults, safe locks, etc., suppressing counterfeiting, Alaska seal fisheries, office furniture, carpets and also \$638,250 for the Government exhibit at the World's Fair.

UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

Public buildings, repairs at Capitol..... \$ 119,500

Other repairs, etc..... 54,500

Expenditure of revenue for salaries of public lands..... 885,500

Surveying the public lands..... 526,000

Geological survey..... 136,100

Eleventh census..... 250,000

Miscellaneous..... 480,193

\$2,697,164

Miscellaneous items include \$310,668 for a Government hospital for the insane, institute for deaf and dumb, colored university and hospital, Washington, D. C., etc.

UNDER THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

Homes for disabled volunteer soldiers..... \$ 3,917,841

Armories and arsenals..... 183,300

Buildings and grounds in and around Washington, repairs and improvements..... 97,172

Military posts, camps, depots and fortifications..... 602,960

Engineer department, improvement of harbors, etc..... 614,000

National cemeteries, improvements of Military prison at Fort Leavenworth, etc..... 209,600

Miscellaneous..... 75,500

16,231,583

Miscellaneous expenses under this head include \$175,000 for artificial limbs for ex-soldiers, \$225,000 for publication of records of the rebellion, etc.

UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Repair to buildings United States courts..... \$ 2,500

Payment of fees and expenses of United States marshals..... 675,000

Payment of United States district attorney fees..... 250,000

Assistant attorneys appointed by attorney general..... 100,000

Fees of clerks..... 75,000

Fees of United States commissioners..... 100,000

Fees of witnesses..... 600,000

Miscellaneous..... 751,000

\$1,468,100

As to the Peace of Europe.

H. LABOUCHER, M. P., in the North American Review for October.

Whether there will speedily be a war in Europe is a question that no one can answer, or rather one in regard to which no answer is worth the paper on which it is written. At no period since the era of the great Napoleon have there been such vast armies in Europe, and either the Continental powers must reduce their forces or they will soon, one and all, be ruined. The richest country is France, but there the taxation is enormous. Both Austria and Germany are comparatively poor. Russia's credit is only maintained by the French being ready to buy its bonds; and, notwithstanding this, all these countries are engaged in an insane struggle to compete with each other in amassing the material to wage a successful war.

If war does occur it will not in all probability be entered into of deliberate design. Some foolish word will be spoken; this will lead to further words. The passions will come into play, troops will be advanced to the respective frontiers of two States, then there will be a collision, and the whole of the continent will be in flames. One thing is certain, the present "armed peace" cannot eternally exist. Either the continent must bring it to an end by war or by reverting to a real peace policy. Were there a conflict between France and Russia on one side, and Austria, Germany and Italy on the other, it is by no means certain that the latter would come out the victors. The French army is thoroughly reorganized, and the French soldiers, when properly commanded, are the best on the continent. Russia has an endless reserve from which to draw soldiers, and the Russians have more staying power than the Germans. On the other hand, if we are to judge by experience, the Austrians and the Italians make but poor soldiers, and Germans, although probably their armies are more perfect, viewed as military machines, than any other in Europe, have lost many more battles than they have won, and one serious reverse would lead to the disintegration of the new German Empire.

The most dangerous man to the European peace is the German Emperor. He is a crack-brained Prussian lieutenant, and an Emperor by the irony of fate. His grandfather was under the delusion that he was the Vicegerent of Providence as regards Germany; in this youth the illusion has taken the form that he is placed by Providence on the German throne to regulate not only the affairs of that country, but those of the entire world. He is flighty and unstable to an extraordinary degree. His idea of peace is that it should be a German peace imposed upon Europe. He seldom makes a speech without announcing that he will "smash" all who decline to accept his views, and at any moment he is capable of translating his words into deeds and dragging those who have been silly enough to become his allies into war.

The French will never permanently accept the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, but they are not likely to precipitate a struggle for the reacquisition of these provinces without the aid of some other power, and the only power likely to help them is Russia. But the Czar himself is so strongly disposed to peace that he would hesitate long before embroiling Europe in war with France as his ally. The Franco-Russian understanding, however, will in all probability lead the German Emperor to eschew all thought of setting out on a march to Paris in order to prevent France from becoming as strong as she formerly was; indeed, the moment when such an expedition was possible has passed away. Austria, moreover, although she may have joined the Triple Alliance, will always discourage a resort to arms, and in Italy there is growing up so strong a feeling against the country being a party to this alliance, that it is doubtful whether any Italian minister could for four years to accomplish. If we say anything on the subject, let us tell the truth about it. We have no hope, my friends, for free coinage for the next four years, from either party.

Neither of these gentlemen could carry New York, or New England, or many Eastern States essential to their election to the Presidency if they were not opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Now, fellow-citizens, let us clear our decks for action. Let us condemn the truth and face the matter as it is. This is not a party question, any more than the removal of the Utes, which Senator Teller and I have been struggling for four years to accomplish. If we say anything on the subject, let us tell the truth about it. We have no hope, my friends, for free coinage for the next four years, from either party.

AFRICAN slavery never amassed for any one man \$1,000,000. Industrial slavery has created hundreds of millionaires, and before the close of the present century the billionaire.

It is necessary for the great masses of the people to unite upon reform laws. Details should be set aside. Elect honest, manly men, and insist upon remedial legislation. This is the point:

DONNELLY is making a great campaign in Minnesota for governor. His meetings are immense, and in three days, by gratuitous contributions, he turned in \$120 to the campaign committee. Winner or loser of office, the effect of Donnelly's eloquence and genius will fire the thought of the people and quicken the solution of great questions in the near future. He is a leader.

Cod-liver oil suggests consumption; which is almost unfortunate. Its best use is before you fear consumption—when you begin to get thin. Consumption is only one of the dangers of thinness.

Scott's Emulsion of cod-liver oil makes the thin plump, and the plump are almost safe.

Let us send you a book on CAREFUL LIVING—free.

SCOTT & BOWNE, Chemists, 132 South 5th Avenue, New York. Your druggist keeps Scott's Emulsion of cod-liver oil—all druggists everywhere do. \$1.



IF YOU WANT

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moved in wagons to a railway, and was in waiting for its cars before these arrived. He found that a company consisting wholly of coal miners was called up from underground and soon hurried off. He found that in a Pittsburg factory, which was notified by telephone of the call, the foreman instantly stopped labor, and directed all belonging to the national guard to advance to the center of the workshop. Men, your regiment is ordered under arms; go to your armories. Your place will be kept for you here. Over twenty-five men hastened from that shop to their ranks.

Would Col. Volkmar suggest, further, that this is not the first time the workingmen and militia have "gotten together?"

POSTMASTER - GENERAL WANAMAKER (before Jay Gould squeezed him for millions), stated officially that on every \$10,000,000 of Western Union Telegraph stock \$70,000,000 was "water." Yet sixty odd millions of people are taxed to pay the dividends. And these things are not "issues."

It is not commonly known that James G. Blaine, by long odds the most brilliant statesman in the Republican ranks, bitterly opposed the

THE ALLIANCE.

South Carolina's Attitude as to How to Secure the Demands.
By W. H. EDWARDS, Rock Hill, S.C.

In 1891 I wrote an article which was printed in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, in which I took the position that the only plan for the Alliance and other labor organizations to get control of the national legislature was to work inside the parties to which they naturally belonged. I gave my reasons for this view in arguments that have never been answered. This was the view of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and the advice it invariably gave up to the date of the Omaha convention; on the 4th day of July. I said then, and I say now, that the effort for the Presidency was premature, and would result in defeat, and thereby discourage and weaken our forces. Not only so, but it will defeat our efforts to elect men holding our views to Congress. I said then, and say now, that there are hundreds of Democrats, honest and true men, holding our views, that could have been elected to Congress from the Democratic States if there had been no separate political party organized.

The same is true of the Republican States. Plenty of true, honest Republicans holding our views could have been found and elected to Congress by the combined votes of the Alliance and those who are in sympathy with us. Our efforts should all have been bent to get control of the national legislature, and left the Presidency for future consideration. The organization of a separate political party has alienated (especially in the South) thousands of men who otherwise would have voted solidly with the Alliance. These men are not members of the Alliance, and thousands of them are not eligible to membership. They are in sympathy with us, and will vote with us for men of their own party, but are not sufficiently educated and indoctrinated in Alliance principles and demands to cause them to break up the traditions and precedents of the past. The recent election in Georgia proves the truth of what I say.

The Alliance in Georgia is as strong or stronger than it is in South Carolina, yet they are going to lose the whole fight, by discarding the Democratic party, and thus alienating thousands of Democrats who would have voted solidly with them. By this course they will fail in carrying the State for Weaver, and lose the election of their Congressmen. These they could have gotten with all ease, by working inside the Democratic party. If the Democratic party to-day was standing on the platform of Jefferson, Calhoun and Jackson, it would or ought to satisfy Alliance men or any other class of American citizens. We know it would not satisfy the class of men the Alliance are fighting, for they fought and cursed Jackson as hard as they are fighting and cursing us. But the great majority of the American people endorsed the principles laid down in the platform upon which Jackson was elected.

Now let us take a view of the course pursued by the Alliance men in South Carolina. We went into the Democratic primaries and elected our delegates to the county conventions, and in them elected our delegates to the State convention. Not as Alliance men, but as Democratic citizens of South Carolina. By this course, when we met in the State convention we had absolute control of the Democratic party of South Carolina, consequently could adopt a platform of our own making, and according to our own views and principles. Out of 320 men composing the convention we could control all but about forty votes. We adopted the platform embodying the Ocala demands in full. We elected eighteen delegates to Chicago, instructed to do all they could to prevent the nomination of Cleveland for President, and to nominate some one in sympathy with our demands.

Now, suppose Democratic-Alliance men and other kindred organizations in every State had done as we in South Carolina did, could Grover Cleveland have been nominated at Chicago? Certainly not. If a Democrat had been nominated for President who was in favor of the free coinage of silver, it would have been no use to oppose him with any candidate, for he certainly would have been elected. Now let us see what the Alliance gained in South Carolina. In the first place, we elected our entire State ticket, governor and all the State officers. In the second place, we elected an overwhelming majority of the members of the legislature and State Senate. We elected the county officers in every county he State, except four or five counties. Then, what is of vastly

more importance, we elected five of the seven Congressmen that the State is entitled to in the national legislature. This while we already have one Senator in the United States Senate.

Some one will say, "Oh, yes, your Congressmen will be bound by the Democratic caucus." Not a bit of it, unless the caucus is in the interest of the Ocala demands. We have made the Ocala demands Democratic doctrine in South Carolina, and these demands are the platform upon which our Congressmen were elected.

Now, I claim that the Alliance of South Carolina, by the course we have pursued, is in condition to contribute more for the success of our principles and demands than any other State in the South. Of course we stand honor-bound to cast the electoral vote of the State for Cleveland. This is a condition we foresaw might happen, but is one we could not avoid, and is the result of our environments. It is always safest to undertake what you know you can do, than it is to risk all by undertaking to get all, with the chances of getting nothing.

The Alliance men of South Carolina are true and loyal in their love and devotion to the grand principles and aims of the order, and are also true and loyal in their love and devotion for the welfare, peace, and prosperity of their own State. We have pursued the course that, in our judgment, would be best for the order, and at the same time would be best for all the people of South Carolina. If the Republican party in South Carolina was composed of white men of our own race, of like intelligence and aspirations with ourselves, our course no doubt would have been different. But our environments being as they are, we feel that our course has been wise and for the best interests of the order.

We have no condemnation for our brethren of other States, and if any of them are disposed to condemn us, all we ask them to do is to meet us in the halls of Congress with two-thirds of all the Representatives their State is entitled to, and the question will be not as to how we got there, but our cup of joy will be full because "we got there all the same."

The Exercise of Suffrage.

By E. WAGNER, Corpus Christi, Tex.

The time draws nigh again when it will be the duty of every patriotic American to make his will known as to how and by whom his country shall be governed, and to select the party in whose hands he is willing to trust his and his country's welfare.

Whenever we study the history of nations, we most always find that the actual producer and creator of the wealth such nations possessed was only allowed to retain enough to keep life in him, in order to create more for the enjoyment and benefit of the favored classes.

Those people could not help themselves, except by bloodshed and revolutions. They had no voice in the government of their country, and had to submit to all wrongs and injustices heaped upon them. Might was right. Education of the masses was not thought of, and all was dark.

We, in our republic, have also our favored classes (favored by legislation of all sorts), our land barons, our railroad kings, our monopolists, great protected manufacturers, and others, but we have the ballot-box to keep them in check.

Taking into consideration the fact that the workingmen and farmers are not protected, but that anybody who comes from anywhere can compete with them for the little they already earn knowing this, who is willing to throw his vote away, voting with the party whose cry is, protection for the rich?

Then there is that other party—that party of glittering generalities—who doesn't know of any other issue to bring forward except little less protection, the deep social questions created by the era of steam and laboring machinery, and its subsequent evils of overproduction and misery to hundreds of thousands, notwithstanding.

Who, then, cares for the welfare of the farmers and the producer in general? It is the People's or third party, more so than any other. The party created by the producers of the nation's wealth, who for many years looked upon and voted with the old parties, but who see now there is nothing to hope from them.

That party who, by wise legislation and by putting under Government control the railroads, telegraph and telephone system, and other wise measures, proposes to check the number of our millionaires, and to conduct the wealth of the nation into other channels and more pockets.

We all know how excellently the postoffice department is managed by the Government—how we can send a letter anywhere in the United States for 2 cents. See what Government management can do, and just fancy

what you would have to pay to a private corporation for the same service, and how many millions a year the people would save, which otherwise would help to create a score or more of millionaires.

Look at the condition of the creators of wealth in South and Central America, Mexico, etc. These so-called republics, without any or a mere sham representation without liberty of the press, where public opinion is silenced by the grave, the dungeon, or banishment. There they have the working classes down, indeed, to the lowest level to which a human being can descend.

Therefore, be watchful; jealous of your vote and your liberty. Remember old Gen. Jackson's saying, and the truth, "Union is strength." Remember the eyes of all the oppressed and intelligent classes in the world are upon you in this struggle for the elevation of the masses, and that the best Government is the one which does the most good to the most people, and vote for reform measures and men as you value your own; and your country's prosperity. Give them a chance. Since the war you have voted for party. Vote once for "Mollie and the baby," and the under dog in the fight. Be a free-man—worthy of the suffrage.

What's In a Name?

By WM. MANNING, Goodwin, Ark.

In your issue of October 8, you include Arkansas in the list of States that have adopted the Australian law.

Our so-called Australian election law is no more like the original than chalk is like cheese in the most important features. For instance: Three of the State officers are charged with the duty of appointing three election commissioners for each county, all of whom shall not be members of the same political party, which means two of them shall be the right kind of Democrats, and the other a fellow that can be depended upon to say Amen to the acts of the other two.

But whether he responds aye, or no, on any motion or matter passed upon by this body makes no difference; two being a quorum. The county commissioners appoint the judges of election for the various voting precincts, all of whom shall not be of the same political party, if competent men of another party can be found. Experience thus far is, that some ignorant nigger is selected as the competent representative of the other party in the black belt.

If the voter is unable to make out his ticket, he may call upon the judges to assist him in doing so. Now if the voter is a Democrat it is all right, but if he happens to be of another party, what is to hinder the judge who makes out his ticket from scratching out the names of the candidates which the voter wishes to vote for. Here is the form of our ticket under the law:

For governor—vote for one.
Wm. M. Fishbach—Dem.
J. D. Carnahan—P. P.
—Whipple—Rep.

The People's party men are satisfied that Carnahan was scratched 20,000 times when the voter intended to vote for him. This is how Democratic majorities are piled up in the South, where such frauds are perpetrated.

As if what I have given of the case does not afford opportunities sufficient to carry an election for the party in power, the judges may disperse before making the count of votes, and fix the thing up to suit the occasion. Often the returns are kept back from an outlying township, until it is known how many votes are needed when the required number are sure to turn up.

As proof that our infamous law was enacted with a view of making fraud of easy accomplishment, I cite the following: The committee on elections reported a bill which was the Australian law purely. It provided that the county judge appoint the judges of elections, who must be members of different political parties. Each political party might also appoint one of its members as witness at each polling precinct to see that justice was done. The judges, before separating, were required to count the votes and announce the result publicly.

Now, why were these provisions stricken from the committee bill? The answer is too apparent to need specification. I was a member of the body that passed the present law, and know whereof I speak, and my only object in writing this is to set you right, and to inform the brethren of the West and North of the true cause of Democratic supremacy in Arkansas.

The West is standing by its agreement at Omaha. Will the South do as much? If so, the People's party vote in 1892 will startle the world.

We assert our purpose to support the political organization which represents our principles.—St. Louis Platform.

An Income Tax.

By Hon. T. E. WATSON.

This income tax passed Congress July 1, 1862. It did not go into effect till 1863.

By its terms all incomes in excess of \$600 and under \$10,000 were taxed at 3 per cent, over \$10,000 at 5 per cent.

This was surely very moderate.

The tax was collected under the internal revenue system.

From this source the Government collected \$2,741,857 in 1863.

For the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1864, it collected \$20,294,733.

On the third day of March, 1865, the act was amended so as to substitute 5 per cent for the 3 per cent on the smaller incomes, and 10 per cent for the 5 per cent upon the larger ones, commencing with an income of \$5000.

Under this act the Government collected \$32,050,017.

In 1866 this tax yielded \$72,982,395. In 1867 it yielded \$66,014,429.

In 1867 the law was amended. The tax was diminished in effect one-half. The amendment also provided that the act was to expire with the year 1870.

In 1868, \$41,455,599 was the sum collected. In 1870 it was \$34,891,557. On July 14, 1870, the tax was extended one year, and reduced to 2½ per cent.

This was repealed by an act which passed the Senate January 26, 1871, and the House on March 3, 1871. The yeas and nays were not taken in the House.

Taxes already due before the repeal of the act continued to be collected in 1871 and 1872 and 1873. The last were not in till 1877.

The total amount collected under this very moderate income tax was \$34,906,738.

Does anyone doubt that it would now be practical to collect enough revenue from this source to run the Government?

Fortunes have so amazingly increased in the hands of the millionaires; profits so stupendous have accumulated in the hands of Standard Oil magnates, coal barons, railroad kings, sugar trust operators, steel and iron combiners, that a good, heavy tax on incomes above \$10,000—the tax growing heavier as the income was larger—would be phenomenal in its yield.

The reasons why such a tax would be better than any we now have are sufficiently obvious.

1. It would put the burden on the class most able to bear it.

2. It would put the support of the administration upon those who derive the greatest benefits under the laws.

3. It would interest the most powerful class in the cause of economy. Rich men get particular when they know that they must foot the bills.

4. It would put the pension debt on the men who got rich off the victories of the soldiers.

5. It would discourage the accumulation of enormous fortunes and would afford a legal method of checking the growth of concentrated wealth.

6. It would abolish the tariff, which, as a system of collecting taxes is the most costly, one-sided and monstrous the world over saw.

7. It would supplant internal revenue taxes upon whiskey and tobacco—which subjects of taxation should be relegated to the States.

8. It would give to tax-oppressed people all over the land a relief from the crushing burden of indirect, cowardly and illegal taxes which are wrung from them in the name of the law for the benefit of privileged classes.

The nations of Europe recognize the justice of the income tax.

In England it yields about \$60,000,000 annually; in Austria, \$12,000,000; in Italy, \$45,000,000; in Prussia, \$30,000,000.

The People's Cause in Illinois.

By E. F. COLWELL, Illinois.

The People's party of ours and adjoining townships held a picnic in Ball's Grove on October 1 which was in every way a most enjoyable gathering. It had been advertised as a political picnic, free for courteous discussion by advocates of all

parties, but, while Republican and Democratic henchmen had made great boasts of putting forward their claims to the complete extinguishment of all opposers, neither "anted up" on the day set. The Democratic speaker, although in the neighborhood the night preceding, had several important meetings—before unannounced—for that day somewhere else, and regretted greatly he could not be present, while the Republican "crawfishied" without known cause. The fact is that Rev.

E. B. COKE, Prohibition and People's candidate for the fourteenth Illinois district, had been invited to speak for the People's party, and knowing

the vigor of his logic none cared to meet him in a losing battle.

The leaven of the people's cause is permeating all the laboring classes here as elsewhere. Full State and county tickets have been nominated, and, while we are not sanguine of electing in all instances, we have every reason for expecting a phenomenal vote. Both of the old parties are rotten with apathy, one or two feeble rallys each having been held, where four years ago they were almost nightly. The only enthusiasm is found in the Prohibition and People's party ranks, and even the most hidebound advocates of both the old parties admit the principles of these parties, the People's especially, are right and must win, and respond very feebly to the crack of the party whip. I have yet to meet with a really intelligent farmer who dissents greatly from our principles. Their only plea for not joining with us now is that it is too soon—we are not yet strong enough to effect anything. The old cry of the Tories of the Revolution in regard to throwing off the British yoke, and open to the famous reply of Patrick Henry, "When shall we be stronger? Will it be to-morrow, or next week? Will it be when a British guard—bullockist—is stationed in every house?"

The fact is, it is now or never with the workingman, the agriculturalists especially. Already our Congress and legislatures are invaded and made willing captives, while the eminence of our courts has been sullied to our detriment. It is either "ballots or bullets," or slavery, and those slow to make use of the first will be forced to resort to the last. Would the workingman but march up in a body to the polls on the 8th of November coming, and deposit their ballots for reform, all could be made well.

But all with us are not thus vacillating. Quite a number of prominent Republicans in our neighborhood have renounced their old party—and mine as well—and declared for the people's cause. In my own township the one independent vote for past years will be increased to certainly a score, with the probability of many more.

O. F. A. & I. U.

The Ohio State Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union will convene in annual session at Columbus, O., Wednesday, November 9, 1892, at 7 p. m.

Each suballiance with less than fifty members is entitled to one delegate, and one additional delegate for each additional fifty members or major fraction. County Alliances are entitled to one delegate for each 400 members or major fraction thereof.

Application has been made, and we have assurance of reduced rates of transportation.

Indications are favorable for a large attendance and an enthusiastic meeting.

Let the membership turn out in force to this meeting.

H. E. PARKER, Secretary.

Will the Inter Ocean and a few leading Republican papers turn their attention long enough from "Southern outrages" and "brutal Democracy," to note that the elections in Philadelphia, Chicago and New York are shocking; and that when Congressman John G. Otis, not a candidate for re-election, but advocating his principles, was assailed in Kansas by Republican rowdies and rotten-egged, they maintained a silence which could be felt. To put it plainly, we are tired of Southern abuse. The Southern people as a whole cannot be held responsible for the methods employed by "machine bosses," and the attempt of other "machine" henchmen to trample upon them is an outrage.

The census bulletins bring tidings

of great joy to lovely woman. She is scarce, according to them—at a premium. Possibly this is the first notice the average daughter of Eve may have had of the matter. Therefore, with a flourish, be it told. It is official.

There is more Catarrah in this section of the country than all other diseases put together, and until the last few years was supposed to be incurable. For a great many years doctors pronounced it a local disease, and prescribed local remedies, and by constantly failing to cure with local treatment, pronounced it incurable. Science has proven catarrah to be a constitutional disease, and therefore requires constitutional treatment. Hall's Catarrah Cure, manufactured by F. J. Cheney & Co., Toledo, Ohio, is the only constitutional cure on the market. It is taken internally in doses from ten drops to a teaspoonful. It acts directly on the

ATTENTION!

FARMERS ALLIANCE.

ATTENTION!

In view of the great social, industrial and economical revolution now dawning upon the civilized world, and the new and living issues confronting the American people, we believe that the time has arrived for a crystallization of the political reform forces of our country and the formation of what should be known as a complete, thorough, and proper reduction in the necessities of life. Our financial systems must be recognized, our markets must be in co-operation with the universal demands of the greatest force of citizens—the farmers. Below is given a complete and detailed list of the market values for the exclusive use and profit of the

FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION,

And as a National House, founded and operated for the universal benefit of the Farmer, we quote all goods, sold and delivered in any quantity, large or small, at the

LOWEST MARKET WHOLESALE PRICES.

CLOTHING.

	\$	per yard
Men's dark satin suits	3.45	
mixed satin suits	3.95	
union cassimere suits	4.87	
fine brown suits	5.59	
fine black cheviot suits	5.73	
fine black diagonal	5.85	
heavy black cassimere suits	6.25	
scotch mixed worsted	6.50	
handsome striped worsted	7.75	
black and gray worsted	8.75	
gray blue striped cassimere	8.95	
fine black stripe cassimere	9.00	
fine wool diagonal	9.75	
heavy black cassimere	10.25	
fine English corkscrew	10.50	
fine brown cheviot	10.50	
finest black diagonal	15.00	
servicable business suits	15.00	
black cork screw	15.75	
gray satin suits	15.85	
rough kersey	15.95	
heavy English cheviot	15.75	

DRY GOODS.

	\$	per yard
Muslins, full piece only, 36 inches, bleached or unbleached, per yard	4.45	
Sheeting, bleached or unbleached, 36 inches, per yard	5.15	
Cotton flannels, any quantity, 37 inches, per yard	5.25	
Red flannels, 37 inches, per yard	5.45	
Gray flannels, 37 inches	6.00	
Fancy calicoes, 37 inches	6.50	
Staple ginghams, 37 inches	6.75	
Flannel ginghams, 37 inches	7.25	
Ladies' fancy dress goods, 22 inches	8.00	
Ladies' plaid suiting, 24 inches	8.00	
Ladies' novelty suiting, 24 inches	8.25	
Ladies' fine dress fabrics, 24 inches	9.25	
Satinette Scotch plaid goods, 24 ins.	9.50	
Satinette plaid, 24 inches	9.75	
China silks, any shade, 36 inches	9.75	
Surah, any shade, 37 inches	10.00	
Velvets, any shade, 18 inches	10.00	
Satin, any shade, 19 inches	10.25	
Velveteen, any shade, 20 inches	10.50	
Kentucky jeans	12.50	
Drilling	12.75	
Batting	13.00	
Shirting	13.25	
Corduroy	13.50	
Cotton sacking	13.75	
Quilted satin, 36 inches	14.00	
Cottonades	14.25	
Corduroy, 37 inches	14.50	
Velvet	14.75	
Denim	15.00	
Cheviot shirting	15.25	
Duck	15.50	
Quilted sacking	15.75	
Corduroy, 36 inches	16.00	
Union table linen, 48x64	17.00	
Red and white table cloths, per dozen	17.25	
Turkish towels, per dozen	17.50	
Damask towels, per dozen	17.75	
Honey-combed towels, per dozen	18.00	
Toweling, crash per yard	18.25	

OVERCOATS.

	\$	per yard
Men's dark satin overcoats	2.45	
heavy beaver overcoats	4.85	
heavy cassimere overcoats	5.25	
rough kersey overcoats	5.50	
dark cassimere overcoats	6.25	
dark mixed cassimere overcoats	6.75	
black beaver overcoats	6.00	
good chinchilla overcoats	4.25	
heavy chinchilla overcoats	4.75	
fine beaver overcoats	5.00	
heavy beaver storm coats	5.00	
dry dress suits	4.95	

BOYS' SUITS.

	\$	per yard
Boys' dark mixed satin suits	2.45	
heavy beaver suits	3.25	
red union cassimere suits	3.75	
dark mink cassimere suits	4.00	
black diagonal suits	4.95	
rough cassimere suits	5.85	
dry dress suits	4.95	

These Prices are guaranteed, and all goods warranted as represented, or money refunded.

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General Supply House for the National Alliance of America.

WOMAN'S POWER.

Her Right to Aid in Guarding the Nation's Liberty.
By M. F. FRANCES, California.

"A few thoughts from a woman." When the stone is rolled away from the "sepulcher of progress," November 8, it is hoped there may be found therein two angels in shining garments, watching o'er the Nation's liberty.

Man and woman! Why should not woman be interested in guarding that which makes life most dear? Through all the oratorio of history we hear the voice of woman. Tremulous with a woman's fear, but resolute with a sublime purpose, comes the voice of Esther, carrying her life before the golden scepter for the people's sake.

A most illustrious example is given of what the inspiration of one woman can do through the life of Aspasia. Socrates and Plato, both pre-eminent as philosophers and men of moral worth, claimed to have derived much of their knowledge and a most ennobling influence from her, yet history does not tell us that she yielded up her royalty in doing this. The first instructions as to the evangelization of the world were not given to the apostles only; or if so, then some of the apostles were women, because at that time they received the promise of the ascent of the Holy Ghost, and they were commanded to tarry at Jerusalem until it came. Women tarried there with the men, waiting for the fulfillment of the promise, and methinks many women are still tarrying there, thinking that the fulfillment of that promise is only to be realized through being granted the ballot.

I will say that I think too many evils are menacing this fair land of ours to refuse to exercise the privileges already granted us. In this great political contest of 1892 we need the influence of all good men and women if we would be victorious over those forces that are threatening the downfall of this grand form of government.

There is an opportunity presented through the People's party, for I see

in the principles of the platform a means of restoring to the people the freedom that was left to them a legacy by the founders of this Republic, and which, I regret to say, they have in a great measure been robbed of.

This glorious country of ours, organized under the grandest form of human government—for was it not founded upon this truth, that every man was the rightful keeper of his liberties—was to be a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, but to-day this exists only in name.

Herbert Spencer was asked, after an extended visit to this country, what impressed him most regarding our government, and his answer was, "They retain the forms of freedom, but have lost much of its substance."

Now, who is responsible for this but those who have permitted wealth to become a "sovereign," and, to many, a "god?" These parties tell us that, under their reign, the wealth of this country has increased to \$60,000,000,000, but they do not tell us that 30,000 persons only own one-half of this wealth. The fundamental fact is most perceptible; that, while in the United States political power and public education are distributed; wealth has become concentrated.

The plutocracy that De Tocqueville dreaded is here. Are you as a people going to permit that which is so antagonistic to a republic to permanently remain? These parties not only tell us that wealth has increased at a marvelous rate under their power, but they do not tell us that they are really responsible for the same existing evils that rent ancient Rome asunder, and that brought ruin to a powerful government.

And who was responsible for that ruin? Gibbon tells us it was Rome's most illustrious citizens. Can it be possible that our illustrious sons will permit such a calamity to befall our country—this too, when there is before them, through the People's party, a means to avert it?

Long ago republics were defined, "opportunity," and a most illustrative definition it was of our Republic; for then there was no royal road to eminence, for the ladder of opportunity reached out to even the most humble and obscure, as well as the most favored ones of earth, and all that was needed to enable them to reach the most coveted position was

intelligence and worth. But since these "grand old parties" have made wealth a passport to the "temple of honor," they have, by so doing, not only destroyed one of the corner stones of this Government, but they have robbed the people of their greatest stimulus.

Has it not been the high appreciation placed upon godliness and intelligence that has made this Government at one time the most advanced and powerful country of the world? And what has caused this Government to lose prestige? They tell us wealth, which I am certain our Creator intended to be a benefactor, and not a foe, has brought about this change. It has been asserted that it has done more to cause the degeneration of political ideals than anything else.

Who is it that has permitted that it be used for the base purpose of corrupting a government? It is not, as some suppose, the poor, ignorant foreigner, but our most "honored men," who furnish what they call the campaign fund, raised in part by blackmailing Government clerks, and used to a great extent in bribing not only the poor ignorant foreigner, for it is most perceptible that bribery, is not confined to the originally purchasable class, but the virus has spread farther.

Now, dear reader, there is a panacea for these evils which you can best avail yourselves of through the People's party next November.

The principles evolved in the platform of the People's party best illustrates the Hebrew prophet's summary of Christianity, which was, "Love mercy, do justice, and walk humbly before thy God." This party promises more to dethrone this usurper, and wrench from him his scepter, unless wielded in behalf of justice and mercy toward mankind.

It is Christian brotherhood alone

that can harmonize the various conflicting interests of American society; that can insure moral concord between capital and labor, and that can unite the rich and poor.

House, the Senate chamber, and the assembly halls; men who will exercise their Christianity when they enter the political arena in the lowest as well as the highest office. Methinks with such men to guide our ship of state, we need never fear shipwreck, and those evils that are to-day provoking such a menacing power to our loved ones, our homes, and our country.

The Brave Are Never Petty.

By S. M. ADAMS, Macon, Miss.

From every town and club where public speakers are called to speak, it is the order of the day to abuse and vilify James B. Weaver. In Nôxala, Miss., a few soldiers found our way to Mesuleyville on the 15th ult. to listen to one of their shrewdest and foremost lawyers, our district solicitor. We listened attentively. Every strategy was employed to win votes and create sectional feeling against Mr. Weaver and Frank Burkett, our People's party candidate for Congress, but he had all the latitude he wanted. Mr. Neill opened the door of the Democratic church, and called for a return to the old party, and closed by saying that he could not and would not ever love Mr. Weaver. I ventured to say something in response, as they asked for a reply. I said he had argued his side of the question well, yet there were principles involved he had not touched. I had descended from patriotic sires—my grandfather a Revolutionary, my father a soldier of the war of 1812, and I of the rebellion from 1861 to 1865. And I have one thing to say of Mr. Weaver—yes, two things—he is a brave man, and all brave lovers love brave men, and I had knowledge of what I stated. You see Mr. Hunter out there? He received his stiff leg from his command, and I was captured by them, but received kind treatment from their hands; and I said Mr. Weaver was an honest man as well as a brave man, and I show you how I know it. He has acknowledged his wrongs years ago.

1875. Now, has Mr. Cleveland done as much? What did Mr. Cleveland say about the remonetization of silver? He said he would not. What did Mr. Weaver say? "I will." Who will you trust now? I will trust the one who says he will.

Now, virtually, the cause of all the

the demonetization of silver. Mr. Teller's speech in the House had been shown up fully to every thinking mind; that a conspiracy was on between England and the United States, which amassed fortunes to government officials, and took away half the circulating medium; which brought about all this distress in the once happy America. Now put silver back at its ratio as before 1873, and cotton would go to 24 cents per pound, and wheat to \$1.50 a bushel, and we would get clear of India as a competitor, and righteousness would reign and harmony prevail over the once happy homes of the brave and the land of the free.

HON. GROVER CLEVELAND, of New York: "The Tammany society, with its traditions of 100 years, with its memories of distinguished and illustrious membership, with its time-honored and beneficial principles, will be a powerful instrumentality to shield the people from error and misrepresentation, to champion the cause of the weak who are right against the strong who are wrong, and to strongly aid in maintaining the true spirit of American institutions."

DURING the past twenty years 358,000 divorces have been granted in the United States, 90 per cent to women. Statisticians figure out this to be about 1 per cent of the marriages.

Low Rates to National Grange. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, "The Picturesque Route," announces the sale of tickets at the low rate of a fare and a third for the round trip to those attending the National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, to meet at Concord, N. H., November 16 to 25. Those purchasing tickets should accept from ticket agent a certificate showing route traveled and amount paid. This certificate, after being properly indorsed at Concord, will be accepted by ticket agent for a return ticket at one-third the usual fare.

The Baltimore and Ohio is the only

direct line to the East via Washington, and should be largely patronized by those desiring to pass through that city. It is also the most picturesque line, crossing the Alleghany mountains and traversing the famous and historic Potomac valley.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Opinions from Various Sections Upon Current Topics of the Day.

M. Martin Armstrong, Missouri, writes originally. He says:

We have received four numbers of your paper and we like it splendidly; think that it is one of the ablest exponents of the issues which concern the American people extant. We tell the people in these parts that while the farmer plants his crops and cultivates them with the plow and harrow, and farm implements, usurers plant large debt crops annually and have them cultivated by legislation. We are getting to be an old man and the two ruling parties have been higgling over the tariff ever since our remotest recollection. Our finances are what needs looking after. Get our finance right and other things will adjust themselves. Wheat is bringing from 50 to 57 cents per bushel. Should the Democratic or Republican idea prevail for the next four years, farmers will have to crowd three bushels of wheat into one dollar. There is one thing surpassingly strange, viz., the more farm products we have in this country the harder it is to get money to meet obligations. The speeches delivered here, previous to Cleveland's renomination, were very different to what they have been since. They remind one of before and after taking.

H. F. Horne, Liberty county, Georgia, writes:

Promoted by a sense of duty, we embrace this opportunity and method of expressing our commendation for the honest, and condemnation for the dishonest, and to publicly manifest our thanks to Almighty God for the brave, honest and true Thomas E. Watson, and the nine that stood by him during many efforts he made in Congress for the people, and against the dishonest and shameful acts and doings of the representatives of plutocracy. And we especially commend him to the people of the tenth district, and say to them that it would be a ridiculous shame on the State of Georgia, and especially on the people of his district, if they fail to send him back to Congress. Sons of toil, stand by the honest, the true and the brave, and fight the dishonest, unprincipled and cowardly acts of the paper suckers of Wall street and Tammany Hall. God grant that we may be blest with at least a majority of Tom Watsons in the next session of Congress.

R. B. Ligón, Greenville, S. C., writes:

The Alliance, an organization of producers, claims to be non-partisan, and in complaining of wrongs adopted the Ocala demands, and submitted them to the two old or ruling parties, both of which refused them. Now, is it wise and proper for a majority of the people who feel injured to suffer greater injury rather than be non-partisan? Do we not know it is not the policy of capitalists to relieve the wants of the people by increasing the amount of currency, and not only that, we have been denied by a Democratic Congress, but that the same Congress submits the matter to an international conference which will be a body of capitalists. Is it not plain that refusing to issue to the people money sufficient for their demands is not only undemocratic but is the cause of aliens pending and investing their money here? Would we have been indebted to English and Scotch loan companies if our Government had met the demands of its citizens, and looked to their prosperity and general welfare?

Resolved, That believing that the framers of the National Constitution intended that each individual in these United States should have equal rights and enjoy equal liberty, therefore we condemn in unmeasurable terms the employment of thugs, known as Pinkertons, by individuals or corporations to shoot down oppressed laborers, and that we favor the adjustment of difficulties between capital and labor by arbitration.

Resolutions passed by Howard County Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union No. 1, Arkansas:

Whereas, We believe that the present election law is a partisan measure to perpetuate a party in power; and

Whereas, The election law has been manipulated for partisan purposes; and

Whereas, It is the spirit of the Constitution of the United that every legal elector shall be allowed one free ballot; and

Whereas, Many of our citizens were denied the right of suffrage; and

Whereas, There are many objectionable features; therefore be it

Resolved, That we condemn said law in unmeasurable terms as being a party measure, and demand that our representative use his utmost power to have said law repealed or amended, so as to get rid of its objectionable features.

Whereas, It has been made evident that John P. Cowling, through an unjust process of law, has attached and sold Brother Beauchamp's substance, by taking advantage of circumstances over which Brother Beauchamp had no control; and

Whereas, John P. Cowling is a merchant in the town of Nashville, Howard county, Ark., therefore be it

Resolved, By the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of Howard county, Arkansas, That we withhold our patronage from said John P. Cowling and have no dealings with him, as far as can be avoided. Be it further

Resolved, That all sister or adjoining counties are requested to co-operate with us in said matter.

Whereas, Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and

Whereas, The county body did, at its April session, rent to Brother Tapscott the warehouse of the county Alliance of Howard; therefore be it

Resolved, That we severally, individually, and as a county body, ask all members selling cotton or in shipping from the town of Nashville to patronize the Alliance scales and work earnestly for its patronage, and that the counties of Polk, Sevier, Pike and Hempstead be requested to co-operate with us in all the above resolutions.

At a regular meeting of the Jones' Creek, Liberty county, Ga., subassociation on the 10th of September, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, We recognize that in unity there is strength, and that we see the necessity of honest organization and unity of action in the county.

Resolved, That the officers of the County Union pledge themselves to use all honorable efforts to build up and reorganize posts of the county which are out of working order.

Resolved, That we as individual members of different subordinate posts of the county, pledge ourselves to use all the energy in our power to build up the order and increase the interest in the work.

Resolved, That our delegate to the neocentric Union be instructed to do all he can in the State Union to secure for the membership the right to establish an in-

surance agency for the good of the membership.

[This was a grand meeting. Quite a crowd was present. Several able speeches were made, and everything passed off quietly and in harmony.]

Resolved, By Smith County Alliance, No. 126, Texas, in session October 6, 1892: That we denounce the action of our national Representatives in voting to submit our coinage of silver to a national monetary conference, thereby practically leaving our monetary system to be dictated entirely by British syndicates and foreign capitalists.

Whereas, the Democratic club of Rock Point, Copiah county, at a recent meeting adopted the following preamble and resolution, to wit: "Whereas, Certain so-called reformers of our State, county and community are using incendiary and communistic language which we believe is inciting the ignorant and wicked to theft, arson and murder; therefore be it resolved, that we call on all good citizens to aid us in suppressing this dangerous and vicious element, not with bullets, but with ballots," and had same published in the Copiah Signal, all of which is a cunningly devised scheme designed to cast doubt on the People's party; therefore be it

Resolved, That justice to ourselves, justice to our families, and justice to the cause we have espoused demand that we, members of the Gallman Reform Club, of Crystal Springs, Miss., denounce all such as false and foul, calculated to stir up strife and discord, and should be severely disownment by all good men.

Resolved, That it is with shame and regret we are brought face to face with that state of society in which one part of "A State, county and community," can unblushingly and wantonly assail the other as a dangerous and vicious element inciting theft, arson and murder (pause reader, whenever you be, and think); and why? Because they dare to differ as to the means to reach a much needed reform.

Resolved Further, That we regret the press of the country should so far forget its high calling as to become the distributor of such resolutions.

At a county union at Leitchfield, Grayson county, Ky., October 13, 1892, the following resolutions were passed:

Whereas, Absenteeism in our legislative bodies has become so common as to retard business, nothing done more than to adjourn from day to day, thus entailing upon the tax-payers an enormous expense; who are not benefited by said adjournments, nor members; Therefore be it

Resolved, That we will support no man for either house of the next general assembly of the commonwealth of Kentucky who will not pledge himself to use his utmost influence to secure such legislation as will stop the per diem of each member of each house who fails to answer to his name at roll call each morning, and that we request our next State Union, and request each delegate to present the same to his county so that every county in the State may adopt it.

Resolved, That believing that the framers of the National Constitution intended that each individual in these United States should have equal rights and enjoy equal liberty, therefore we condemn in unmeasurable terms the employment of thugs, known as Pinkertons, by individuals or corporations to shoot down oppressed laborers, and that we favor the adjustment of difficulties between capital and labor by arbitration.

Resolutions passed by Howard County Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union No. 1, Arkansas:

Whereas, We believe that the present election law is a partisan measure to perpetuate a party in power; and

Whereas, The election law has been manipulated for partisan purposes; and

Whereas, It is the spirit of the Constitution of the United that every legal elector shall be allowed one free ballot; and

Whereas, Many of our citizens were denied the right of suffrage; and

Whereas, There are many objectionable features; therefore be it

Resolved, That we condemn said law in unmeasurable terms as being a party measure, and demand that our representative use his utmost power to have said law repealed or amended, so as to get rid of its objectionable features.

Whereas, It has been made evident that John P. Cowling, through an unjust process of law, has attached and sold Brother Beauchamp's substance, by taking advantage of circumstances over which Brother Beauchamp had no control; and

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At a regular meeting of the Jones' Creek, Liberty county, Ga., subassociation on the 10th of September, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, We approve of honesty and condemn dishonesty in the strongest terms, and believe in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; and

Whereas, We believe that the representatives of the old parties will advocate a government of and for plutocracy; therefore be it

Resolved, That we fully endorse the national ticket nominated by the People's party, and pledge them our united support.

Resolved, That we appreciate the valuable services of the Hon. Thomas E. Watson while in Congress in exposing the frauds that have been heretofore

perpetrated upon the laboring class of our citizens, and also commend him for exposing the saloon kept in the basement of the Capitol, and how constantly patronized by the law-makers of our Government.

Resolved, By Smith County Alliance, No. 126, Texas, in session October 6, 1892: That we denounce the action of our national Representatives in voting to submit our coinage of silver to a national monetary conference, thereby practically leaving our monetary system to be dictated entirely by British syndicates and foreign capitalists.

Resolved, By Smith County Alliance, No. 126, Texas, in session October 6, 1892: That we denounce the action of our national Representatives in voting to submit our coinage of silver to a national monetary conference, thereby practically leaving our monetary system to be dictated entirely by British syndicates and foreign capitalists.

Resolved, That as a parish union, we recommend to the members of the unions of our parish to aid and support said party so far as it advocates our demands, and so long as it shall continue to do so.

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THE REASON WHY

The Wealth-Producers Are Affiliating With the People's Party.

By D. C. PARNS, Arkansas.

It is a mystery to some friends and even relatives, why people are now affiliating with the third or People's party. I can give many reasons that are satisfactory to myself. A few of which I will name.

From what I have heard, seen, and learned in history, I believe that the wealthy, the titled and nobility of England, as well as many other monarchial governments over the world, have been for about two centuries enemies to this country, and our present form of government, and that enmity has been inherited from generation to generation till it is as deep to-day as in 1812, and before that date. Those who will take pains to read history can inform themselves as to how our colonies were treated by the English before the war for our independence, and from soon after that period till after Jackson hurled the proud British back near New Orleans. The god of justice helped our patriotic forefathers in their cause in 1776, and 1811 and 1812. Many believe we have the same enemies to face or to compete with now; namely, the wealthy nobility of England, with help from other imperial ruled governments, as well as many that are professed citizens of our own beloved Government, who are really as much traitors as Benedict Arnold, and vile as the Tories that were enemies to Washington and his companions. Many of the latter class are trusted party leaders and officials.

I honestly believe impartial history will tear the masks from the faces of many, who their descendants will be as much ashamed of as are those of Benedict Arnold and the Tories. Our wrongs are too numerous, and have been forced on us by many, too clever to not hide their nefarious crimes by hypocritical words, deeds and actions. If I had time, and was able, I believe I could show an unbroken chain of evidence with the various official records and tables, that none of the honest doubting Thomases could fail to see and believe. It is said that a noted English statesman said, after the war of 1812, "that the English people had tried twice by arms to subdue the American people, and make them pay a tribute, and had failed, and from now on will try brain power and get the American Government to adopt our financial system, and, if accomplished, it will only be a matter of time till their liberties are gone and they will be subjects again." Lord Beaconsfield, a friend of the American people, once said if our Government adopted their financial system our liberties would finally be lost. Mr. Hatch, in the present Congress, quotes what a modern English statesman said soon after our silver was demonetized, that "it was only a matter of time till the Indian grain and cotton trade with American silver would ruin American producers, and we would be payers of tribute to English brains by our own acts," etc. The Hazzard circular, issued in 1861 or '62 by the English bankers advised our traitorous bankers what was likely to be done with chattel slaves, how wage slavery would be set up, our paper money destroyed, and bonds issued, and the cursed present national banking system established.

Then in 1864 and 1865, the Clarendon circular makes another great revelation how \$1,000,000 of gold was so manipulated that in less than two years the said Clarendon had used the English banker Baron Rothschild's gold with such skill that his master was the principal stockholder in about 600 national banks, and had over \$35,000,000 after all expense had been paid. That is not all, fellow-citizens, the English have done that we have proof of. Not a posted United States Senator or member of Congress that will deny that one Ernest Seyd did not visit this country in the winter of 1872, and 1873, and at that time the bill to demonetize silver was being discussed and had been for several months. The said Seyd, with a few American bankers, had the various committees of both the Senate and lower house of Congress appear before them, and it is a noted fact that the said Seyd made some great changes in said bill, so the Banker's Magazine of a date about that time, and even the Congressional records admit about the same. Soon after it was said that Mr. Seyd brought \$500,000 of English and German money to help our poorly paid Congressmen and Senators to see how good and noble it would be to demonetize one of our constitutional money metals. Since then a citizen now living in Denver, Col., who made affidavit that Ernest

Seyd told him that he used that \$500,000 among high officials to get our silver dethroned so as to make the rich here richer and to help them enrich the English at our expense.

This is part of the English brain wash and enmity to us. Is that all? Not by a little. A few years back Congress ordered an investigation made to see what aliens in the United States owned of our lands, and it was found that there was a few aliens who owned some real good farms, but so small, and scattered over such a large territory, that they stopped the report, and let it alone. But all were not so easily satisfied, so it was found, about 1889, that some of the farms were from 5000 to over 1,000,000 acres, and amounted in all to about 30,000,000 acres. They have millions invested in our railroads, mines, factories, foundries, breweries, distilleries, flour mills, banks, mortgages, in fact, every legitimate industry as well as that damnable vice of fraud and corruption-politics. It is estimated that we owe to aliens about \$11,000,000,000, and it takes \$770,000,000, or about \$12 per capita annually to pay the interest. It takes our balance of trade and millions besides every year to pay the English debt. Many dollars of their profits are re-invested here.

I could dwell for hours, but must be brief. Many of our best statesmen in the past were jealous of any enterprise that wealthy aliens or the foreign press favored. But gradually, using their brains, their wealth and the chicanery of the avaricious, they finally saw an opportunity to nearly sever this Union. There are many now living who can remember how kindly the English press and many prominent sirs, lords and members of Parliament gave their advice to the contending parties before the war on the slavery issue, till the sword was unsheathed and used on each other. Then notice how shrewdly they manipulated to keep the war up and profit and rejoice at our folly. The South was encouraged to rally and get every able-bodied man in arms or bitterly arrayed against all that opposed them, with the inducement that England and then, probably, all other nations would recognize the independence of the confederate States.

Now, fellow citizens, the planning, conniving and scheming of our alien enemies can be traced in nearly every bill introduced or passed in Congress since 1862 to the present time, and yet men that we have trusted and are now in high and honorable positions say: "Oh, that is all right, they are only helping to develop a great country. It is only a few calamity howlers that see a bugaboo and are trying to alarm the people."

Well, the time is not far ahead 'till we can see whether it is a calamity bugaboo only, or a reality.

In my opinion it will pay us all to carefully read up and see what such men as Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, John Knox, John Hancock, Madison, Monroe, Andrew Jackson, J. C. Calhoun, Randolph, Bennett, Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Abraham Lincoln and many others that were patriots, if not real American prophets, and see if part of what they predicted is not now on us, and if much of the remainder is not fast coming on us.

Don't be so warped and allow your ignorance to dethrone judgment. Read up as I have suggested; study the various bulletins of 1890, the Secretary of the Treasury's reports, and tables in the Congressional Records, and some of the books that treat on our present troubles, such as The Seven Financial Conspiracies, the Subtreasury Hand Book of Facts, America—Past, Present and Future, Gen. Weaver's Book, and also Hon. A. Watson's. With such papers as Arkansas Farmer, Arkansas Economist, Nonconformist, NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and dozens of others that would enlighten many good, honest men that are in thick Democratic or Republican darkness, who see and feel that something is wrong.

What patriot now has any censure for Washington and his companions, though they were scorned and reviled as all other reformers in the past, and as we are now?

Now, fellow-citizens, I come to the most interesting theme of my scattering remarks, and that is about the Constitution of the United States. I don't pretend to say our Constitution is perfect, but it is too perfect and sacred to be evaded, its provisions disregarded, or statute laws enacted that are in conflict with it, and so numerous as to bring that sacred document into dispute.

There should not be a statute law in any State or the nation that conflicts with the Constitution. But is such the case? I think so; and I will try to show a few of them.

First, I will ask you to define a few plain provisions of that document.

Sec. 2, CLAUSE 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, etc.

CLAUSE 2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have

attained the age of 25 years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

CLAUSE 5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3, CLAUSE 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, to be chosen by the legislature thereof for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote.

SEC. 8, CLAUSE 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, etc.

CLAUSE 5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

Now, I believe you can easily define the clause, and that you will say

Congress has the only power to coin or issue money, and that it should be

in amount sufficient to meet all honest demands, and every cent good for its face value.

Has such been our laws? If so, have they always been enforced by the men that swore to support the laws and the United States Constitution?

From 1862 to '73 there was a gold board that openly defied the law and counterfeited every greenback

bill with the exception clauses on

them from ten to sixty-five cents on

the dollar, for that board made coin

a standard when the Congress of the United States said there was 100 cents in the gold dollar, 100 cents in the

silver dollar, 100 cents in a greenback dollar. And yet those great and honored men in the gold board

said from ten to sixty-five cents in the greenback dollar was no good.

Were those big counterfeiters ever punished for their crimes? That gold board enriched every one of its mem-

bers by counterfeiting the money that

paid the soldiers, the sailors in the navy, the farmers that fed the army,

and in fact every thing but the bonds

and imposts on foreign goods.

The credit-strengthening act and funding acts would not stand the Constitutional test. Now, the eighth section, clause 6, provides for the punishment of counterfeiters. Did those United States Senators, Members of Congress, United States Attorneys or the President of the United States, ever try to have those counterfeitors punished? If not, are they

not responsible? Now I contend that if Congress can delegate section 8, clause 5, that every clause and sec-

tion in that document can be delegat-

ed. How would you like for the

power to be delegated to a corpora-

tion to select your Members of Con-

gress, your United States Senators,

your President, to equip your army

and navy as well as control them, to

select all United States judges and

attorneys to run and control you pos-

tal service, etc.? I consider these

very important and solemn questions,

and that it is for us to solemnly and

honestly meet them.

Now it is said, in a multitude of counsels is safety. Then let us reason together. Who is it of the lower and middle classes that can see a bright opening for the future for themselves or their children?

The same system that is now making millionaires is making paupers and tramps, and the two latter classes are made from the middle and poor classes. How long will it be till the system will impoverish you or your children?

The European plan of financing, as now used in the national banks of the United States, has done the work of every nation in the world where tried long enough.

So our remedy is to forever kill the cursed system and retire every man, rich or poor, that advocates the system. It can be done now just as easy as any time by voting for Weaver and Field, and men that believe as they do. Men in the South have prayed for sectionalism to cease, and the bloody chasm to be closed. Now you can have your prayers answered if you want them.

Who is for the "force bill?" It is the gold-bug Demo-Republican that threatened the people of the South with the force bill if the Bland free silver bill was passed. Cleveland is not fearful of the force bill, for his action with Fred Douglass, and his family, and his colored appointment in Douglass' place, imported from Albany, N. Y., shows this. We favor free silver because it is constitutional.

For who is it that, honestly with himself and his God, can or will defend the conduct of the present and past Congresses in their extravagances, gambling at race tracks miles from the Capital, absent without leave or excuse, violating the law by drawing salaries not earned, while away on pleasure or private business, or lounging in the Senate and House saloons in the basement of the Capitol, in cloak and committee rooms, refusing to keep any promise made before the people to give relief?

The lobbyist could defeat or delay every bill looking to the interest of the masses. Bland's silver bill killed, Hatch's anti-option bill laid away, so the gambler can absorb all the profits on our crops, and from 10 to

15 per cent of previously accumulated property. No tariff relief, no money relief, nothing done to give relief in the future—solemn pledges broken by the store. A resolution was passed early in the present Congress to cut off useless subsidies to any private corporation, and yet the Chicago "show" got a clean \$2,500,000 as a gift. I here charge that the Democratic party is and has been a willing party to every unjust law passed by the Republican party, for if it had not, it would have tried to have done something to have relieved us from unjust laws.

The lower house of Congress has been a willing party to every unjust law passed by the Republican party, for if it had not, it would have tried to have done something to have relieved us from unjust laws.

The Senate two years, and a President four years, and where did they ever repeat any unjust laws, and yet have every two years promised to do so?

It is time for us to change for our own sake, and for the benefit of our children and future generations.

Will close by saying our demands are before the people, and we believe every one is in harmony with the Constitution, and when enacted into laws will be as near just as poor mortals can make with the knowledge we now have.

Then let us be true to ourselves, our country and our God, and all will be well now and hereafter.

Finally, I will say that I believe it is as imperative our duty to be careful and prudent in selecting our officials as it ever has been for a people in the past ages.

Holy writ tells us that when the "Righteous bear rule the people rejoice, and when the wicked rule the people mourn." If that is true, which I believe, then we should be very careful who we elect to rule us.

None but good, honest, moral, religious men should be elected to rule us.

Sweet water cannot come from a bitter fountain; neither can we expect good laws from corrupt law-makers.

If our officials are loose in their morals at home, they are more than

likely to have them become more so with the temptations they will find at the Capital. We have had many examples in the past and will continue to have if we have such material to represent us in the future as in the past.

Vote for men that will sac-

redly keep their obligations to their constituents, the laws of the Constitu-

tion and their God.

It is time for us to change for our

own sake, and for the benefit of our

children and future genera-

tions.

While we don't believe any class of

our people should be debarred of a

just representative in our law-making

bodies or the executive offices, they

should not be monopolized by any

one class.

The lawyers, merchants, doctors,

manufacturers, mechanics, laborers,

farmers and ministers all should be as

justly represented as possible for

justice to be done all classes by our

laws, for it is reasonable to believe

that each class can be better repre-

sented by one of their own class than

one of another class.

Under the common sense rule that

debars a person from serving on a

jury in a case in which he is directly

interested, and that debars a judge

from hearing cases under certain

restrictions, attorneys should be

disqualified from legislating for

any trust, combine or corpora-

tion for which they are counsels.

Many of our wrongs can be traced to said

causes. So our motto is: Give equal

rights to all and special privileges to

none.

God and Labor vs. Devil and Capital.

By J. N. HOMESLEY.

Two confessions of faith predicated upon Bible testimony: I believe that, in the present political division of the world, God is on the side of labor, for this reason

CLASS LEGISLATION.

It Is One of the Darkest Pages of Our History as a Nation.

By MONTGOMERY PIKE, California.

Our American Republic is thought to be by the people the best Government at this time on the globe, but still it is not perfect. One thing that needs a radical remedy is, to secure to the people a more perfect accountability of our Representatives in Congress. We would be slow to give a man a power of attorney over our property, but that is what we virtually give our Representatives. They set their own scale of wages, and draw pay whether they attend to business or not. But we could endure all that, but for the class legislation which is the result of this irresponsibility to the people. Class legislation is the great curse of the world in all time and countries, and we have not escaped it. The class legislation of the last thirty years is one of the darkest pages of our history. It is now the deliberate opinion of the great mass of the people that Congress, in establishing the national banks, and payment of United States bonds in gold in advance, perpetrated a crime which will affect adversely our nation for generations to come.

Banking by private corporations or individuals in the days of General Jackson on the United States Treasury as a basis for the issue of bank notes was found to enrich the individual at the expense of the nation, and was denounced by President Jackson as a fraud, and as executive he ordered the money of the United States removed from the banks and deposited elsewhere.

We have now a similar case in the national banks loaning the United States Treasury to the people, enriching the bankers at the expense of the people. But, says one, where is your proof? Well, in answer I would refer you to President Harrison's last message to Congress on refunding or redeeming the 4½ per cent bonds. He says, we deemed it best to withdraw some of the United States money deposited with the national banks, which was drawing no interest, and redeem the bonds, which are drawing interest. Thus, you see, we have imported the un-American banking system from England. In that country all class legislation in favor of the rich; all the vast revenue of England goes into the hands of that great corporation—the Bank of England—on the strength of which they issue bank notes far in excess of the coin in its vaults, making its stockholders rich at the expense of the people. Well, says one, how are you going to remedy the evil complained of? In reply I would state in plain words that if the People's party obtain power we will exterminate, root and branch, every national bank in the United States, and substitute the United States subtreasury, operated and controlled by Congress, issuing bank notes to be loaned to any one who has good and sufficient security for the money, the interest to be such an amount as Congress shall deem sufficient; such Treasury notes to be a legal tender for all debts, public or private; such notes to circulate as absolute money, irredeemable with either gold or silver, for the reason that there is really no intrinsic value in either gold or silver or paper money, as all money is fiat money and obtains its value from the Government stamp alone.

Indeed, our present banking system originated in England. The bankers of England sent agents with circulars with instructions to the bankers of America to buy up the Government bank notes at a discount, convert them into bonds, and on those bonds erect the present banking system. They also said slavery is dead, but you need not care for that. So long as you can control the money of the nation you can control the labor and the products of the nation. We will examine the result of the gift of the Government of the vast sums of money to near 3000 bankers throughout the United States. I call it a gift, because the bankers continued to draw interest on the bonds deposited to secure the bank notes given to them, thus drawing double interest—interest on the bonds deposited and interest on the bank notes in circulation. We will examine what has been the result of establishing a network of banks under Government patronage, throughout the country, loaning to the people at an enormous usurious rate of interest. The people were driven to borrow of the banks, from failure of crops and the low price of produce, and now we see the sad spectacle, the farmers of America burdened with a mortgage debt of billions of dollars, and those inorgates are and

will be closed, and the result will be a nation of tenant farmers, subject to eviction and removal at the will of the moneyed aristocracy of America or Europe.

Thus you see the paw of the lion guiding everything to its maw. The English banking system and the English mortgage system follows the tap of the English drum around the world.

One of the worst importations we ever had from England was the House of Lords, in the shape of the United States Senate. Who do they really represent? They do not represent the people. They represent the great corporations and moneyed aristocracy of the country.

If we must have Senators, let us have them by direct vote of the people.

Gen. Weaver says there is a cause for everything. Then what is the cause of the general indebtedness of the American farmer? We answer that there are three great leading causes. First, the financial system of bonds and banking at usurer's interest has caused a continual flow of money to the bankers and brokers, which has amounted to billions in the last twenty-five years.

Second. The railroads have charged enormous sums for transportation, far above the value of the service, simply because there has been no check in law or their charters to prevent their exactions, which amount to public robbery.

Third. A high protective tariff compels the farmer and laboring man to pay more for everything he purchases, thus taking his hard-earned money to enrich and build up the manufacturers at the poor man's expense.

In what way can the people effect a change so much needed in a national legislature? That alone can be effected by a change of men. We have been sending to Congress only bankers, brokers, manufacturers, railroad managers, lawyers and men all intent on making or augmenting fortunes. The laboring man or farmer is not seen or represented there. The farmer is looked upon as the slave was looked on formerly, as very useful in making money for the owner, and could be tolerated so long as he knew and kept his place.

We expect to make many radical changes. One important change will be the enactment of an income tax, such as they have in England. And as a check on hasty legislation, let all important laws passed remain one year after passage, until the people can vote.

All contracts now drawn are made payable in gold. It should be so that all money made by the Government is a legal tender, gold contracts to the contrary notwithstanding. And the full and unlimited coinage of silver is one of the important laws we need.

In conclusion, let us examine the record of our leader, Gen. Weaver. He was our leader when the Greenback labor party was in existence, and we cast 308,000 votes for him. We made a failure then, but the leaven has been working ever since, and to-day the revolution is on, and the fight will be bitter to the end.

Resistance to class legislation, which makes serfs and slaves of the masses of the people, we will urge with all our power; and it is to the interest of merchants and business men to join with the workingmen and farmers in purifying the Government so as to restore prosperity again to the people, and to prove to men in power that, if it is constitutional to loan money to bankers, railroads and whisky trusts, it can be made constitutional to loan to farmers and laboring men who can give good security for the same.

PUNGENT PICKINGS.

(From the Vagrant, by John T. Broderick.)

There must be want and vice.

While man is forced to man's fiercest foe.

The social structure needs a sounder base,

Unjust conditions fester half the race.

The finer human feelings are suppressed,

And selfish maxims steele the warmest breast.

They prosper best who play the meanest role,

It's well in business not to have a soul!

No more where Lincoln lived is manhood preserved,

Wealth wins its way where patriots are despised;

No more on Freedom's soil is freedom found,

The man with money is a king uncrowned!

For social ills society's to blame,

One child in misery is a nation's shame.

Burn a rag in the nostrils of the people. "It smells to Heaven" cried Talmage concerning a famous law case. The great divine spoke too soon. The present "campaign of education" conducted by "the machine" in the South where rotten eggs form telling arguments, and in Kansas by the g. o. p., deserve the tribute.

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THERE is a charm in "perilous adventures" that few readers can resist; and, accordingly, books containing thrilling narrations of exciting scenes and escapes are generally popular. Let persons peruse these books for amusement; but it is obvious that such works as the one we now present to the public must be full of important instruction. Travellers attending travel in various lands and in various parts of the world; the characteristics of the people and manners observed by the adventurous travellers; and what sufferings men may endure, and what contrivances are to be gathered from these pages; and surely many young persons have a strong desire to know all the details of these scenes.

With most young persons books of this kind are favorites. The names of Mungo Park and others who have encountered terrible difficulties in exploring countries before unknown are familiar as household words. Even the fictitious adventure of Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, though it does not give us the superlative in the youthful estimation! The desire to see other lands and other people, besides those among which we are born and reared in common. All, however, having the means of gratifying them, turn to travel as a pastime, and are compelled to remain at home, narratives of adventurous travel must be a source of pleasure. To such, especially, our copious collection with its many illustrations, may be recommended.

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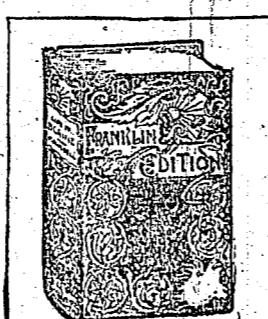
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VOL. 8.

No. 9

WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 12, 1892.

CLEVELAND

Is Victorious—He Has Probably Carried the Solid South and Enough Doubtful States to Insure His Election—Accurate Returns Cannot Be Secured for Some Days Owing to the Method of Counting.

The election returns come in slowly from many of the States owing to the method of counting. It will not be possible to get accurate figures as to the vote for some days, but the telegraphic reports and editorial opinions of the great dailies on both sides taken together indicate beyond any probably contingency that the electoral vote will probably stand as follows:

FOR CLEVELAND.	
Alabama	11
Arkansas	8
Connecticut	6
Delaware	3
Florida	4
Georgia	13
Illinois	24
Kentucky	13
Louisiana	8
Maryland	6
Michigan	6
Mississippi	9
Missouri	17
New Jersey	10
New York	36
North Carolina	11
South Carolina	9
Tennessee	12
Texas	15
Virginia	12
West Virginia	6
Total.	240

FOR HARRISON.	
California	9
Colorado	4
Iowa	13
Maine	6
Massachusetts	15
Michigan	8
Minnesota	9
New Hampshire	4
North Dakota	3
Ohio	23
Oregon	4
Pennsylvania	32
Rhode Island	4
Vermont	4
Washington	4
Total.	142

FOR WEAVER.	
Nevada	3
Nebraska	3
South Dakota	4
Wyoming	3
Total.	18

IN DOUBT.	
Idaho	3
Kansas	10
Montana	3
Indiana	15
Michigan	1
Wisconsin	12
Total.	44

Necessary to a choice.	
Total.	223

The Washington Post claims Cleveland's election, and publishes the following as its estimate of the situation:

For Cleveland.—Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 3; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 13; Illinois, 24; Indiana, 15; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 8; Maryland, 8; Michigan, 6; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 17; New Jersey, 10; New York, 36; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 15; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 6. Total, 256.

For Harrison.—California, 9; Colorado, 4; Idaho, 3; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 10; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 15; Michigan, 8; Minnesota, 9; Montana, 3; Nebraska, 8; New Hampshire, 4; North Dakota, 3; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 4; Pennsylvania, 32; Rhode Island, 4; South Dakota, 4; Vermont, 4; Washington, 4; Wisconsin, 12; Wyoming, 3. Total, 183.

For Weaver.—Nevada, 3.

New York, Nov. 8.—The Democrats have carried New York State by 33,131 majority.

The full returns from all the assembly districts in New York city give Gilroy, for mayor, 173,638; Einstein, 67,964. Gilroy's plurality, 75,674.

The result of the vote for assemblymen in this State: Democrats, 72; Republicans, 56. This insures the election of a Democrat to the United States Senate to succeed Hiscok.

Indiana over.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., Nov. 8.—The returns are awfully slow in coming in. The tickets were very long, and the returns thus far received are

from scattering townships, probably averaging one or two to the counties heard from, and from these correspondents have estimated probable results: These returns are so far favorable for Democratic success, but indicate that the State will not give Mr. Cleveland the majority expected. It will probably run from 7000 to 9000. The counties heard from seem to average each about 100 Democratic gain. There are ninety-two in the State, and this gain, if kept up, would give 9200 from which subtract Harrison's plurality in 1888, leaving Cleveland about 9000.

The presence of United States marshals about the down-town precincts was not noticeable. In the ninety-seventh precinct, with polls at 33 East Market street, a marshal appeared about 9 o'clock and entered the election room. The Democratic challenger notified the board of his official character, and he was requested to leave. The marshal left without further ceremony. John P. Hopkins, one of the Democratic local leaders and chairman of the executive committee of county central committee, was arrested this afternoon at Democratic headquarters on a warrant obtained by Charles McClain, a negro, charging him with intimidating a voter. He was taken before Commissioner Hoyne.

Republicans are asserting Bynum's defeat. Both parties are claiming Marion county, and on this his election will be probably decided, as Madison county reports only a small plurality for him, and he may not get that.

Ripley county shows a Democratic gain of 75; Dearborn county a Democratic gain of 147; Clark county a Democratic gain of 218; Grant county a Republican gain of 300; Shelby a Democratic gain of 200; Allen a Democratic gain of 300.

Thirty precincts in Indiana give Harrison 3145; Cleveland, 2641. Republican gain, 252.

Populists win Nebraska.

OMAHA, NEB., Nov. 8.—At midnight returns from Nebraska are still very fragmentary, owing to new election law and poor method of counting. Figures so far received indicate that Weaver will carry the State by a few thousand. On governor the result is very doubtful.

Crounse, Republican, will not get as large a vote in Omaha as expected, and Morton, Democrat, develops unexpected strength. Van Wyck, Independent, is not so strong among laboring classes in Omaha as expected.

Judged by returns of one-tenth of the precincts in the State, each of the three candidates for governor will poll about 70,000 votes, same as two years ago. For Congress, Bryan, Democrat, of first district, is re-elected, although the district is Republican. In the second district the race is very close between Doan, Democrat, and Mercer, Republican. Partial returns now favor Doan. The third Congressional district is close and in doubt, the three candidates running almost even. In the fourth, Republicans will elect Hainer. In the fifth, Democrats and Independents will elect McKeighan. In the sixth, Independents will elect Kem. The legislature will be about 40 per cent Republican, 40 per cent independent, and 20 per cent Democratic.

Illinois.

CHICAGO, Nov. 8.—Cleveland has probably carried Illinois by a majority of 5000, and Altgeld is seemingly elected by about the same majority. Of the 702 precincts in Chicago, 549 give Harrison 72,316 and Cleveland 89,721. The same ratio in the remaining precincts would give Cleveland a majority of 20,000 in the city and county. Harrison and Fifer came to Cook county four years ago with a majority of 17,000. Returns from 103 townships outside of this county give Fifer and Harrison about 20,000 votes, against 14,230 for the Democratic candidates—a net Republican loss of 1251. If the same percentage of Republican loss should continue through the State, the Cleveland electors would have from 5000 to 10,000 majority. Altgeld will run behind Cleveland in many districts outside of Cook county, and the result on governor will be much closer than on Presi-

dent, but with a strong probability of Altgeld's election.

Republicans charge their loss to the fact that the Germans have generally voted the Democratic ticket on account of their opposition to the compulsory school law. The best indications are that the Democrats have elected both Congressmen-at-large, and have carried in the State ten of the twenty Congressional districts.

Returns indicate the election of the following Congressmen:

Second—McGann, Democrat.
Third—Durborow, Democrat.
Fifth—Hopkins, Republican.
Sixth—Hitt, Republican.
Seventh—Henderson, Republican.
Tenth—Post, Republican.
Twelfth—McDonald, Democrat.
Thirteenth—Springer, Democrat.
Fifteenth—Cannon, Republican.
Sixteenth—Fithian, Democrat.
Seventeenth—Lane, Democrat.
Eighteenth—Forman, Democrat.
Nineteenth—Williams, Democrat.
Twenty-first—Smith, Republican.

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Chairman Clark, of the Democratic State committee, says: "Cleveland has carried Illinois by 15,000, and Altgeld, Democrat, is elected governor."

The Herald says: "The probabilities are that Cleveland has carried Illinois by a small majority, and that Altgeld will defeat Fifer."

The Springfield Register says that Springer, Democrat, for Congress, will be re-elected by 4000 plurality.

The New York Tribune (Rep.) of the 9th instant gives Cleveland 208 votes with Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, and West Virginia doubtful. And admits that probably Illinois and Indiana have gone Democratic. The Tribune says editorially:

"The returns received at the hour of writing are not satisfactory to Republicans. Democratic dispatches are claiming everything, but Mr. Cleveland would have been elected several months ago if Democratic claims had been equivalent to returns. It can only be said at this hour that returns are not at hand to justify the assertion that several great Western States have given their electoral votes to Mr. Cleveland, and without those votes he is still in danger of disappointment."

"The Republicans have failed to carry New York. Their control in great Democratic cities has turned out majorities sufficient to overpower the votes of Republican counties, which appear to have been cut down below expectations. In the absence of returns from any considerable part of New Jersey it can only be assumed that the State has gone Democratic on the Presidential ticket, as usual.

Connecticut is claimed with confidence in dispatches by both parties, but the returns thus far received appear to favor the Democrats. With New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, four or five probable votes from Michigan, and a South made solid by continued and wholesale denial of the right of suffrage, Mr. Cleveland would have about 216 electoral votes, needing only those of Indiana or Illinois to assure his election.

"The Recorder also says:

"The Presidential battle is over, and at this hour its results can only be probably stated. Many of the admittedly doubtful States are still in doubt, and some States, like Nebraska and Delaware, not generally looked upon as doubtful, appear to have gone otherwise than as anticipated.

"Grover Cleveland has certainly carried the State of New York by an ample plurality, but it is still doubtful whether he has carried the country.

"The Solid South appears to have been broken. Delaware is believed to have voted for Harrison, and West Virginia has very possibly done likewise.

"The Western returns are mixed, and the Populist vote for Weaver has evidently upset many calculations. Nebraska's eight electoral votes are claimed for Weaver. Indiana, which is a pivotal State, is in some doubt; so, also, is Illinois. Nor is it certain how the fourteen electoral votes

of Michigan, which will not all go to either column, are divided.

"While Mr. Cleveland's election by the people yesterday is possible, it is by no means certain. If, as our dispatches indicate, Indiana remains in the Harrison column, then Mr. Harrison is quite likely to be elected without the vote of New York.

"The Populists, however, may have captured one or two States not yet definitely heard from, and in which they are known to be strong. In that case the election will, after all, be thrown into the House.

"It is still probable that, when last night's reports are revised by the later and more exact returns, Mr. Harrison will be found, without having carried New York, to have carried the country.

BIRMINGHAM, Nov. 8.—The election went off quietly throughout the State. Cleveland has carried the State by 5000 majority. Hardly any doubt exists that the Democrats have elected eight out of nine Congressmen, the fifth district being alone in doubt.

Latest returns show that Denison, Democrat, is elected in the seventh district, over Wood, Fusionist. This was a doubtful district.

R. H. Clark (Dem.) is re-elected over Mason (fusionist); in the first district. The large Democratic majorities in Marengo and Mobile counties, more than overcome the Alli-ance vote in the smaller counties.

In the second district Baltzell, editor of the Alliance Herald, fusion candidate, is defeated by Jesse F. Stallings (Dem.). In the third Col. Oates is re-elected. Robbins (Dem.) in the fourth district is elected over Longshore (fusion) and the straight-out Republican candidate, ex-District Attorney Craig.

In the fifth district every indication points to the defeat of Cobb, the present incumbent, by Whatley (fusion).

In the sixth Bankhead (Dem.) is re-elected. W. M. Wood, the Alliance nominee, was defeated in the seventh by William H. Denison (Dem.).

The Latest.

Up to hour of going to press the returns show: Tom Watson, of Georgia defeated in the 9th.

Geo. Fred Williams, of Massachusetts, the ardent mugwump anti-free-coining Congressman, defeated.

Jerry Simpson's district in doubt; claimed by Republicans, but not substantiated. Probabilities favor Simpson.

Col. Oates, of Alabama, returned. Gen. Wheeler, of Alabama, returned.

O. M. Kem, of Nebraska, returned. W. A. McKeighan, of Nebraska, defeated.

John Davis, of Kansas, returned. Wm. Baker, of Kansas, returned.

Hatch, of Missouri, returned.

Democrats claim a solid delegation from South Carolina, except in seventh district where Murry a colored man runs ahead of his ticket.

Isadore Rayner, of Maryland, returned. Solid Democrat delegation from Louisiana.

Indications are, Democrats elected solid delegation in Mississippi.

West Virginia Congressionally in doubt.

IAMS LOST HIS CASE

The Officers Who Tied Him Up by the Thumbs Acquitted.

Judge Porter Finds for the Defendants and Commands the Jury to Return a Verdict in Accordance Therewith. How the Jury Stood.

PITTSBURG, PA., Nov. 5.—When court opened this morning the jury in the case of the military officers who had tied up Private Iams had not agreed on the verdict. It came into court at 10 o'clock and the foreman said:

A question arose in our deliberations which we desire the court to answer, and we do not wish to ask it openly, and submit it to you in writing.

Judge Porter.—The subject of your inquiry is wholly immaterial on the question. It cannot enter into this case. Any other action between these parties cannot enter into this case. As to the instructions given you in the assault and battery case to find the defendants not guilty I propose you shall obey the court. You are the judges of the fact and the law. Not the law as you think it should be, but what it is. We have told you what the Supreme Court of the United States says the law is, and that is the law you want to know. If any man on this jury thinks he knows more than the Supreme Court of the United States of course he will stick to his opinion. It is a shame, however, that a man with such profound knowledge should waste his time in the jury box. You are not to be guided by your feelings or your prejudice. Any juror who does this breaks down every security of justice, interferes with the administration of justice and violates all security for justice and equity. The instructions given you were plain, and there should be no trouble to you. Is there anything further you desire me say?

The jury again retired. The jury returned at 11:15 o'clock. They acquitted Cols. Hawkins and Streator and Surgeon-Grimm of the charge of assault upon Iams. The costs are divided between the county and defense. The verdict read as follows:

On the assault and battery cases we find defendant is not guilty, and the county pay the costs. On the aggravated assault and battery case we find defendants not guilty, but Cols. Hawkins and Streator each shall pay half of the costs.

After the verdict had been rendered Attorney Braddock asked that the part of the verdict placing the costs on defendants be set aside.

Judge Porter ordered the motion put in writing, which was done.

The court took the motion, but made no disposition of it except to order it filed.

One of the attorneys for the prosecution said that they would have now to depend on the suit of damages for a vindication of their client. This suit will be brought soon in the United States courts, Iams, the prosecutor, being a resident of West Virginia. In that court suits for \$10,000 damages will be brought, and the case will, no doubt, go to the Supreme Court of the United States before its final disposition, as both sides believe the question should be finally settled.

HOW THE JURY STOOD.

It was announced that the jury stood ten for conviction and two for acquittal. When they first took a vote after going to their room, the vote was eleven to one for acquittal. This continued for several ballots, and finally the twelfth man was won over.

The fight was then on the costs, and over this a disagreement was almost reached. It was over the costs in the assault and battery case which caused them to come into court and ask the question they did. The court had told them the costs could not be put on the defendants in the assault and battery case, and they then returned.

That it was their intention to put the costs on the defendants in both cases is evident, as the word "county" had been written over the word "defendants" in disposing of the costs. The only attorney for the defendants in court was Col. Braddock, who expressed himself as well pleased, as he felt certain the court would set aside that portion of the verdict putting the costs on his clients.

Neither the prosecutor or his attorneys were in court, but one of them said that, after the charge of the court, they had reason to feel satisfied with the crumbs they got.

Gresham's Latest Pronouncement.

To Hon. Buford Wilson, Springfield, Ill.

DEAR MAJOR: I have your letter of the 21st inst. I did tell you at Springfield that after mature reflection I had determined to vote for Mr. Cleveland this fall because I agree in the main with his views on the tariff, and did not believe in the principles embodied in the McKinley bill. I adhere to that determination, and have said nothing indicating a change of purpose. It is not true that with my knowledge or consent the President was asked to appoint me to any office. It is not

true that I requested any one to do anything to obtain the Republican nomination this year. It is not true that I voted for Mr. Cleveland in '88. I voted the Republican ticket at every Presidential election since the party was organized, except in 1864, when I was not able to go to the polls.

The Republicans were pledged to a reduction of the war tariff long before 1888, and during the campaign of that year the pledge was renewed with emphasis again and again. Instead of keeping that promise the McKinley bill was passed, imposing still higher duties. It was passed in the interest of favored classes, and not for the benefit of the whole people. It neither enhanced the price of farm products nor benefited labor. Wages are, and ever will be, regulated by supply and demand; duties were imposed upon some articles so high as to destroy competition and foster trusts and monopolies. I think you will agree with me that this was an abandonment of the doctrine of moderate incidental protection. The tariff is now the most important question before the people, and whatever others may do I shall exercise the right of individual judgment and vote according to my convictions.

I think with you that a Republican can vote for Mr. Cleveland without joining the Democratic party. How I shall vote in the future will depend upon the questions at issue. Yours, very truly,

W. O. GRESHAM.

Outwitted by the Apaches.

DEMING, N. M., Nov. 5.—A courier reached here last night from Las Palomier, Mexico, and brought news of more Indian murders and depredations by "Kid" and his band of Apache renegades. In view of the depredations in Old Mexico a detail of the fifth regiment numbering fifty men, from the city of Chihuahua, was ordered to the supposed hiding places of the savages in the Sierra Madre mountains.

After hurried marches the troops came into the foot hills of the mountains last Tuesday morning. They were riding along unsuspecting of the danger, when they were attacked from ambush by the savages. Capt. D. V. Dorantes and Lieut. Garcia, who were riding in advance of the soldiers, were both shot through the head and instantly killed. The troops were so nonplussed by the attack that they were in confusion for some time, and it was only after several of the braver ones had called them to their duty that order was restored and battle given to the Indians. After a short skirmishing fire, in which several of the soldiers were wounded, the renegades made their escape into the mountains. The troops pursued for a short distance, but fearing another ambush retreated.

The bodies of the dead were afterwards recovered and taken to Chihuahua for burial.

News of the disaster was immediately sent to the City of Mexico, and the government issued orders for 500 troops, located in the northern part of the Republic, to mass in the vicinity of Colonia Pacheco and give pursuit to the murderers. The party numbers only thirteen warriors, but their movements are so rapid that neither the United States nor Mexican troops have been able to get within twenty-five miles of them. The scene of Tuesday's battle is about 100 miles southwest of Deming.

Many Labor Unions Quit Work.

About thirty unions, representing every industry, quit work in New Orleans on Saturday, November 5, and the street cars stopped running. Hundreds of stores had no clerks, more or less tumult existed at railroad freight depots, and the retail trade of the city was badly crippled. The organized State troops were ordered to report at their armories at 2 o'clock November 7. Meantime efforts were made to force an adjustment, the city council having been in session several hours for that purpose.

The presidents of the street car lines in session determined, this being the third time in twelve months that the drivers have quit voluntarily, that their cars shall lie idle until the city authorities shall guarantee police protection of such drivers as they may put on.

Queer phases of the strike are that all establishments employing union labor are paralyzed by the withdrawal of their hands, while those employing non-union men are enjoying the monopoly of trade, and this strike of fully 20,000 white men is in the interest of a line of labor almost entirely controlled by negroes.

Revenue Collected in 1891.

Last year the Government collected:

From distilled spirits..... \$8,335,000.61
From tobacco and its products..... 32,757,20.97
From fermented liquors..... 28,655,129.92
From oleomargarine..... 1,071,924.14
Total..... \$14,575,209.60

MARKET REPORT.

Carefully Corrected for Week Ending November 7, 1892.

The New York stock market was almost featureless. A majority of the stocks usually prominent had barely a corporal's guard to look after them, so great was the interest in the approaching election. Betting on the result of the contest supplanted operations in stocks, some large wagers having been made in and out of the board. Silver certificates sold at \$5.40@5.50 per 1000 ounces. The Mercantile Safe Deposit Company reports silver bullion on hand 1,827,773 ounces, and certificates outstanding 1826. The Treasury Department, Saturday, purchased 384,000 ounces of silver at \$5.20@5.60. The offerings were 740,000 ounces. Bar silver in London rose to 39 1-16d. per ounce.

NEW YORK COTTON QUOTATIONS.

Future deliveries opened at an advance of 4 points, later rose another 2 points, but subsequently declined 6 points, closing steady at partially 1 point advance. A further rise in the Liverpool market caused the advance here, but subsequently a cable came to hand saying that the master spinners at a meeting could not agree, and that a strike was imminent, which resulted in the decline above noted. Advances from the South are bullish, more particularly from Memphis and Texas, reporting the damage by frost as serious, and materially curtailing the crop. Receipts at the ports were 37,075 bales; this day last week, 41,028 bales; this day last year, 42,973 bales. On the spot the market was quiet at unchanged prices.

NEW ORLEANS COTTON MARKET.

The cotton exchange reports the market steady. Stained 1/4@1/2c lower than quotations. Futures opened steady, steady at second call, steady at third call and closed steady.

	THIS WEEK.	LAST WEEK.
High.	High.	Closing.
est.	est.	prices.
November.....	8.04	8.04
December.....	8.24	8.17
January.....	8.36	8.30
February.....	8.48	8.42
March.....	8.60	8.50@8.51
April.....	8.62	8.62@8.64
May.....	8.78	8.75
June.....	8.88	8.85
July.....	8.90	8.90@8.91
August.....	8.96	8.97@8.99

NEW YORK GRAIN MARKET.

In New York a firmer feeling prevailed in the wheat market, and despite abundant receipts spot prices were well supported, as exporters were buying freely, particularly of No. 2 hard winter. Futures opened firmer, but closed quiet and easier.

	Open-	Clos-
	ing.	ing.
November.....	5 3/4	5 3/4
December.....	5 15/16	5 3/16
January.....	6 3/4	6 3/4
February.....	7 1/4	7 1/4
March.....	7 3/4	7 3/4
April.....	8 1/4	8 1/2
May.....	9 11/16	9 11/16

IN CORN THERE WAS LITTLE SPIRIT OR VIGOR AND A WEAKER DRIFT PREDominated. FUTURES A TRIFLE LOW AND QUIET.

	Open-	Clos-
	ing.	ing.
December.....	70 1/2	70 1/2
January.....	72 1/2	72 1/2
February.....	73 1/2	73 1/2
March.....	74 1/2	74 1/2
May.....	83 1/2	83 1/2
June.....	83 3/4	83 3/4

OATS WERE INACTIVE AND WEAK AT THE CLOSE. FUTURE TRADING IN NO. 2 OATS.

	Open-	Clos-
	ing.	ing.
December.....	35 1/2	35 1/2
January.....	36	35 1/2
May.....	36 1/2	35 1/2

CHICAGO MARKET.

Wheat closed a shade lower. Corn was only moderately active. Oats were quiet throughout the session. Provisions displayed moderate activity in speculative circles, but trading was largely of a local, scalping character.

The following table exhibits the extreme range and closing prices on change yesterday for the leading futures of grain and hog products, also the closing quotations for Thursday.

Articles.	Open-	High-	Low-	Clos-
	ing.	est.	est.	ing.
Wheat.....	70 1/2	70 1/2	70 1/2	70 1/2
December.....	72 1/2	73 1/2	71 1/2	71 1/2
January.....	73 1/2	73 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2
February.....	74 1/2	74 1/2	73 1/2	73 1/2
Corn.....	41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2
December.....	41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2
January.....	41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2
February.....	41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2
Oats.....	30 1/2	30 1/2	30	30
December.....	31 1/2	31 1/2	31 1/2	31 1/2
January.....	31 1/2	31 1/2	31 1/2	31 1/2
February.....	31 1/2	31 1/2	31 1/2	31 1/2
Pork.....	11 7/8	11 7/8	11 7/8	11 7/8
December.....	11 7/8	11 7/8	11 7/8	11 7/8
January.....	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2
Lard.....	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2
December.....	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2
January.....	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2
February.....	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2
Bacon.....	8 1/2			

APPROPRIATIONS.

The Legislative Bill Through Which All Government Officials Are Paid.

An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums be, and the same are hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, in full compensation for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, for the objects hereinafter expressed.

This appropriation reaches almost every branch of the Government; the Executive officer, the Congressman, the judiciary and, thousands of minor officials, clerks, messengers and laborers receive their compensation through this appropriation. No salary is less than \$50 a month, and none, except the President's more than \$10,000 per annum. The aggregate amount of this salary list is \$22,214,291; and is about the same for the past several years; some of this money is well earned, while some of it goes for political reward, and some of it there is no excuse for whatever.

For every office within the gift of the Government, there are no less than twenty or a hundred applicants who would move heaven or earth to get into office. Deluded applicants have died upon the streets of Washington waiting for a promised office. Enterprising seekers have advertised and offered hundreds of dollars for influence that would secure them an office. If one-tenth the people who have applied for office were appointed, this appropriation would be over \$100,000,000 instead of \$22,000,000.

LEGISLATIVE.

Senate—	\$41,000
Mileage of Senators.....	45,000
Miscellaneous expenses of Senate.....	51,970
	\$100,970

Miscellaneous expenses include salaries of chaplain, secretary of Senate, clerks and messengers, pages, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper and assistants, postmaster and clerks, superintendent and clerks in document and folding rooms, clerks to committees, and clerks to Senators, etc. Clerks to committees draw a salary of \$6 per day, while clerks to Senators, who are not chairmen of a committee, draw \$6 per day during the session of Congress only. These places are often given to Senators' sons to defray their expenses in society, etc. It is related that a certain Senator, sometimes known as the author of a poem on "Opportunity," concluding with the words, "I return no more," and who was succeeded by an Alliance man, embraced his last official opportunity (the day before his term expired) and appointed his son to the clerkship of one of the most important committees of the Senate. The young man assumed the honors (the duties *nil*) of office on the day Congress adjourned, and with a month's salary in his pocket takes the train for his future acknowledged home, returning only when Congress met, to resign and draw his salary.

It will be seen that the expense of upholding the dignity and otherwise conducting this branch of legislation cost the people a little over \$1,000,000 a year, or about \$2,742 a day. This is a mere bagatelle, however, to many of the distinguished gentlemen who have the honor to represent the people in this branch of Congress, and dwindles to insignificance when compared to the private incomes of the wealthy members among the eighty-eight Senators.

Some day—let us hope that it is not far distant—when the voting population of these United States are no longer the dupes of political jugglers and self-interested interpreters of the Constitution, we will have a United States Senate which is elected by the popular vote, and not by the money power.

Under the head of contingent expenses of the Senate appears an item of \$6000, "for materials for folding." This item also appears in identically the same words and amount in a subsequent appropriation under the Sundry Civil Bill. Why the Senate should resort to the subterfuge of being "a repeater" in order to get money out of the Treasury to distribute campaign documents is rather a hard question to answer.

There are eighty-eight Senators, representing forty-four States for a compensation of about \$14 per day, or \$5000 a year. Representatives receive the same compensation, but are not allowed the same perquisites, in the way of clerks, etc., notwithstanding the repeated efforts in nearly every session of Congress to have an appropriation made to pay for clerks to Representatives; the Senate has persistently refused to concede the point of conferring an equal dignity (the salaries being the same) upon an ordinary member of Congress as is enjoyed by a United States Senator.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Salaries of Congressmen.....	\$1,720,000
Mileage.....	115,000
Miscellaneous.....	55,577
	\$1,885,577

Miscellaneous expenses of the House of Representatives are for necessary (and unnecessary) employment

of clerical and other help to conduct the business of the House—\$6804 for private secretaries and clerks to the Speaker; \$85,514 for the clerk of the House and his assistants, including the clerk's salary of \$5000; \$121,026 for clerks, messengers, pages, laborers, etc., under the doorkeeper of the House, including six laborers known as "cloak-room men," at \$50 a month; also \$16,000 under the head of contingent expenses, and subject to the dispensation of the clerk of the House for materials for the folding room. This money is used in distributing campaign matter.

The miscellaneous expense for the House, however, with 344 members, is about \$10,000 less than the miscellaneous expense of the Senate with eighty-eight members or about one-fourth the number in the House. The combined expense of conducting the business of Congress in both branches for one day, estimating actual number of days in session from June 30, 1892, to June 30, 1893 (110 days), is \$30,377.

OTHER EXPENSES IN AND ABOUT THE CAPITOL.

Public printing—salaries and contingencies inclusive of working force.....	\$18,000
Library of Congress—Salaries of librarians and assistants, etc.....	5,600
Botanical Garden—salaries, etc.....	15,244
	\$38,844

EXECUTIVE.

President's salary.....	50,000
Vice-President's salary.....	8,000
Office force of the President.....	35,000
Contingencies.....	35,000
	\$102,000

The President's salary was made \$50,000 instead of \$25,000, during President Grant's administration, and his monthly check is now delivered by a special messenger, promptly and regularly for \$4,166.66. His private secretary receives a compensation of \$5000 a year. The President's salary may, to some, seem large and fully adequate for all demands, but the entertainments at the Executive Mansion make serious inroads upon his seemingly large income. It is said that President Arthur's expenses were considerably more than his salary as President. With the legislative branch of the Government costing, in a day, about one-half the amount of the Executive salary for a whole year, and considering the days and days of filibustering and dilatory work of Congress, the expense of the executive branch of the Government is of but small importance.

DEPARTMENTS.

Civil Service Commission—Salaries and contingencies.....	\$11,530
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Three commissioners each draw a salary of \$3500—the purpose of this department being to enforce the civil service law, and regulate the appointments of the Government service on a basis of merit. This department falls far short of fulfilling its mission, and is, in fact, hardly a check upon politicians after the spoils of office. Political assessments are made, just the same, with the alternative to the Government clerk to contribute or resign. It is a department that should be abolished, or made to accomplish the purpose for which it was intended. To continue it as a playing field for politicians is nonsense and a waste of money.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Secretary and three assistant secretaries—salaries.....	\$10,500
Postmaster General and seven other officials with salary of \$2000 and under \$5000.....	100,370
Miscellaneous.....	10,930
	\$135,830

The head of this department receives \$8000, the same compensation as the other members of the Cabinet, who are appointed by the President and are seven in number; namely—Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior, the Postmaster General, and the Secretary of Agriculture.

The amount appropriated for the State Department in this bill represents but a small part of the money disbursed through this department, but is principally appropriated under the diplomatic appropriation bill.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Salary of the Secretary.....	\$ 8,000
Salary of the Treasurer.....	6,000
Salary of Comptroller of Internal Revenue.....	6,000
157 heads of departments, offices, divisions, bureaus, etc., with salary not exceeding \$5000, and not over \$2000.....	397,100
For salaries of employees in the department under \$2000 a year.....	2,693,576
For salaries and expenses of collecting internal revenue and for salaries and expenses of assistant treasurers and employees in subtreasuries of the United States at the following places, to wit:	3,833,000

Baltimore.....	\$ 22,300
Boston.....	31,330
Cincinnati.....	17,550
New Orleans.....	30,300
Philadelphia.....	42,340
St. Louis.....	19,000
San Francisco.....	27,120
Incidental expenses.....	21,000
	399,160

For salaries and contingencies at United States mints and assay offices as follows:

Carson, Nev.....	\$ 29,000
Dalton, Okla.....	27,900
New Orleans, La.....	138,330
Philadelphia, Pa.....	409,530
San Francisco, Cal.....	241,100
For assay offices, for expenses of government and other offices in the territories of Alaska, Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Utah.....	1,046,150
Contingent expenses of the Treasury Department.....	221,850
	3,695,335

It will be seen that the Government is already conducting subtreasuries for the bankers at an expense of nearly \$400,000 a year, and the enormous sum of \$3,695,335 for the Internal Revenue service which is nothing more or less than a system of subtreasuries for the manufacturers of whisky, etc. The salaries of nine

assistant treasurers in the established and acknowledged subtreasuries for the benefit of national banks, aggregates \$44,000, ranging from \$4000 to \$8000 a year, but the 1 per cent that the banker pays for the use of Government's money fully compensates the Government for all the expense, and the people—but what have the people to do with it? Let every man answer this for himself. Then we have the government of the five territories, the United States Government carrying upon its pay roll, governors, judges, and in three territories the United States pays the salaries of the members and officers of the legislature, their traveling expenses and all other expenses of conducting the government of the territory. This is not paternalism of government, but a system of subtreasuries for the former, conducted on business principles, is not only paternalism, but a menace to the mockery of fame.

Sixty-four in the United States District Courts.

One in the United States Court for Indian Territory.

Six in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

Five in the Court of Claims.

Appropriation is made for pay of judges of the United States courts who are retired for so much as may be necessary, "without limit." Politicians assert that judges of the United States courts are non-partisan in their decisions and actions, but this assertion is doubted, and by some disputed; at any rate politicians control the appointment of the judges, whether they have any control over the judges themselves or not. If corrupt politics cannot be kept from the United States courts its usefulness is destroyed, and to be a justice of the United States courts but the mockery of fame.

Analyzed Votes.

SPECIE RESUMPTION ACT.

This act of January 14, 1875, is known as the Specie Resumption Act,

the destructive features of which can not be understood without a careful study of the condition of the country at that time. It was passed under the pressure of the previous question, and consequently with but little debate. The vote stood: Senate—yeas 32, nays 14. In the House the vote was: Yeas 131, nays 98.

The vote in the Senate December 22, 1874, was as follows:

YEAS—REPUBLICANS.

Allison, Logan,....	Logan,....
Anthony, Morrill of Maine,....	Morrill,....
Boutwell, Morton,....	Morton,....
Carpenter, Oglesby,....	Oglesby,....
Chandler, Patterson,....	Patterson,....
Clayton, Pease,....	Pease,....
Craigin, Pratt,....	Pratt,....
Fenton, Ramsey,....	Ramsey,....
Ferry of Michigan, Sargent,....	Sargent,....
Flanagan, Scott,....	Scott,....
Frelighsby, Sherman,....	Sherman,....
Edmonds, Spencer,....	Spencer,....
Harvey, Washburn,....	Washburn,....
Hamilton, West,....	West,....
Howe, Wright,....	Wright,....
Ingraham, Ingalls,....	Ingalls,....

YEAS—INDEPENDENT.

Schurz, Johnston,....	Johnston,....
NAY—DEMOCRATS.	Merrimon,....
Bogg, Ransom,....	Ransom,....
Cooper, Sprague,....	Sprague,....
DAVIS, Dennis,....	Dennis,....
Jennings, Stevenson,....	Stevenson,....
Gothliffe, Thurman—12,....	Thurman—12,....

NAY—INDEPENDENT.

Hager, Tipton—2,....	Tipton—2,....
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The House vote, January 7, 1875, was as follows:

YEAS—REPUBLICAN.

Albert, McDowell,....	McDowell,....
Averill, McDougal,....	McDougal,....
Barber, McKee,....	McKee,....
Barrene, McNulton,....	McNulton,....
Barry, Merriam,....	Merriam,....
Bass, Monroe,....	Monroe,....
Bogole, Moore,....	Moore,....
Birley, Myers,....	Myers,....
Bradley, Negley,....	Negley,....
Burchard, O'Neill,....	O'Neill,....
Burleigh, Orr,....	Orr,....
Burrows, Orth,....	Orth,....
Butler, R. R., Packard,....	Packard,....
Cain, Packer,....	Packer,....
Casper, Page,....	Page,....
Cason, Parsons,....	Parsons,....
Cessna, Peiham,....	Peiham,....
Chatteaden, Pendleton,....	Pendleton,....
Clayton, Pike,....	Pike,....
Clemens, Platt, T. C.,....	Platt, T. C.,....
Cobb, S. A., Poland,....	Poland,....
Corwin, Pratt,....	Pratt,....
Cotton, Purman,....	Purman,....
Crooke, Ray,....	Ray,....
Crouse, Richmond,....	Richmond,....
Curtis, Roberts, E. H.,....	Roberts, E. H.,....
Danford, Robinson, J. W.,....	Robinson, J. W.,....
Dobbins, Rusk,....	Rusk,....
Donnan, Sawyer,....	Sawyer,....
Duell, Saylor, H. B.,....	Saylor, H. B.,....
Eames, Schaford,....	Schaford,....
Farwell, Scudder, J. W.,....	Scudder, J. W.,....
Frye, Sessions,....	Sessions,....
Garfield, Shanks,....	Shanks,....
Gunkel, Sheets,....	Sheets,....
Hale, Eugene,....	Hale,....
Harrison, Smart,....	Smart,....
Hathorn, Smith, A. Herr,....	Smith, A. Herr,....
Hawley, J. B., Smith, H. Boardman,....	Smith, H. Boardman,....
Hays, Smith, J. Ambler,....	Smith, J. Ambler,....
Hazelton, G. W., Sprague,....	Sprague,....
Hedden, Stanard,....	Stanard,....
Hooper, St. John,....	St. John,....
Hoskins, Strawbridge,....	Strawbridge,....
Houghton, Todd,....	Todd,....
Hunter, Tremain,....	Tremain,....
Haynes, Tyner,....	Tyner,....
Kesson, Waldron,....	Waldron,....
Kellogg, Wallace,....	Wallace,....
Killing, Ward, J. D.,....	Ward, J. D.,....
Lampert, Ward, M. L.,....	Ward, M. L.,....
Lawrence, Wheeler,....	Wheeler,....
Loughridge, White,....	White,....
Lowe, Wilbar,....	Wilbar,....
Lowndes, Willard, Geo.,....	Willard, Geo.,....
Lynch, Williams, John,....	Williams, John,....
Martin, Williams, Wm.,....	Williams, Wm.,....
Maynard, Williams, Wm. B.,....	Williams, Wm. B.,....
McCrary, Wilson, James,....	Wilson, James,....
McDill, A. S., Wilson, J. M.—13,....	Wilson, J. M.—13,....

YEAS—DEMOCRATS.

Adams, Lamar,....	Lamar,....
Archer, Lamison,....	Lamison,....
Arthur, Leach,....	Leach,....
Ashe, Magee,....	Magee,....
Atkins, Marshall,....	Marshall,....
Banning, McLean,....</td	

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND
INDUSTRIAL UNION.
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Building. F. L. Ford, Manager.

The publishers of this paper have given a bond
in the sum of \$10,000 to the members of the Farmers
and Laborers Union of America that they will
faithfully carry out all subscriptions and other
retract.

The following is the resolution unanimously
adopted at the national meeting in St. Louis:
Resolved, That THE ECONOMIST, our
adopted official national organ, has so boldly and
fervently advocated our cause and defended our
principles, therefore

Be it resolved by this National body, That we
heartily approve of the same, and every member of the Order should
subscribe and read the paper as one of the best
means of education in the way of industrial free-
dom.

Adopted at Omaha as follows:

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

Address all remittances or communications to
THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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N. R. P. A.

COTTON.

The time has at last arrived when intelligent co-operation between cotton planters may be made to produce good results. The short crop of the present year is sure to make the spinning demand completely exhaust the surplus, both domestic and abroad, and as a consequence insure that next year the season will open with spinners, as well as speculators and dealers, short on cotton, and a very little intelligent co-operation upon the part of the producer, should enable him to keep them short throughout the season, thereby guaranteeing higher prices. Now is the time for some good foundation work along this line by the Supreme Council. A competent committee to take the matter in hand early in the session could, no doubt, make a report that would be of great value. This is a subject of great pecuniary interest to the membership in the South, and never before have the conditions been so favorable. THE ECONOMIST now points this out in time. The trouble with nearly all such action is that the effort is delayed too long. It seems that cotton must go up some next year at all events, and if, while it is in upward motion, a little can be added to that tendency, the effort will be well rewarded.

THE ELECTION.

The nation has again passed through the trying ordeal of a Presidential election. It speaks well for the intelligence of the people, that amid all the feeling and conflict of opinion there should be so little personal conflict.

There has been a practical landslide in favor of Democracy, and if we believe in this system of government and the popular verdict of the people, their decision must be accepted as correct. This will be hard for many to do. In the meantime, the sun and moon and stars will pass on, each in common with all other agencies of the Ruler of the Universe, performing its divine mission, and even mortals filled with prejudice will soon be ready to admit that the country is no worse off under a Cleveland administration.

IT WAS "Pig Iron" Kelley, late Representative of Pennsylvania, a radical Republican, a bigoted protectionist and a successful harvester of campaign funds from the corporations that he served, who said, in a public speech: "Yes, men are on the free list. They cost us not even freight. We promote free trade in men, and that is the only free trade I am prepared to promote."

Possibly Gresham stock has lost its pristine charm for some folk. They are silent with a dull sickening silence on the subject of the Judge. In the language of a Western Exchange, "the excellent old gentleman will take his position in the immediate rear of the procession."

The threatened monster strike of railroad switchmen in 1893 shows mental imbecility upon the part of its announcers. Capital does not forewarn labor. It strikes with deadly certainty, and swiftly as a coiled serpent.

A DELEGATE.

What is the object for which a delegate to the Supreme Council should strive? Is it to benefit those present at the meeting, or those at home? Let us see. He represents the order, and those present belong to the order, therefore he should strive to benefit those present at the meeting. Very good, but those present at the meeting do not constitute the whole order; in fact they only constitute about one twenty thousandth part of the order, and as equal rights to all is one of the tenets of the order, it must be plain that those present are only entitled to consideration in that proportion. That is to say, the delegate is under obligations to consider the wants and necessities of those present at the meeting, certainly, but for every minute of time he puts in at that meeting working for his own or some other delegate's personal interests, he should put in 19,999 minutes, working for the personal interests of the brother at home who is picking cotton, thrashing, plowing, etc. The man who has an ax to grind will try to get up strife and discord, try to center interest on those present and stir up prejudice. The true friend of the order will forget the personality of those present—especially if they differ on other things—and concentrate effort on measures calculated to build up and strengthen the order and thereby benefit the millions now working and waiting at home.

SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN recently said: "Another thing is plain, that the people of this country—whether rightly or wrongly—is not for me to say—are not in favor of the longer continuance of the national banking system beyond that period which will enable them to wind up as banks of circulation when the payment of the public interest-bearing bonds is made. I am, therefore, in favor of regarding the popular will as being practically expressed that we shall not continue this banking system longer than the existence of the bonds that are outstanding." He prepares this substitute for the retired national bank currency: "All circulating notes would then be issued directly by the Government, carefully limited in amount, always redeemable in coin, supported by ample reserves of gold and silver, and, better than all, by the credit of the Government, founded upon the entire wealth and property of the people of the United States. A nation that has paid a national debt of \$3,000,000 in thirty years is ample security for all the circulating notes needed for the current use of its people. I believe that the Treasury of the United States can now easily and safely provide for the circulation and redemption of the United States notes."

REV. THOMAS DIXON, a celebrated Baptist minister of New York: "Tammany is simply trying to throttle free speech in the pulpits of New York. There is no mystery in a Tammany complaint before a Tammany judge being shot like lightning through the district attorney's office into the teething talons of the Tammany foreman, especially when the indictment is based upon an assault on Tammany. Tammany Hall is the most powerful coterie of organized criminals that ever dominated the life of any civilization. It makes and unmakes judges and juries. It feeds and breeds on vice and crime. With merciless iron heel it crushes the weak, and intimidates the half-hearted and defies the strong. It is the one withering, blasting curse of our city's life, damning with the hot breath of corruption and disonor every ramifications of our body politic."

SENATOR DAVID B. HILL, at Lynchburg, Va., said: "In connection with these observations permit me to say that I very deeply regret the indignities or attempted violence said to have been offered to or committed upon the person of Gen. Weaver, the People's party candidate for President, in his recent political journey in certain States of the Union. I trust that the reports of occurrences have been greatly exaggerated, and I presume that it is not unlikely that such is the fact, owing to political

excitement or prejudice, and we must probably accept the published accounts with considerable allowance. But be that as it may be, the occurrences and assaults or indignities, whatever they were, only aided the cause they were intended to injure. I differ with Gen. Weaver in his political views, and I have no sympathy with his present political course, but I denounce all attempts to prevent his having an opportunity to speak his sentiments anywhere he pleases in this free Republic, without molestation or disturbance, as undemocratic, unwise and disgraceful. The American flag as well as correct public sentiment should protect him or any other public man in his political utterance no matter what political faction or party he champions, or wherever he may happen to be, North, South, East or West. This is a free country and the land of free speech, and it is our duty to keep it so."

CAMPAIGN LIES.

For a few days before the election the air was full of false rumors and reports. Designing men sent reports to prominent papers asserting that THE ECONOMIST had changed front, and that its editor had sold out, and many other ridiculous things. But all these schemes fell flat before the intelligent public. THE ECONOMIST and its editor are too well-known to need any vindication from the slanders of the campaign liar. Only two or three telegrams were received upon the subject. These were promptly answered, and the public paid no further attention to the matter. The late President Polk used to say of these false reports, "wait a week and you will hear the truth."

MANY old familiar names are on the list of delegates to the Supreme Council, and the editor of THE ECONOMIST anticipates with pleasure the hope of again meeting the old workers, and conferring together. We have now had experience. We can no longer be blown about by every breath of doctrine. The man who wants something done or a certain policy pursued can no longer frighten us by saying that the order will go to pieces if he fails. We

have had experience, and know that this order now lives, and believe that it will continue to live and prosper in spite of our mistakes and blunders, and that the responsibility is now resting on us to profit by the mistakes of the past, and under the guidance of divine Providence do the very best we can to-day. We have no fears of and no time to lose on the slanderer or the backbiter, we have had them on hand all the time, ready to misconstrue every act and word of our officers and workers, but a little time has always been sufficient to vindicate the right, because these fellows cannot long keep their object hid, and, that exposed, they destroy themselves.

IT IS INTERESTING to know that Prof. Totten figures out the end of the world to be not quite seven years distant. He says: "The final seven years of the 'times of the gentiles' referred to by Daniel, the prophet, began on March 29, 1892. It was at the beginning of the Jewish civil year 5651, a. m., on September 22, 1890, that I pointed out its Jehovah significance, and disclosed the result of the calculations. Just previous to that date, I called attention to the wonderful 'sign' then in the sky, and explained clearly how it wrote the very name 'Jehovah' upon the walls of heaven. I have called attention to the significance of the Columbian eclipse of October 20, 1892, both as ominous to the inhabitants of the earth, and for its unique scientific value, as establishing the Ptolemaic era in American chronology. Daniel's final 'week of years' covers 2520 days, and its last 2300 days begins 220 later. If they begin March 29, 1892, they end in March, 1899. Exactly 2300 years previous there was an eclipse at Athens. The final 2300 days of this 'time of end' begin with the total eclipse November, 1892, and consequently the signs in heaven maintain their ominous agreement with all that I have testified."

FORTY-two years ago 67 per cent of the people owned their homes. To-day only 32 per cent are so fortunate. The usher has the difference.

THE RULE OF A FEW.

Aristotle, after enumerating the governments which he calls governments in the general interest, monarchy and the republic, treats of governments in the interest of individuals, tyranny—oligarchy. Oligarchy, says Aristotle, is the political predominance of the rich, and democracy the political predominance of the poor, to the exclusion of the rich. To the objection, "But what if the rich be more numerous and govern, or if the poor be the less numerous and govern?" he replies that the rule of the minority in democracies, and that of the majority in oligarchies are wholly accidental, because the rich everywhere constitute the minority, and the poor everywhere the majority.

"The two parties," continues impartial Aristotle, "claim exclusively, each for itself, the right to make the law, and indeed this right belongs to both of them up to a certain point, but this right is not absolute in the one or the other. On the one hand, superior in a single point, in wealth, for instance, they think themselves superior in all; on the other hand, equal in one point, in liberty, for instance, they think themselves absolutely equal; the main object is forgotten on both sides. If political association was a commercial association for the purpose of gain, the share of the association in the State would be in direct proportion to their investment, and the partisans of oligarchy would be in the right; but the object of political association is not only the existence of the associated, but their happiness, the well-being of families and of the different classes of the people. Those who bring the most (by their talent) to the general fund of the association have a greater share in the State than those who, equal or superior in point of liberty or birth, have, notwithstanding, less political virtue; a greater share than those, superior in wealth, are inferior in merit." To whom then should sovereignty belong? To the multitude, to the wealthy, to the good, to a single individual of superior talents, to a tyrant?

"Neither to these nor to others," says Aristotle, "but to the law," and if one of the elements of the political body must be preferred, Aristotle would incline in favor of the multitude, for the reason that, if each individually errs in judgment, in the aggregate all judge well. But the government which seems to him to best assure the reign of the law is the republic, which borrows its principles from oligarchy and democracy. If he had been asked how the Alliance of these two governments, which he calls corrupt, could give birth to the best of all governments, he would doubtless have answered that they were only bad because they were exclusive, and that political wisdom should be the reconciliation of these two elements. Oligarchies may maintain themselves by ministering to the material well-being of the people. But as avarice is the vice peculiar to oligarchies, their government, together with tyranny, is the least stable of all. The rivalry of the powerful, their misconduct, their acts of violence, the creation of another oligarchy in the bosom of the first, the ambition of some who began to flatter the people, the influence of mercenary troops—all these are so many causes of ruin. Lastly, that which injures them most is, "that they deceive the lower classes."

The above is extracted from an article contributed to the "Cyclopaedia of Political Science" by Jacques De Boisjasiin.

THE Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company and the Boston and Maine Railroad Company have formed an alliance. The deal is complete. Nothing of further interest to the public, which has grown callous to the now every-day formation of gigantic trusts, is worthy of note, except that a so-called "reform" paper, published at the National Capital, lately devoted its whole first page to fulsome biographies of Reading Railroad officials.

BELOW follows the paragraph in Mr. Blaine's speech which has stirred up a Hibernian bees' nest: "I have a word to say about the Irish vote.

I see it stated that the Democrats

bust of having the mass of them in their ranks this year. It is one of the mysteries of our politics that a question which interests England so supremely, which is canvassed almost as much in London as it is in New York, should have the Irish vote on the side of Great Britain. If the Irish vote were solidly for protection, they could defy all the machinations of the Democratic party for free trade, and throw their influence on the side of the home market of America against the tide of the foreign markets of England. I know this appeal has been frequently made to the Irish voters, but I make it with emphasis now, for I am unwilling to believe that with the light of knowledge before them they will deliberately be on the side of their foreign oppressors."

IRELAND'S HOME RULE.

The recent action of Mr. Redmond, leader of the nine Parnellite members of the English House of Commons, in serving notice on Mr. Gladstone that unless his home rule measure met with their entire approbation they would cease to support his majority, appears at first blush highly erratic.

It is a conceded fact that Ireland has no favors to expect from the Tory party. Their policy has been one of repression and persecution. Against this there has grown up over the United Kingdom a protest, and the last election saw this feeling crystallize at the ballot-box and defeat the government. Mr. Gladstone is the one pre-eminent figure in European politics to-day looking towards the inevitable. While it may be that greater labor leaders have sprung to prominence within the half century—greater in their inherent ability—none have possessed the marvelous variety of accomplishment and experience combined in him. He points the way for the peaceful overthrow of existing monarchial governments abroad, and in securing to Ireland home rule, sets a precedent for Scotland, India and Canada to follow.

The last self-appointed task of this great politician is yet unaccomplished. It is to be sincerely hoped by all devotees of freedom that the coming year will place upon his brow the bay of victory.

SHAKE hands, brethren, and make up. The fight is over, the smoke is fast clearing away, and the country has not been sunk in the bottomless pit. The lies told on both sides were campaign lies and the campaign is over. Let us lay aside our political prejudices, stand shoulder to shoulder for the demands and see if we cannot convert the whole country to them before the next political contest. The men most interested in keeping us divided are not our best friends, and when we do stand together in harmony, determined upon a United line of action, the rascals tremble in their boots. All right, brethren, let's shake.

OUT in the Indian Territory, the Choctaw nation had a recent election for chief. They were divided into two parties—the Progressives, composed of half-breeds, and the Nationalists, of full bloods. The advanced Progressives proceeded to stuff some ballot-boxes, and the full bloods protested with winchesters. While they were arguing the question in battle array, a troop of United States soldiers appeared upon the scene and suggested "arbitration."

The result was the half-breeds elected their man.

HARRY TRACY will be on hand at the coming session of the Supreme Council as a delegate from Texas. Few men are better known or more universally loved and respected than Harry Tracy. His sledge-hammer blows have knocked out the opposition in nearly every State in the Union. It is to be hoped that one evening during the session will be devoted to one of his speeches.

IF THE corruption charges of the two old parties were based on hard cash, there would be a considerable increase in the circulating medium immediately succeeding election.

THE New York World, raised \$34,000 for the Democratic campaign in the West.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Please read the following in the Alliance and bring to the attention of the membership:

We have received remittances for subscription to THE ECONOMIST from the following parties who failed to give their post-office address: O. B. Abbott, N. Hampton, George O. Ferg, J. S. Garrard, J. P. Alexander.

The following have ordered literature and failed to give addresses: W. H. Stark, A. B. Washington.

F. M. Lauck, Waring post-office, writes for information, but gives no State.

R. W. Bacon, writes for information, but gives no post-office or State.

J. C. Doelittle, Burton, writes for information but gives no State.

Simon King, Jr., Litchfield, writes for information but gives no State.

J. S. Roberts, of Shelbyville, writes a letter of inquiry, which can neither be answered nor investigated because he fails to give his State. All our records are filed by State; so to make a start in hunting complaints we must know what State the enquirer lives in.

A. J. Keith, secretary of Moore Hill Alliance, writes to us, but gives neither post-office or State.

W. A. Daison writes on business, but gives no post-office or State.

Somebody writes to have his paper changed from Melissa, Texas, to Roland, but forgot to give his name.

F. T. Tilley, secretary of an Alliance, wants THE ECONOMIST for the remainder of the year, but gives no post-office or State.

In May last we received a card from W. D. Marshall, who forgot to give his post-office, asking us to change the paper of A. Osborn, from Bandon, Oregon, to Dairiyville. It was done, but now a postmaster's card from Dayville, informs us that there is no such office in Oregon as Dairiyville.

Wm. Campbell writes concerning a subscription sent in February, but as he gives neither post-office or State, his inquiry cannot be answered.

W. G. Wilson sends for THE ECONOMIST one year for himself and six months for S. S. Burney, but gives no post-office or State.

Somebody at Avelon, Mo., who forgot to sign his name, sends the names of Tom Koutz, Rinehart, Vernon county, and Wm. Bell, Bates county. We cannot send Mr. Bell's paper until we learn his post-office.

The above remain from a large number of letters without post-office addresses received by us and placed in the suspense box to await subsequent letters of inquiry.

A CARD.

To the Members of our Order:

DEAR BRETHREN: I am receiving quite a number of letters from the different States inclosing campaign documents which purport to have been sent out by J. F. Tillman, Secretary of the National Executive Board of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

The caption of the circulars are as follows: "The Force Bill," "A Protest and Appeal," "An Open Letter," "The Force Bill is Alive," and "More Money." These documents are Democratic campaign literature, and are sent out in the interest of the Democratic party, and I take this method of informing the brotherhood everywhere that I never knew such circulars were in existence until they were sent to me with letters of inquiry. I hereby repudiate most emphatically that I am in any way connected with or countenance this scheme to influence our order in favor of the Democratic party. Respectfully,

NOTICE.

Particular attention is called to the special telegram from Memphis, Tenn., announcing rates to the Supreme Council to be held there commencing November 15, 1892.

DON'T pay fifty or sixty dollars for a sewing machine. We guarantee THE ECONOMIST machine to be first-class in every particular, and deliver it, freight paid, to any railroad station East of the Rocky Mountains, to present subscribers, for \$21. To new subscribers, with one year's subscription, for \$22. Any machine not entirely satisfactory after twenty days' trial in your own home can be returned, and money will be refunded. We guarantee the machines

MR. CARNEGIE'S LECTURE.

Discourse of Rev. Alexander Kent at People's Church, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Andrew Carnegie is one of the multi-millionaires of our country. He is one of those who have cultivated other gifts as well as those of money making. He is an occasional contributor to the magazines, and once in a while enlightens the public from the platform. He has recently delivered a lecture from the pulpit of the late Dr. Chapin, in New York, on "The Gospel of Wealth." His possessions and position qualify him to speak with authority on some phases of this question, but it is quite possible that they disqualify him, in a measure wholly unsuspected by him, to speak intelligently on others. I desire this meeting to review some of the principal points of this lecture. He begins with an admission that rather damages his argument.

"From the earliest times," he says, "the accumulation of wealth has been the subject of denunciation. Lycurgus, Moses, equally with Plato and Diogenes and most of the early teachers, echo the curse of Isaiah, 'Woe unto them that join house to house, and lay field to field.' In approaching the subject we must ever hear ringing in our ears, 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.'

One naturally wonders how he proposes to break the force of the unvarying moral teaching on the part of the great seers of the world in every age and in every nation. Especially are we curious to see how, standing in a Christian pulpit, he proposes to break the force of these words of the founders of the Christian religion. His method is remarkable. He simply proceeds to say, after quoting the words attributed to Jesus.

Yet the accumulation of property has proved too strong for all the teachers and lawgivers. As Mr. Gladstone has recently said, "It is the business of the world."

If there is any relevancy in this remark it is intended to justify the inference that the accumulation of wealth is rightfully the business of the world, or rather, rightfully the business of the individual; for private, and not public wealth is that which Mr. Carnegie is trying to justify. The accumulation of public wealth—i.e., of the means of supplying universal needs—may well be the business of the world. But the accumulation of private wealth in such way as to interfere with supply of the general need is another and very different matter. But it is this which the lecturer was seeking to justify.

That the accumulation of wealth has proved too strong for all the teachers and lawgivers is true beyond all question. But this falls far short of proving that all the teachers and lawgivers were wrong. A narrow and miserly selfishness has also proved too strong for all the teachers and lawgivers. Are we therefore compelled to the conclusion that they were wrong in condemning this? If so, the argument is good for a great deal more than this. It is equally good to prove the legitimacy of thieving and lying, of false weights and measures, of idleness, drunkenness, and licentiousness, against all of which these worthies were wont to rail, but all of which have "proved too strong" for them.

Mr. Carnegie next proceeds to show how this wealth-accumulating tendency, which has so triumphed over all the opposition of teachers and lawgivers, began. He follows the primitive man through his various stages of savagery and barbarism, from the time when he lived in comparative independence of his neighbor—building his own rude hut, or digging his cave, killing his own game, and making his own clothing from the skins of the animals he had slain—up to the time when, through the multiplication of wants, and the development of skill, in the supply of these, there came speculation of function and exchange of labor. Following this came exchange of products, giving rise to trade and commerce. The petty merchant of one tribe took some of their products and exchanged them for the different products of another. "And as he could not know exactly how much of any one article would be required, he sometimes had more of some things than he could dispose of, on his return, so he had a small stock of these things on hand; that is, he accumulated some articles and kept them ready to supply future customers, and in this way began an accumulation of surplus property. That all absorbing element of wealth appeared upon the earth. There was something stored up for the future, which

labor had made in the present. Some honey laid up in the social hive."

Now this explanation may strike Mr. Carnegie as entirely satisfactory, but to my mind it seems rather lame, considered, I mean, as a justification of individual accumulation. How came this petty merchant of a tribe, holding property in common, in possession of the products of his own tribe? Not, of course, by any fair exchange of service, but by shrewd bargaining, in which he had managed to secure for himself, as a middleman, a considerable part of that which rightfully belonged to the producer and consumer. Or, possibly, he did not go on his own account at all, but as the agent of the tribe, and then managed to appropriate a considerable part of the proceeds to his own account, and go into business for himself. There was something stored up for the future which labor had made in the present. Stored up by whom? By this petty merchant, "Something which labor had made." Whose labor? The labor of the tribe, of course. Then why didn't the tribe do the storing? Because it was outwitted by the merchant. Or because the merchant was the chief and could do what he would. Then the honey was not laid up in the social hive at all. It was laid up in the individual cell of this individual bee. This is what Mr. Carnegie calls the cropping up of individualism:

The communal system was found fatal to further development, because it placed the lazy, drunken, incompetent man upon an equality with the industrious, capable and well-doing; it failed to approve merit and to disapprove vice; to reward labor and to punish sloth. The foundation of civilization was laid that hour the tribe burst the shell of communal barbarism, and proclaimed individualism as the basis of life; proclaimed that those who do not work shall not eat; those who do not sow shall not reap; proclaimed the right of private property, the right of a man to reap what he sows, and only what he

sows. I am discussing the system itself, and not the men it breeds. If any one insists that these men have reaped only what they have sown, I have to reply that he who says this uses words in a way to confuse the sense. He who reaps only what he sows must not reap what other men have sown. That which he gathers should not be that to which another has prior rights. The men who have raised the crops of this country and the men who have performed the labor of this country, had prior right to thousands of millions that these men have gathered. They had a right to a living price for the grain they raised, and the labor they gave. They have not had it. But these men who have managed the markets

Mr. Carnegie seems to forget here that individualism existed before any form of communism: that it was only "when population increased men formed into tribes," and began to hold in common. They came together for mutual help when their wants began to exceed their own means of supply. A wise self-interest drew them together. Under this communal system where more or less of private property always existed, but where the public sentiment held even this subject to the public need, there were doubtless abuses and evils. But these evils grew out of the very individualism which led to the disruption of the communal system; and the chief of these evils was not the laziness, or drunkenness, or incompetency of the few who were disposed to live upon the earnings of the many, and thus violated the very spirit of the common compact, but the disposition of the smart and capable to exploit the others in their own behalf. The abandonment of the communal system was not the deliberate action of the communal body convinced of its demoralizing influence on the lazy and incompetent. It came about rather through the growth of the spirit of individualism, i.e., the spirit of selfishness in the active, aggressive, energetic, and enterprising few. Individualism in these worked the destruction of the communal system in the interest of private gain, as the individualism of the lazy and drunken worked its destruction through private indulgence.

But Mr. Carnegie says, "Individualism proclaims that those who do not work shall not eat." Who is individualism, I ask? Not that of the tramp, surely, he proposes to eat, but he doesn't propose to work for it. Not that of the idler born to wealth! He does work, but he lives on the fat of the land. And it doesn't matter whether the fortune he inherits was stolen from widows and orphans, or gathered in legitimate business. Not that of the speculator, or gambler, or burglar! Whose individualism then is it, that says the idler shall not eat? Is it that of the men who shun him out from the privilege of work, who close the avenues of employment and then close their hearts and pockets against every cry for aid. "It would be much nearer the truth to say individualism proclaims that he who gets may eat, and he who fails, may starve, for all it cares. It is not a question of working in the sense of earning, or rendering service, but a mere question of getting, irrespective of the means employed. A wealthy Bostonian, who lives and moves and has his being among respectable men, was once a defaulter to the amount of several thousand dollars, as cashier of a prominent bank. When rumors of his defalcation first got abroad, and before any action had been taken, he consulted his lawyer, who asked him if he still had control of the funds? He said, I have. "Then," said the lawyer, "take half a million and decamp, and they will be obliged to compromise, and you can make your own terms. If you are arrested for a few thousands, you are eternally disgraced and done for. If you steal half a million, you can still hold up your head."

He acted on the advice of his lawyer, settled for \$250,000, paid in advance.

his fee, and lived like a respectable scoundrel on the balance. He was an individualist of the most pronounced type, but he didn't find any difficulty about getting something to eat, though he did not choose to work for it, either. Again, Mr. Carnegie says, individualism proclaims that "those who do not sow shall not reap." How supremely sacrificial this sounds in the face of the facts as they exist in our modern society. Who does the sowing for the reapers in Wall street? Who sowed the seed of which the Vanderbilts, Goulds, Sages, and scores of others reaped their millions? Was the harvest they have gathered all of their own sowing? Individualism proclaims, Mr. Carnegie says, "the right of a man to reap what he sows, and only what he sows." Is this what Mr. Carnegie himself has done? Understand me. I am casting no reflection whatever on the character of these gentlemen as products of individualism. They have achieved the distinction to which all believers in the system in some degree aspire. They are only sharper and more keen without being any more unscrupulous than many of their less successful fellows. I am discussing the system itself, and not the men it breeds. If any one insists that these men have reaped only what they have sown, I have to reply that he who says this uses words in a way to confuse the sense. He who reaps only what he sows must not reap what other men have sown. That which he gathers should not be that to which another has prior rights. The men who have raised the crops of this country and the men who have performed the labor of this country, had prior right to thousands of millions that these men have gathered. They had a right to a living price for the grain they raised, and the labor they gave. They have not had it. But these men who have managed the markets

and the transportation, have luxuriated in their millions.

But, again, we are told that "in savage and barbarous countries today we still find the old system, but nowhere on earth do we find progress and civilization, except where every man gathers the fruits of his own labor in security, and sits under his own vine and under his own fig tree, with none to make afraid."

Progress and civilization are relative terms. They stand for different things among different peoples. We very naturally flatter ourselves that America leads the world. In some things she unquestionably does, but these do not by any means cover the whole of progress or civilization. Besides, we have not reached by a long shot the state of things predicted by the prophet. It is the very fact that the multiplying millions of our country are more and more shut out, not only from security in gathering the fruits of their labors, but from the opportunity of remunerative labor itself that disturbs us. They not only have no vines or fig trees to sit under, they have no prospect of getting them under the existing system. Those who have enjoyed these in the past are more and more put to it to hold them. But, furthermore, the very progress of which the lecturer boasts is almost wholly a progress away from individualism. It is the application of science to the needs of society, and wherever this work is going on individualism is curbed and limited, and the people are coming to the front. It is this coming of the people to the front in political and educational matters which has put this country in the van of progress. It is the coming of the people to the front in these matters that we count as progress in all other countries.

But in some of these older countries, owing to the crowding of population, social questions have pressed

Continued on page 6.

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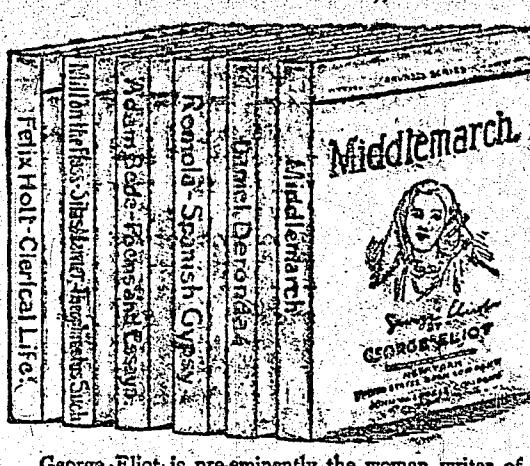
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MR. CARNEGIE'S LECTURE.

Continued from page 5.

for settlement earlier than with us; and in these they are greatly in advance. And this advance is in every case toward the attitude of togetherness, and away from individualism. I recognize the service which individualism has rendered. It was an inevitable, if not necessary, step in the order of social evolution, but it is not the end of that evolution as the lecture we are considering asserts it to be.

But, again, our attention is called to the wonderful results which vast capital has wrought in the various departments of agriculture and commerce. "To perform such functions," we are told, "enormous sums of accumulated wealth concentrated in one or a few hands is requisite." Not at all, we reply. That enormous sums are necessary is true, of course, but it is not necessary, in the nature of things, and always, that these sums should be concentrated in the hands of one or a few. The people of this country organized a few years ago for the business of putting down rebellion. It was a tremendous enterprise, involving an expenditure of money, a degree of executive ability, and an amount of skill and energy in a thousand departments surpassing any individual enterprise of the land. Barring the losses inflicted by individual schemers who staid at home, and manipulated the finances of the country to their own enrichment and the impoverishment of the nation, the work was well and economically done.

The people did it through the agents they had chosen. They have done, and are still doing, a great many other things through the same machinery. Look at the postal system of the country. In the past three years 2129 new routes opened, 255 new railway postoffices and compartment cars put on, and 1016 additional clerks employed. In the money order department 1829 new offices have been established. Free delivery at 150 offices, employing 2409 additional carriers. Fast trains have been put on, sea postoffices begun, new postal cards introduced, and a score of improvements made in methods. What further answer is needed to the absurd claim that this capital must necessarily be in the hands of one or a few.

But, again, we are told that few of the great agencies that supply society's wants could ever have been created, or could exist for a moment, had not the forces of civilization proved too powerful for the denunciation of early writers against the accumulation of wealth. The gentleman does not discriminate. He does these early and all other moral writers injustice. They never declaimed against the accumulation of wealth, but only against the accumulation of individual wealth, which in their thought could only be gotten by some process which took without giving adequate return that which belonged to others. These ancient worthies all favored industry, economy, thrift, in the best sense of these terms. What they cried out against was the sort of thrift that came through injustice and wrong to others.

But Mr. Carnegie says that modern methods of gathering and using wealth are such as this criticism does not touch. Men in the past hoarded their gains. They were selfish and miserly. The possession of wealth was evidence of the miserly spirit. But now a great change has come over human life. As fast as wealth is gained it is invested and kept in circulation, and so it has become the servant of all, even of those who do not possess it. The master's "well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many," is quoted as giving sanction to this view of the case. "Thus," he says, "the denunciation of accumulated wealth which we note in the early teachers is here changed, and the failure to use it so as to accumulate more is reproved." This is surely a remarkable piece of scripture exegesis. The speaker seems to have forgotten that in the opening of his discourse he ranked Jesus among the denouncers of wealth, and he surely could not have had in mind his story of the man who, in his eagerness to lay up earthly treasure, was neglectful of the claims of his brother, and so was not rich toward God.

As an illustration of how wealth in the hands of the individual becomes the slave of everybody in our modern life, he calls attention to "the richest man the world ever saw who died in our city—New York—a few years ago." Mr. Carnegie says:

His vast fortune was invested in constructing and operating our railway system, by which the cost of bringing food from the great granary of the West to the people at our doors was reduced to less than one-half cent per ton per mile. Wealth was never put to a greater use for the people. What the owner received was only during his few years on earth, a grander residence and a more sumptuous living.

Is it not a mistake to say that this vast fortune was invested in the rail-

roads? Was not the greater part of it made out of the railroads? And was not the service rendered the people in supplying to them cheap transportation offset in a very large measure by attendant industrial conditions for which the farmers thought the railroad management responsible?

From 1865 to 1871 \$500,000,000 were invested in Western railroads. These were dependent upon the wheat crop for revenue. But with the increased facilities for transportation came such a decline in prices that the farmers were worse off than before. They could not pay the price of transportation and pay their debts; and the railroads, the managers declared, could not reduce the price and pay their debts. The people laid the blame upon the railroad management, and the Grangers, and now the People's party, were results.

The common shareholders held depreciated stock, and were obliged to sell at a heavy loss. Honest men suffered, while managers and wreckers prospered. That is the way individual wealth in railroads served the people.

The railroads of this country, as a whole, are bankrupt. Their debts exceed their total value, not because they have been run at a loss, but because there has been so much trickery and thieving in their management. What individual wealth might do for the people honestly used is one thing. What it is able to do when a thousand rascally possessors of it seek to fleece the people for their own advantage, is another and very different thing.

But we are told by the lecturer that the opportunities for making great fortunes are becoming less and less; that "the poor are not becoming poorer and the rich richer; but the rich are now becoming fewer and poorer, and the poor richer and greater in numbers."

That the opportunities for making great fortunes in individual enterprise are decreasing, is doubtless true. But why? Because capital is combining. Individualism has been obliged to take the path that leads to socialism. All the great industries of our country are yielding to the inevitable necessity. Fewer men, therefore, have opportunity to take a managing part in these industries, but these few, in the judgment of those who have the best right to know, are likely to amass fortunes such the world never dreamed of before. But how about "the poor growing richer and greater in numbers?" I suppose it is meant that an increasing number of the poor are improving their financial condition. There is, doubtless, an increasing number of the poor who awake to the seriousness of the problem that confronts them, and feeling their responsibilities as never before are growing in thoughtfulness, in sobriety, in economy, in thrift. These are fighting the battles of labor with brave and steady persistency. They are steadily meeting the pressure to reduce, with pressure to increase wages. More or less of success attends these efforts, and the results are seen in savings bank deposits.

But this is true only of those within the limits of organizations. It is outside of these that the pressure is most severely felt. Mr. Carnegie's statement, therefore, is misleading, and substantially untrue. The editor of the Arena says, in the March num-

ber:

The Dead Sea of Want is enlarging its borders in every populous center. The mutterings of angry discontent grow more ominous. Rights denied the weak through the power of avarice, have brought us face to face with a formidable crisis which may yet be arrested if we have the wisdom to be just and humane. But the problem can no longer be sneered at as inconsequential. It is no longer local; it affects and threatens the entire body politic. To-day no thoughtful person denies that this problem is one of grave magnitude. Last year, according to the court records, there were 23,953 warrants for evictions issued in the city of New York. [Had these evictions been in Ireland there would have no lack of indignation against the landlordism that caused them.] In 1889, more than one person in every five who passed from life died in some public institution. About one in every ten went to Potter's Field. In 1890, 239 suicides in New York city alone were officially reported. And one of the great dailies says, in a recent issue, 150,000 people in this city go to bed every night guests of charity, not knowing where a morning meal is to come from, with nothing whatever to do, hope even being dead.

Yet we are told that "the poor are growing richer."

Mr. Carnegie calls our attention to what he calls "Another Popular Mistake," viz., the notion that the railroads of this country are owned by a few—a notion of which he proceeds at once to disabuse our minds:

The New York Central is owned by more than 10,000 people. So is it with the entire railway system of the world. So with our banks, our manufacturing and our transportation and mining companies. The number of widows and orphans, and estates interested, is surprising. Their interest in some cases amount to one-third of the entire capital.

The only comment which this calls for is the bare statement that according to the Railroad Manual the total valuation of railroads taken at their own estimate only exceeds their indebtedness about \$400,000,000, on nominal capital of \$10,000,000,000. It is the opinion of experts that the

entire railroad plant of the country could be duplicated to-day for about six thousand millions. The value to widows and orphans of such ownership is easily imagined, when it is remembered that the few have entire control of the management.

Mr. Carnegie says that the way is open to everybody to have an interest as shareholder in almost every branch of business. "One can be in business himself for \$100.

Of course he can, but when you consider the next point made by the lecturer you will wonder what good it will do him. He says:

The returns of several branches of business for last year have recently been made. Seventy-eight cotton manufacturing companies have reported to their shareholders in England—the people who had gone into business on \$100 or more. The total return on capital invested was about one-third of 1 per cent. The iron and steel business make a worse showing, having actually lost money. The dividends of New England mills showed a small rate of interest. Business in most branches has scarcely made interest upon the capital invested. While wages have steadily increased the returns upon capital have been less and less.

You see from this what splendid opportunities the people have to invest providing their only desire is to get into business, without regard to profits.

Now let us assume that Mr. Carnegie is correct in these statements. What is the inference that they force us to draw? Clearly, if we have power to draw an inference at all, it is that something is radically wrong

Continued on page 7.

in the system of industry under which this state of things finds place. Remember it is not local; not limited to any particular branches of business. It is general and extends to nearly all branches. Hundreds of thousands, millions—when we take the world at large—are living in actual want and wretchedness, through what is virtually enforced idleness. Those employed surely get no extravagant wages, and the general complaint is heard that capital is yielding no profit.

Now all this means something. It means the decay of the old industrial system. It is going to die and there is no help for it. What we must try to do is to see that it dies peacefully and quietly without throwing the country into convulsions in the hour of its departure. Something better is waiting to take its place. The providence of God has not been exhausted by the discoveries and achievements of the past. A system is coming in which every man and woman shall have work to do and shall be required to do it, work suited to taste and capability, but always of a character to serve some need, and done under conditions ennobling to the doer. Surely this is a "consummation devoutly to be wished."

Mr. Carnegie, indeed, thinks that the critical period in our history has passed. The tendency which put great fortunes into the hands of the

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Your correspondent, knowing Col. Daniel Carpenter, an old, tried and true merchant, whose interest he feels to be with the down-trodden people, and to be a good financier, as his past experience demonstrates, and a true Christian gentleman, called on him a few days since for the purpose of obtaining the following interview:

"Mr. Carpenter, you are reported as having said that silver coin sold at a premium over gold coins, years ago. Can you give me some information on this subject?"

"Yes; but I cannot give exact dates."

"What was their relation as to values?"

"From 5 to 20 per cent, owing to the condition of silver coin, and the Government coining it, a large portion of the silver in circulation was foreign coin, and of so many varieties that 'coin charts,' giving the current value, were a necessity to business men. I keep one as a relic of those better days."

"Will you give a comparison at which the various coins could be exchanged for our American gold coin?"

"Not having preserved my memorandum, I can only do so from memory, which is very treacherous after a lapse of forty years. All American coins (silver) of the date prior to 1853, except subsidiary coin, bore a premium of about 10 per cent over gold coin. Old Spanish pillar coin about 20 per cent. French (5 franc) about 5 per cent, Prussian thalers bore no premium, and but little English silver circulated except the shilling. Our dollars were largely Mexican, and I am not certain as to their bearing a premium. Mexican traders from Santa Fe and Chimalena paid mostly for their 'outfits' at Independence, West Point, and Kansas City, Mo., in Mexican dollars. These 'outfits' consisted principally in prairie schooners (wagons), mules, oxen, bacon, and other provisions for the 'trip across the plains.'"

"Will you state how you derived your information?"

"I was merchandising, and trained by an old merchant who knew how to make much of everything. Our rule was to keep all silver coins of the kind named above, until we went East for spring and fall purchases. (The merchants only bought twice a year.) These were carried with us to St. Louis or New York, and sold to 'brokers' at the premium named for American gold coin, realizing nearly or quite enough to pay all personal expenses of a three to six week's trip. I have seen that old merchant have as much silver coin as two men could carry. I have myself carried several 'shot-bags' full, and received \$30, \$40 to \$50 more gold coin than I had silver coin. This cry of the gold-bugs and many smaller-fries that silver is cheap money is all bosh."

"Can you assign any reason why silver bullion is only worth about 70 cents to the dollar?"

"Why, if you will or could deprive wheat of its use for bread, or corn of its use for fattening purposes, or iron of its uses for railroad shop building and other building purposes, or cotton of its uses for clothing, do you not believe they would decline one-half from present prices? Let the people all turn Jews and refuse to eat the products of the swine. What would become of the hog, and would not beef and mutton advance rapidly? What has become of our hemp-growing interest since the substitution of iron ties for cotton? Take away the principal use of any commodity and you reduce its value just in proportion. Reverse the relation between gold and silver; make silver the standard of value and gold a commodity (democratized gold) and the difference will be just as greatly in favor of silver as it is against it now. Why, sir, in 1849-'50, after the great discovery of gold in California, you could hear these same fellows crying out against gold as they do now against silver."

"What effect, in relative values, would free and unlimited coinage have?"

"None in the least; they would go right along to 10 and the poor man would get his money (silver), and the rich get more money (gold). Instead of the mine owners being compelled to throw their bullion on the market as a commodity, they would have it coined and thrown their coin (not Uncle Sam's certificates) on the market in the purchase of commodities as they are needed—of Government bonds and State bonds or railroad stocks. They would get it (silver money, not certificates) into circulation or stop their mining operations. The Government bought 2,500,000 ounces

of silver per month, then raised it to 4,500,000."

"What has been its effect?"

Mr. Cleveland admits he was mistaken as to its supposed effect. The total output of silver in the United States is about 66,000,000 ounces. Four million five hundred thousand ounces a month is about 54,000,000 per annum. Now, if an increase of 80 per cent had no evil effect how great an evil can the additional 12,000,000 (or about 22 per cent) produce?"

"But if foreign powers refuse to co-operate in maintaining the standard relative value of the United States Government."

"What! Shall the United States—one of the commanding nations of the world, and first in America—ask kings and emperors what our financial policy shall be? We got along on the 16 to 1 free and unlimited coinage basis until 1873, better than we have since."

"But it is claimed that foreign nations will dump their silver on us and ruin our monetary system."

"Let them dump, we can stand a gain of 6 per cent on ever dollar they dump as long as they can stand the loss, and that is just what the dump means to both sides. Let 'em dump."

"Have you ever had any experience in the coinage of either gold or silver? If so will you please make a statement thereto?"

"In 1851, on my return from California, I deposited in the mint in Philadelphia a lot of gold dust out of placer diggings. The officers received me for the weight in ounces and grains. On my return, a few weeks later, I received from him gold coin to the full amount of the weight made, which was some \$25 to \$40 more than the bullion value of the dust deposited."

The Arena for November.

The Arena for November will challenge the interest of all thoughtful people. One of the able educational papers of the year is found in this number, and is from the pen of Prof. J. R. Buchanan, the author of "New Education" and many scientific works. Prof. Buchanan discusses the practical application of the new education in a masterly manner. A paper of peculiar interest to young authors, and indeed to all lovers of American literature, is entitled "The West in Literature," by Hamlin Garland. It is probably the ablest essay Mr. Garland has yet written. Rev. M. I. Savage discusses in a critical manner "The Present Status and Theories of Physical Research." A very valuable and timely paper is given by Dr. Henry Sheffield on "Practical Suggestions as to the Treatment of Cholera." Dr. Henry A. Hartt, of New York, discusses "Alcohol in Its Relation to the Bible." Dr. Hartt occupies a somewhat unique position. He is a strict Orthodox in religious belief, but is profoundly convinced that Bible wines were intoxicating and were intended to be drunk in moderation. He holds, however, that drunkenness is a crime and should be as such severely punished. Joaquin Miller, whose portrait forms the frontispiece of this number, contributes a ten-page poem entitled "Dawn in San Diego." It is a weird creation, but contains many lines of great beauty. One of the ablest presentations of the currency question from the standpoint of those who believe in increasing the volume of money, which has appeared in months, will be found in Mr. N. A. Dunham's contribution, entitled "The Volume of Currency." Mr. Edwin Reed contributes the opening paper in defense of Shakespeare in this number. He will be followed by Dr. A. Nicholson, D. D., Dr. J. F. Furnival, W. J. Rolfe and others. Rev. Thomas P. Hughes, D. D., contributes an exceedingly interesting paper on "Lord Salisbury's Afghan Policy." Mr. Flower discusses "Some of Civilization's Silent Currents." Gerald Massey appears in a poem entitled "The Poet's Prayer." Will N. Harben contributes a striking and suggestive speculative story entitled "In the Year Ten Thousand." One of the best short stories of the year appears in this issue from the pen of Will Allen Dromgoole. The Arena is the bravest and most progressive review of our time. It is more cordial to new reformative thought and more outspoken against conventional wrongs than any other magazine of opinion published to-day.

TRANSPORTATION.

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

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

LAND.

Third. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited.

All land now held by railroads and other corporations, in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

LOW RATES TO NATIONAL GRANGE.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, "The Picturesque Route," announces the sale of tickets at the low rate of a fare and a third for the round trip to those attending the National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, to meet at Concord, N. H., November 16 to 25. Those purchasing tickets should accept from ticket agent a certificate showing route traveled and amount paid. This certificate, after being properly indorsed at Concord will be accepted by ticket agent for a return ticket at one-third the usual fare.

The Baltimore and Ohio is the only direct line to the East via Washington, and should be largely patronized by those desiring to pass through that city. It is also the most picturesque line, crossing the Alleghany mountains and the famous and historic Potomac valley.

For more detailed information as to rates, time of trains, and sleeping car accommodations, apply to B. S. Allen, Assistant General Passenger Agent, The Rookery, Chicago, Ill.

THE sympathy of the Alliance will be freely tendered Marion Butler, of North Carolina, in his loss by fire of the Caucasian plant and office. No man has done mightier work, or abler work than Marion Butler for the reform cause. May his paper rise, Phoenix like, from its ashes, and its editor yet wear a toga in the United States Senate.

ALLIANCE DEMANDS.

Adopted at Ocala and Reaffirmed at Indianapolis.

12. We demand the abolition of national banks.

13. We demand that the Government shall establish subtreasuries in the several States which shall issue money direct to the people at a low rate of tax, not to exceed 2 per cent per annum, on non-perishable farm products, and also upon real estate, with proper limitations upon the quantity of land and amount of money.

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

15. We demand that Congress shall pass such laws as will effectually prevent the dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions; providing a stringent system of procedure in trials that will secure prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.

16. We condemn the silver bill recently passed by Congress, and demand in lieu thereof the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

17. We demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the Government, and held for actual settlers only.

18. Believing in the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, we demand—

a. That our national legislation shall be so framed in the future as not to build up one industry at the expense of another.

b. We further demand a removal of the existing heavy tariff tax from the necessities of life that the poor of our land must have.

c. We further demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on incomes.

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

6. We demand the most rigid, honest and just State and national governmental control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuse now existing, we demand the Government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

7. We demand that the Congress of the United States submit an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people of each State.

FINANCE.

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

We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

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

We demand a graduated income tax.

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

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

TRANSPORTATION.

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

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SPEECH OF HON. O. M. KEM.

On Election of United States' Senators by Direct Vote of the People.

The following speech was delivered in the House of Representatives, July 13, 1892, by Hon. O. M. Kem, of Nebraska:

Mr. Chairman, in speaking to the resolution that is before the House for its consideration at this time, I do not do so believing it a cure for all the evils complained of by the people. But I regard it as a step in the direction of popular government, in which the voice of the whole people will not only be heard, but heeded. In it lies a principle of justice and equality that should be better established by the Constitution—a principle that must be well established and maintained or we can not hope to preserve that perfect liberty given by the Creator as the birth-right of man.

The disposition of man to take advantage of the misfortunes and prey upon the weaknesses of his fellow-men, made government a necessity, the true function of which is to protect the weak against the strong, and secure to all citizens regardless of their station in society, the right of life, liberty, and the privilege of pursuing happiness in their own way so long as that way does not conflict with the same right of others.

Since the day our first parents were driven from Eden, this disposition of one man to steal from another his birthright has followed the human race like a curse; it is the underlying principle that has demoralized and destroyed every government that has gone down in past ages, and will destroy every government now existing, unless carefully guarded against by wise, just and wholesome laws, righteously administered.

Man's greatest enemy is man, and I know nothing against which he needs protection so much as against his fellow-men. This is not a new thought, but is as old as history, and every government that has and does exist, was and is a monument to its truth; and it is evident to my mind that the fathers of our own Government realized this, with perhaps greater force than we do; the evidence of which appears in the following words of the preamble to the Constitution: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice."

Let us pause here for a moment to consider the significance of these words, "form a union to establish justice." It signifies, sir, that justice had been dethroned and the time come when it was absolutely necessary for the people to unite and raise her up, that domestic tranquility might prevail, the common defense be provided for, the general welfare promoted, and the blessings of liberty secured not only to themselves but to their posterity.

Can anything be more significant or fraught with greater meaning than the above? It explains to even him who is a stranger to our country's history the condition of our people at that time, which justified subsequent events. The Government was completely in the hands of the plutocracy; justice had been dethroned, the righteous demands of the common people ignored, their liberties trampled under foot, and insult added to injury till they were compelled to unite and form a more perfect government as a means of self-protection.

At the time these words were written another period of human progress was about rounded out, and the adoption of the instrument known as the Constitution was the ushering in of a new. Old things passed away, and behold many things pertaining to government became new. The change from that to which men by long usage had become accustomed was so radical that even its friends looked upon the new government in the light of an experiment, while its enemies unanimously condemned it and predicted certain failure.

Time has proven those predictions to have been but the croakings of prejudice, for out of that new system in the short period of a century has been evolved one of the greatest nations on earth, and under it greater progress and advancement has been made than in any similar period in the history of man.

This being true, say extremely conservative, is it not the part of wisdom to let well enough alone? I ask, is it well enough? and answer no. Nothing is well enough that can be made better; and he who conforms to

the idea of well enough, has not only ceased to advance, but has actually turned the wheels of progress backward.

That it is not well enough with us as a nation is established by the fact that general discontent prevails throughout our land among those who produce its wealth. The result, as we believe, Mr. Chairman, of false and evil systems that have crept in through defects in the Constitution, by which the natural rights of the people have been taken from them, resulting in an unequal distribution of the wealth of the country, by which it is fast becoming aggregated in the hands of the few, and, if continued, must inevitably result in wiping out the great middle class entirely and the establishment of the two extremes; the extremely poor and extremely wealthy, landlord and tenant, aristocrat and plebian.

Mr. Chairman, I presume that those who eat bread in the sweat of other men's faces, and their mouth-pieces, may look upon and designate the foregoing as the rantings of a calamity howler; but let me say to these gentlemen that this old stereotyped cry of stop thief, that for the last four years has never ceased to come up from the subsidized press, stump, and rostrum, like the wails of the lost souls of the damned, has lost its power to scare or deceive, and will fool no one longer but themselves.

The people, the highest court in this land, are sitting in judgement; they have properly located the real thieves, and if I mistake not the signs of the times, the day is coming speedily when those who have been the instrument of subverting the principles upon which our Government was founded, will be brought to a strict account of their stewardship and even-handed justice meted out. These false systems we have referred to and which are looked upon by a certain class as simply the vaporing of cranks, and have no existence other than in the diseased minds of a few calamity howlers, are fast being recognized by the best minds of our country as problems of the gravest nature that must be met fairly and solved properly or the dissolution of this Government will follow as surely as the night follows the day.

These evils we believe, if not wholly, are in part, at least, the result of defects in our organic law; one of which this resolution seeks to remedy; but, exclaim some with hands uplifted in holy horror, and eyes cast heavenward, you seek to tamper with the Constitution, evidently looking upon that instrument as something sacred; and upon he who would seek to amend it as a vandal guilty of sacrilege. Just why this is so would be difficult to explain, except it be a sickly sentiment born of superstition, that looks well in print and is safe enough when the rights of the citizen is not in jeopardy. But when those rights are at stake, that which is higher than any instrument of man, it should be stripped of all sentiment, viewed only in its true light, that of a creation of the people, designed by them as an instrument under which justice to all may be secured, and before which every citizen, high or low, may stand on a perfect equality.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, if time has developed the fact, as I believe it has, that because of defects in its construction the Constitution no longer gives that protection it was designed to give, it is not only the privilege, but the absolute duty of every citizen who loves his country, to use all honorable means to remedy those defects and make it as perfect an instrument of justice as it is possible to make. It goes without saying that the Constitution as constructed by the fathers was the greatest instrument of civil government devised by man, and met perfectly perhaps the requirements of the day and date that brought it forth; but if it was sufficient unto the evils of that day it is no evidence that it is sufficient unto the evils of these degenerate days.

The fathers themselves saw the impossibility of a fixed and organic law, and wisely made provisions for its amendment from time to time, as experience might show to be necessary. The first two years after its adoption it was amended ten times, since which time more than a century has elapsed and it has been thought necessary to amend it but five times. And, in my opinion, Mr. Chairman, five other amendments will carry us safely through another century, provided they are of the right kind and properly observed. This idea of sacredness that attaches to the organic law in the minds of some, seemingly did not conform to the ideas of our fathers respecting that instrument. They not only held the right to alter or amend the Constitution, but, if necessary, to abolish the Government; for the proof of which I cite the Declaration of Independence, as follows.

After defining in a general way the natural rights of man they use the following remarkable and pertinent language:

That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent

of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Thus the fathers expressed their ideas of true liberty, the natural rights of man, and the functions of government.

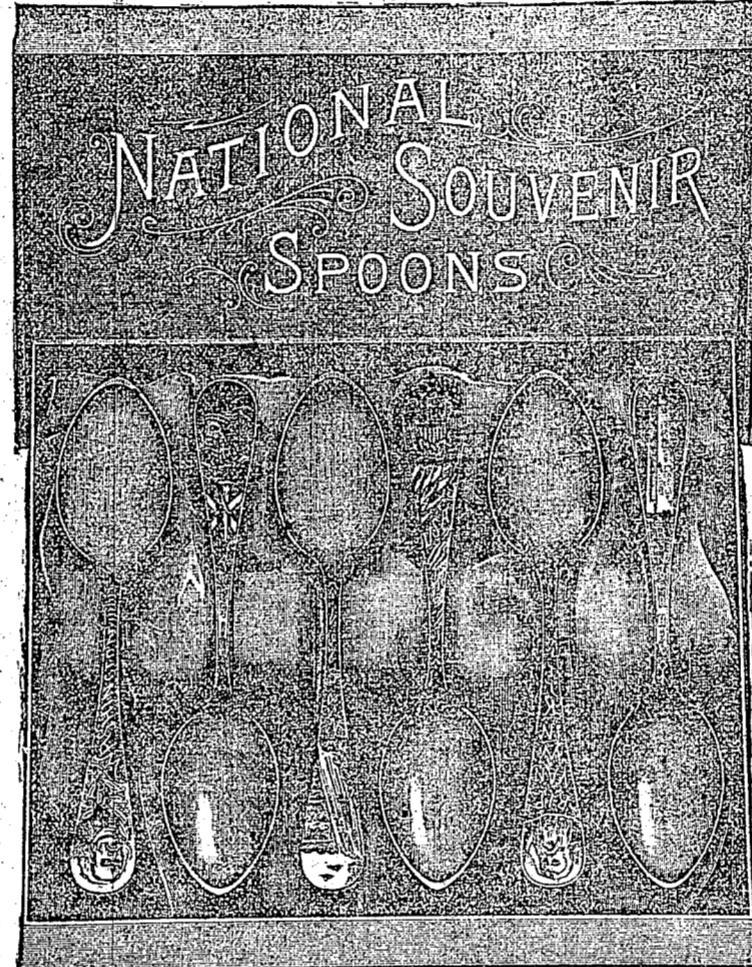
Holding these rights as sacred, and the Government simply as a machine created by the people to establish, protect, and maintain them; and when it failed to accomplish its purpose, to be altered and improved, by the power that made it, till it would do its work, they reasoning that nothing could stand between the people and the enjoyment of their rights. And, I think, no man will stand on this floor to-day and say that it is not true.

Mr. Chairman, if there was no higher authority for these expressions of true liberty, and the method men have the right to adopt to maintain that liberty, than your humble servant, I doubt not but the tools of plutocracy would not only raise the cry of calamity howler but would add to it that of a bloody-handed anarchist, fit only for the hangman's noose.

But, thank God, these words fell from the lips of men tried and true, who loved liberty better than life; men who forsook houses, lands, wives,

Continued on page 10.

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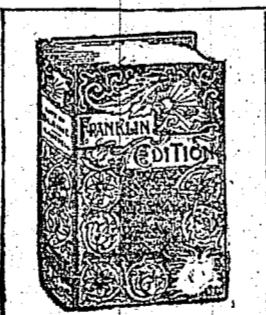
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CONTAINING

1000 Practical Recipes

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IT is the greatest authority in the simplest language, the habits, haunts, diseases and remedies of the entire Animal Kingdom. The author is the world-famous Naturalist, the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S., author of several celebrated works on Animal Life, but now, with so great a fund of information, has published for the first time in America. The clear and descriptive text of the writer is

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SPEECH OF HON. O. M. KEM.
Continued from page 10.

History answers no; from all over this fair land, from this State and that, like foul reports blackening the fair name of virtue, comes the evidence of the subversion of the popular will, of fraud and intrigue, the result of concentrating the vote of the whole State in the hands of a few individuals comprising an intermediate body of which one or two may, and often do, hold the balance of power and actually elect.

Thus we see clearly the great danger arising from the present system in the opportunities offered the birbeteaker, who does not hesitate to sacrifice all honor or friendship for money or political position. To show further the danger of our present method of electing Senators allow me to illustrate. In a legislative body composed of 100 members, fifty-one votes will elect. There are three candidates in the field; one has forty-nine or fifty votes, the balance are divided between the other two. Here we have the votes of millions of so-called freemen, in a land where it is said every man is a sovereign, concentrated into one or two ballots; the sovereign will of the millions gathered into the sovereign will of two individuals who are but human, governed perhaps, as often is the case, by selfish, sordid motives, holding the absolute power to make another man, who is equally human, United States Senator for six years; the result, a deadlock of the legislature for days; the people's business neglected and their money squandered while a selfish contest is waged between two individuals, to end, perhaps, in defeating the will of the people, smirching the reputation of the man elected, and blackening the fair name of those holding the balance of power.

This may seem to some as a statement merely of fiction which the facts will not warrant. To such I say I have dealt in no fiction, but have outlined, in a general way, facts as experienced by many States of this Union, and by some more than once; and I call your attention to Kansas as one of these. In 1873, in the Senatorial contest in that State, a member of the legislature received \$7000 as an inducement to vote for a certain individual for United States Senator—afterwards laid the money on the Speaker's desk, refusing to keep it.

This was followed six years later, in the same State, by a contest no less disgraceful and notorious, and from the West, North, South and East, come tidings from time to time of like unsavory elections, by which the birthright of the people is snatched from them through bribery and fraud.

Benton's predictions that all elections would degenerate into fraud, as the result of intermediate elective bodies, is not only borne out by the history of other governments, but has been fulfilled time and again from every part of our own land since the above words were uttered on the floor of the Senate chamber, and from that day to this the contest between the man and the dollar, as to who should govern this country has gone steadily on, with the odds at this time decidedly in favor of the dollar, and daily becoming more so.

Mr. Chairman, I am on the side of the people in this unequal contest. I therefore support this resolution that seeks to change a system that is unquestionably on the side of the dollar and against the people by permitting a few to cast the votes of the millions, thereby making it possible for the wealthy corporations and trusts to purchase votes sufficient to place an unscrupulous, pliant tool in the United States Senate that would do their bidding and seek to influence legislation in their interests, giving them privileges and advantages over others that no one can have without violating the first principles of government.

It is my opinion that if this principle had not been violated by unjust legislation in years gone by there would not be so many wealthy corporations to influence legislation.

It is quite possible for those who have their millions to bribe one, five, ten, or twenty votes, even in order to accomplish their ends, but it is not possible to bribe a whole State, hence the wisdom of adopting the popular vote in electing all legislative officers. The fear entertained by our Revolutionary fathers that it would not be safe to give the universal franchise to the masses unrestricted may be excused when viewed in the light of the knowledge they had at that time, or rather did not have, of a popular form of government, and it may have been a wise thing to do in that day and date to set forth in glowing words that it was the God-given right of the people to rule themselves, and then adopt a Constitution that curtails that right, and has deceived millions of people into believing they were helping to elect a national President, when in fact they had little or nothing to do with it.

It not only abridges the popular will but, after allowing an expression of that will, it places in the hands

of a few individuals not only the power to abridge but to frustrate entirely the consummation of that will as expressed at the polls, without even the poor privilege of holding the guilty parties responsible for their acts. I repeat, it may have been considered wise in that day, with their lack of experience, and I presume perhaps it was the best they could do at that time, but after a hundred years of practical experience in the direction of popular government, we certainly can take this one step toward a higher and better government, as proposed by the pending resolution.

The question of universal suffrage was discussed long and earnestly in the federal convention, and the present method of electing United States Senators was a compromise between the two extremes, one side holding for direct popular suffrage without any restrictions, and the other contending for a property qualification.

Mr. Madison, in commenting on the above situation, held that while at that time a majority of the nation were freesholders, that the time would come when the majority would be without landed or other equivalent property, and called attention to the danger of property holders allowing that kind of a majority unrestricted suffrage. Mr. Madison's prediction as to the diminution of numbers of property holders of the nation is only too true, and becoming more apparent every day, but he in his reasoning did not seem to grasp the idea that legislation would, or could have anything to do with bringing about this result or that restricting the popular franchise would, or could in any degree be responsible for the aggregation of the property of the country in the hands of the few. Nevertheless, we are firmly convinced that if it had not been for the legislation that gave 191,000,000 acres of the people's land to the railroad corporations more of the people would have homesteads; if it had not been for the wicked, vicious financial legislation in the last twenty-five years more people would own the property of our country. If it was not for the unjust tariff laws of the past and present by which certain classes engaged in certain occupations are guaranteed a profit, while all other classes have not only to run their chances for profits, but must also pay the other fellow profits, there would undoubtedly be more property owners.

But for the unjust, discriminating legislation of the past that gave special privileges in the way of subsidies and grants of different kinds to a favored few, by which wealthy corporations have builded up and become possessed of the necessities of the people, thereby enabling them to charge extortionate prices for the same, there would be many more home owners in this fair land. In short, Mr. Chairman, if all classes of our people in the years gone by could have been represented in the halls of Congress fairly and alike, no class receiving any advantage over another, millions of people would have good, comfortable, happy homes to-day, who are eking out a miserable existence and paying tribute to some landlord or corporation for the privilege of doing it. This state of affairs is not conducive to the well-being or happiness of humanity. Hence general discontent prevails, and the people are earnestly seeking the cause and remedy, and the day of reckoning is coming.

If, then, legislation is so largely responsible for the welfare and happiness of the people, and we think it can not be successfully disputed, is it not time they were watching with jealous eye their law-makers, and taking the necessary steps to secure that equal representation to which the very humblest citizen is entitled. This can not be done successfully till we change our present method of electing our legislative, executive, and judicial officers, and I look upon the pending resolution as a wise, conservative, and necessary step in the direction of reform along this line, that I hope in time may result in a complete revolution in the exercise of the elective franchise by the people, through which every man, woman, and child who is honest and willing to work may have a comfortable home and the necessities of life. Sir, when that can be done we have solved the problem of self-government, fixed it on a sure foundation, established the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, and, so long as maintained, no power on earth can overthrow it. [Applause].

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A DISCARDED WARNING.

Prof. Totten's, of Yale, Views on the Phenomenon of October 20.

Referring to his peculiar views upon events whose shadows he considers are now being cast before, Prof. Totten spoke as follows:

It was not upon the first day of the new era, but upon the last day of the old one that the sun was darkened, and that is what, to me, is so significant, although this was by no means that which first directed my attention to the phenomenon. It was the chronological value of the eclipse that raises it to the importance of that one which occurred upon the battle of Actium, and marked the beginning of the Augustan era. I am very thankful that ours did not happen to fall upon the 21st instead of the 20th. But it is not passing strange that the apocalyptic value of the eclipse of the 20th inst. was left for me to designate, seeing that the scientific world at large had with one consent pronounced the event of "no importance," and had forgotten that the chronologist and historian can find a scientific value where even an astronomer may not.

But, aside from its unique scientific value to the chronologist and historian, this Columbian eclipse of October 20, 1892, let me so call it, has an ominous significance to all who dwell upon the face of the earth, and particularly to us of Minasell, the land of forgetfulness of all our toils and all our Father's house. Let us look more closely at the picture. It was a gaudy day: America was clothed in bunting; its red, white and blue streamers decked the land from North to South, and from East to West, so that from heaven it might have looked like one great panorama of Old Glory.

But those who dwell on high and rule on earth look down with keener eyes than mortals can and see between the bars, and they can see but little for approval, for a land that has forgotten its traditions in a single century is certainly far on the road to a crisis proportionate to a degree of its forgetfulness.

And so it came about that the fingers of a hand appeared upon the walls of heaven and wrote a warning to the world in the sight of all the assembled nations—the representatives of none were missing. For lo, as the ten-mile pageant treaded the broad avenues of Chicago and entered the Exposition grounds a bar sinister was drawn across the scene, and an uncanny heraldic mark studded our bright escutcheon. Where were our augurs then? And where had Daniel been had such a thing bestrewn the plains of Shushan at a festival like that? Think you for one moment that heaven, which hath recorded the number of your very hairs, was ignorant of that eclipse? If so, ye do decide yourselves; for in the very nature of things there can be no accidents, and certainly none like that.

I speak without reference to any party, and to the adherents of all, and I conjure the freemen of this land to commence the new Columbian era by voting once at least, and at once, according to their conscience, and so leave the result with the Lord of Hosts himself. It is only by acting in earnest singleness of heart at this juncture that even we, the most favored nation upon earth, can recover strength enough to see just where this nation stands, and so, perchance, conserve our resources to meet the coming crisis. For unless all signs must go for naught, and the voice of history, chronology and astronomy are mocking that of prophecy, we are already at the edge of days when human hearts will surely melt except they be found upon the side of right and justice and are strong in those eternal principles which gave our land its pristine glory.

Those who do not believe in a coming millennium should certainly do their utmost to realize its ideal insofar as possible, and those who do should vote as though the golden age was here. Finally, upon the 4th of November, a day of memory in the land of Ephriani, across the sea, this same moon that on the 20th of October cast its new shadow upon the land of Mana-sen, will rise full in perimeter and totally eclipsed in turn, but this time only on the old world of Columbus. The phenomenon will, of course, synchronize with historical events by which chronology at least may again be fixed for the benefit of ages that mankind so confidently expects to come, and which I, for one, sincerely trust will also realize the desire of all nations.

The First Parliament of Religions.

Of all the signs and prognostics that make up the world's hopeful outlook, by far the most dazzling and extraordinary is the plan of a universal congress of religions, to be held in connection with the World's Fair at Chicago next year. The idea has been growing constantly, both in the minds of the projectors and in the imaginations and hearts of the religious and ethical leaders of all lands and faiths, ever since it was first suggested. It is now far beyond the stage merely of a beautiful conception, and has become an assured fact. There was the necessity first of a cordial co-operation in our own country on the part of religious leaders of every denomination. And when all the great prelates of the Catholic church with most sincere cordiality joined hands with the denominational leaders of every shade of Protestantism, and with the rabbis of the Jewish church as well, there was practical certainty that the project could not come short of a very substantial success.

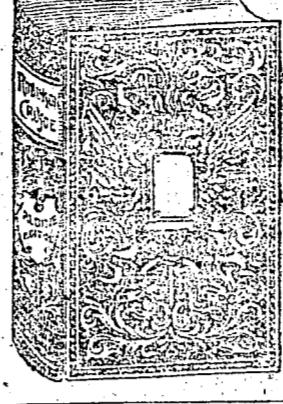
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Famous Authors'

WOMEN'S RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE

Except Females Who Have Individualized Their Personality
By PROF. A. P. A. STRAIO.

From the fact that the political power of a Republican government is vested in her citizens, it follows that the distinction in suffrage should not be governed by the sex, but by consistency and justice.

In view hereof, I conclude that all persons who are sane have a right of suffrage, while idiots, lunatics and paupers are excluded, being that they cannot exercise it understandingly; and also excluding minors, and such females who have personified themselves with males through marriage.

So that by "person" I mean any sane individual who arrives at or over a certain specified age when endowed with sufficient understanding, and excluding such females who have individualized their personality with males through marriage.

That those women who have individualized their personality with males through marriage, or women who are married, have no right of suffrage, is for the reason that it is inconsistent; being that man and wife are working for one and the same interest (which at least they must do for their well-being) for the wife to vote with her husband would constitute but one vote in the end, and just so much performance for nothing. Besides, would both the husband and wife be granted the right of suffrage, it undoubtedly, in many instances, would cause contention between them and produce unhappiness.

And, of course, as voting is of such a nature which is more appropriate or suitable to be attended to by the husband than the wife, it is the most consistent for the right of suffrage to be given to the husband.

But those women who are unmarried and arrived at or over the respective age, when endowed with sufficient understanding, have a right of suffrage; since they are independent persons acting for themselves, and subject the same as male persons to the laws which are established in way of suffrage. For instance, such women are required to pay taxes on their land or property (if they own any) the same as male persons, are sued for judgment in case of litigation the same as male persons, and are fined, imprisoned, or doomed to capital punishment, according to the degree of crime, the same as male persons.

It being, then, that the respective women share equally in the benefits the Government affords, and bear equally the penalties for the perpetration of wrongs, the same as male persons, to disallow them the privilege of voting and give it entirely to the male persons would give such male persons the ability to establish laws which would be unfavorable to them and favorable to themselves to that extent. But for one class of persons in a government to be given the power of establishing laws favorable to themselves, and another class made powerless and required to be subject to the laws of the other class, is no just claim and no right.

For women, then, who retain their own personality (maiden or widow) and arrived at, or over the respective age, when endowed with sufficient understanding to be given the right of suffrage, whereby they are enabled to execute their sentiments, and assist to establish laws in their behalf equally as well, is a right and should be secured to them.

It also follows that should a husband be an invalid the wife should have the right of suffrage. And I don't know but what it would be the promotion of temperance and justice for there to be a law to deprive drunken husbands of the right of suffrage and the right given to the wife.

Some may say, "even was the right of suffrage given to such women, not but a few would exercise it." This may be true, but it is to be known that a free republican form of government can not be partial to any one class of persons, even if all do not appreciate them. This too, for instance, might have been said about the servants when our Republic was first established. But this would not have been conformable with justice. The servants had a right to these privileges the same as other persons, even if at first they were not so shrewd, and not so apt to make use of them. Thus, women who retain their personality, and arrived at, or over the respective age when endowed with sufficient understanding have a right to these privileges the same as other persons, even if at first they are not so shrewd and not so apt to exercise them.

Others may say, "but this marching of women to the polls is so despicable." But this is a gross error; it is no more despicable nor dishonorable for women to be seen at

one place than another, when their pursuance is deserving and just. No more for them to march to the polls and vote their sentiments than to go or march to a picnic or to an orathæum.

Notwithstanding women, who retain their own personality and arrived at, or over a specified age, have a right of suffrage, this does not imply that they should hold office. Something similar is the officeship with respect to such females, and the males as is business with respect to the husband and wife. But business is performed by the husband and wife according with whom it is the most consistent. So, also, offices must be fulfilled by either males or females according with whom it is the most consistent. But for males to hold office is universally the most consistent. Therefore, males should hold office and not the females. That it is the most consistent for males to hold office is for the reason that they are not subject to house work; wear more suitable apparel to get about in, and are more becoming for filling the offices, as the persons with whom the transactions are performed are mostly of the male population.

Nevertheless, should the people of a certain political division wish a female of the characteristic spoken of to hold an office, it would be right for her to be elected and fill the office.

THE ECONOMIST does not agree with Professor Straio in many of his deductions. It would be pleased to have this article replied to by any of the brilliant galaxy of women whose intellect and influence have done more to advance good government, than the votes of their sires in the last thirty years. Ed.]

Individualism.
W. J. TUCKER, in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for October.

I confess to you that I anticipate with a profound faith the advantage to character from the larger education of the individual in his relations to others, provided these relations are taught according to the reality and breadth of the underlying fact. The training of the schools in this direction has already begun. The number of text-books inculcating the social duty, issued within the past years, is surprising, some of them of very great merit. Indeed, it may be said that we are beginning to work toward the social, in distinction from the individualistic ideal. As a careful observer has recently remarked:

"The individualistic ideal is still the one which is actually dominant; but it can scarcely be doubted that it has ceased to be that which governs the thought of those who are under five-and-twenty; and there is some danger now that we may begin to forget the element of truth which was contained in it. Enthusiasm is on the other side."

We cannot forget the truth which lies at the heart of individualism any more than we can forget the joy of liberty, but we may fail to reach the full truth which lies at the other pole. The understanding of the organic in humanity is far more than the knowledge of social rights and duties. In a very true sense it lies below the ethical. It is the apprehension of the fact from which the ethical is an inference. As St. Paul says, in enforcing the organic element in Christianity, "We are members one of another"—that is the new Christian fact—"wherefore putting away falsehood, speak ye truth, each one with his neighbor. Let him that stole, steal no more; but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have thereof to give to him that hath need. Let no corrupt speech proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good for edifying, that it may give grace to them that hear," and so on, step by step, rising from the fact inference by inference, till it reaches the sublime duty of forgiveness. In like manner we need to go down in all our social teachings to the broad underlying fact of the organic humanity, to uncover, expound, illustrate, vivify the fact. So shall we get strength and vitality for every legitimate inference in the way of a duty which can be drawn from it. We shall give to our general social duties something of the imperativeness and urgency of nature, qualities which have as yet been developed and honored only in the life of the family.

Of course there is a danger, which anyone may emphasize, to the development of personality on this side, from the present stimulus of the social want. It is hard to generalize in the presence of the concrete, hard to think to any purpose about poverty when the beggar is knocking at your door. We are apt to take refuge in hasty and ill-advised action, and get the sure result of it in an enfeebled social character. Sympathy, which acts without reference to principles, makes it more difficult to establish principles. The philan-

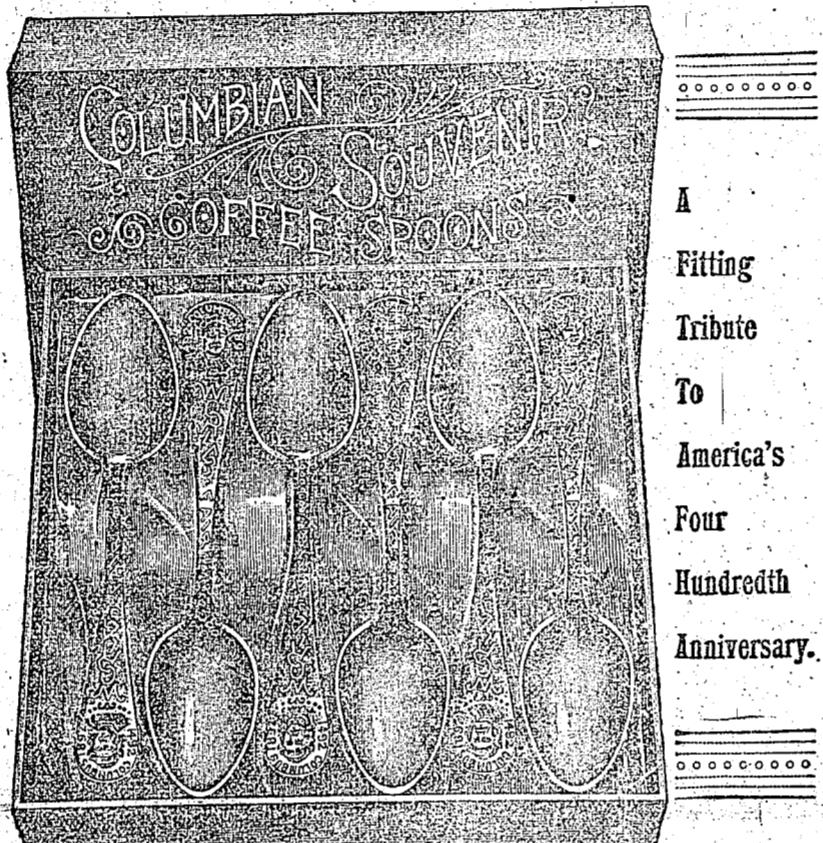
thropy which is content to relieve the sufferer from wrong social conditions postpones the philanthropy which is determined at any cost to right those conditions. Let us not, however, bewail overmuch our circumstances, nor ignore the advantage of them. Mere contact with the world may tend to superficiality, but we can, if we will, go deeper into the world. Men may distract us with their hurrying to and fro, but there is always a point of equilibrium somewhere in the mass. Our social environment has its use in the development of personality, as it has its necessity. Say what we will of the desert and wilderness, whence came of old the voice of the prophet, we are in and of the city, and our only way to escape men is to get nearer to them, to press through the outer confusion to the common and inner life, which understood, all else becomes intelligible.

And I may add that here, too, lies the only way of escaping the commonplace. The charge is frequently made that if we subordinate the individualistic idea, the commonplace is our ultimate goal. Two exceptions to this sweeping charge are evident. Genius knows no ideals, nor, as far as we can discover, conditions. As we have not been able to produce it, it is not likely that we

shall be able to prevent it. And the heroic belongs in like degree to the unexpected and incalculable. When you open your morning paper you do not know from what source the tidings of the unselfish act will come to you, which will help you to keep faith in your kind and in yourself. But these aside, is it not true—true not only now but permanently—that the ascending path to individual greatness lies through the thick of humanity rather than along the outskirts of it?

No SENTENCE in Blaine's Ophir speech reads more significantly than its close. "It is interesting and suggestive to look over the platform of the two parties and see how much alike they are in several vital measures after the real and decisive issues have been stated. If parties would aim to discover and define those subjects on which there is a vital difference of opinion and would confine discussion to those issues, it would not only simplify the contest and be a welcome relief to the candidates, but would also greatly help in arriving at the truth, which is the ultimate object of popular discussion and popular election."

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envelope, and a portrait of Columbus on the handle finely engraved. They are charming souvenirs of our four hundredth anniversary year. The

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Farmers,	Ink Makers,	Lumber Dealers,	Confiders,	Varnishers,	Gas Burners,	INTERPARCE,	MONEY,	TEAR,
Stock-raisers,	Hatters,	Hatters,	Codgers,	Gloves,	Glove Cleaners,	MEMORY,	OUR MUTUAL FRIEND,	TEMPERANCE,
Carpenters,	Opticians,	Whitewashers,	Brewers,	Glovers,	Gloves,	NATURE,	CHRISTMAS STORIES,	THOUGHT,
Plasterers,	Scrap-makers,	Whitewashers,	Brewers,	Ferrari,	Gymnasticks,	NEWSPAPER,	OLIVER TWIST,	TIME,
Liquor Dealers,	Trappers,	Painters,	Brewers,	Hardware Dealers,	Carpenters,	OPINION,	KEEPASKE,	UNDERSTANDING,
Mercants,	Trappers,	Painters,	Brewers,	Builders,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	VIRTUE,
Druggists,	Trappers,	Painters,	Brewers,	Brewers,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	VICE,
Photographers,	Trappers,	Painters,	Brewers,	Brewers,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	WIFE,
Architects,	Trappers,	Painters,	Brewers,	Brewers,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	WEALTH,
Artists,	Trappers,	Painters,	Brewers,	Brewers,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	YARDS,
Bakers,	Trappers,	Painters,	Brewers,	Brewers,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	YOUTH,
Confectioners,	Trappers,	Painters,	Brewers,	Brewers,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	ZEAL.
Engineers,	Inspectors,	Painters,	Brewers,	Brewers,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	
Flour Dealers,	Inspectors,	Painters,	Brewers,	Brewers,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	
Glass Workers,	Painters,	Painters,	Brewers,	Brewers,	Carpenters,	KEEPASKE,	KEEPASKE,	

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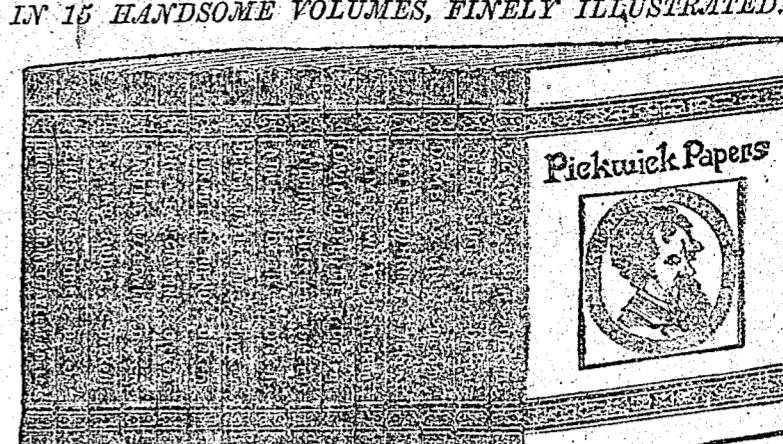
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DEDICATED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 8.

WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 19, 1892.

No. 10.

VOTE BY STATES

As Gleaned from Latest Dispatches Throughout the Country.

It Will Require the Official Count to Settle the Result in Several States—The Reform Vote Makes a Good Showing.

ALABAMA.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Nov. 9.—Incomplete returns show a majority for Cleveland of about 25,000. Chairman Shelley of the Democratic committee says Cleveland's majority cannot fall under 25,000. This is regarded as a conservative estimate.

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., Nov. 9.—From the returns now at hand it appears that Cleveland's plurality in this State will closely approximate 25,000.

CALIFORNIA FIGURES REVERSED.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., Nov. 11.—Complete returns from all but 289 precincts in the State to-night give Harrison 106,730, Cleveland 103,037, and Weaver 20,997; Harrison's plurality 3,625. It is believed Harrison has carried the State by a small plurality, if it will probably take the official count to decide, unless Cleveland's majority in this city exceeds 7000.

It is generally conceded that the next State legislature of California will be Democratic by a majority of three on joint ballot.

EMPHASIZED IN COLORADO.

DENVER, COLO., Nov. 10.—With three unimportant counties missing, the Weaver electors have 13,992 majority. The whole fusion State ticket is elected by safe majorities. Pence, Populist and Democratic candidate for Congress in the first district, has 2500 plurality, and Bell, Populist-Democrat, has at least 12,000 majority in the second district.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON, DEL., Nov. 11.—The official count shows the following vote for the State complete: Cleveland, 18,578; Harrison, 18,067; Bidwell, 559. Cleveland's plurality, 506. Congress, Causey (Dem.), 18,544; Willis (Rep.), 18,060; Price (Pro.), 568. Causey's plurality, 474.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, GA., Nov. 8.—Georgia has rolled up her old-time Democratic majority. Instead of falling below the 70,000 majority of the State election four weeks ago it will reach 100,000, and perhaps exceed that.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO, Nov. 9.—The Republican State Central Committee concedes Illinois to the Democrats on national and State tickets, and admits the election of twelve of the twenty-two Congressmen by the Democrats. The legislature is still in doubt, with the chances favorable to the Democrats, as they certainly have the Senate and are dangerously near a majority in the house.

IT IS ABOUT 8000 IN INDIANA.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., Nov. 10.—Only fifteen counties have reported officially. The figures do not materially vary from the first reports made to the Democratic State Committee. Cleveland's plurality will be about 8000, but the Democratic State Committee positively assert that it will run up to 10,000.

Senator Voorhees says the revolution in the West and Northwest was due to the tariff question and that it is permanent.

KANSAS.

The Topeka State Journal (Rep.) has conceded the election of Weaver and Leavelling by 8000 to 10,000 majority. Also the Populist legislature.

the Democratic national ticket in this State will reach 36,500.

SOME MAINE FIGURES.

AUGUSTA, ME., Nov. 10.—One hundred and seventy-five cities and towns give Harrison 31,802, Cleveland 23,819.

MARYLAND COMPLETE.

BALTIMORE, MD., Nov. 9.—Complete Democratic returns from all parts of the State give Cleveland a plurality of 21,263, against 6182 in 1888. The Prohibition vote in the State was nearly 5000, and the Populist about 1000. The successful nominees for Congress are all Democrats. The Australian ballot system was introduced at this election, and worked like a charm.

MICHIGAN.

DETROIT, MICH., Nov. 9.—Of Michigan's 14 Presidential electors the Democrats have certainly elected electors in the Eastern district-at-large, and in the First, Second, Seventh and Tenth Congressional districts, a total of five. The Eighth district is still in doubt.

Of Michigan's Congressional delegation the Democrats elect five and the Republicans twelve. Rich, Republican candidate for governor, is elected by 8000 or more, and the balance of the Republican State ticket is probably elected. The Populist vote in the State will hardly exceed 12,000. Fifty to seventy-five thousand had been expected.

Both parties claim the legislature, which will choose a successor to Senator Stockbridge (Rep.), but the returns at hand indicate that the Republicans will have a very narrow majority on joint ballot.

LATEST FIGURES FROM MINNESOTA.

ST. PAUL, MINN., Nov. 10.—Harrison's plurality in the State over the straight Democratic electors is 16,239. Both parties claim the legislature, but it seems likely that Davis (Rep.) will succeed himself.

THE PLURALITIES IN MISSOURI.

KANSAS CITY, NOV. 10.—Missouri's plurality for Cleveland is about 30,000, and for Stone, Democrat, for governor, about 10,000.

MONTANA.

BILLINGS, MONT., Nov. 11.—Later returns from this State show the election of the Harrison electors by about 500 plurality. Richards, Republican, is elected governor by about 5500 plurality, and Hartman, Republican, to Congress by about 350 plurality. The legislature is very close.

NEBRASKA GOES REPUBLICAN.

OMAHA, NEB., Nov. 11.—The best indications are after all that Nebraska, which the Alliance claimed, and they attempted to make absolutely certain by fusion, with the Democrats, has been carried by the Republicans. Four-fifths of returns are in and Harrison electors lead by 1100. Those counties to be heard from were Republican in 1890. The entire State ticket is Republican. Crouse, governor, leads with 10,000 plurality, and the least plurality of the remainder is 2000.

NEW JERSEY.

Corrected returns, very carefully gathered, shows that Grover Cleveland carried New Jersey by a plurality of 14,800. Judge Werst's plurality for governor is about 6000. Some precincts in Burlington, Cumberland and Warren counties are missing, and the vote from Mercer is not official, but it is certain that the Judge's plurality is not less than 6000 and it may be as much as 7000. It is somewhere about midway between these two figures.

NEW YORK.

Latest returns from New York State give Cleveland 44,994. Chairman Carter, of the Republican National Committee, sent the following telegram to President Harrison:

The returns show that we have been defeated by a pronounced majority. The defeat can only be attributed to a reaction against the progressive policies of the Republican party.

THOS. H. CARTER, Chairman.

RETURN SLOW FROM NEW MEXICO.

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M., Nov. 11.—The Democrats are claiming the territory for Joseph (Congressional) Democrat, by at least 500 votes. The

Republicans do not concede them the territory.

POPULISTS WIN IN NORTH DAKOTA.

FARGO, N. D., Nov. 10.—The Republicans have probably lost the seat of Mr. Casey in the United States Senate. The returns received so far indicate that the fusionists will control the legislature, which will choose Senator Casey's successor. It is believed that the entire fusion ticket has been elected, except for Congressman, and that the secretary of state, Shortridge, is elected governor over Burks, the Republican nominee.

STRIKES OKLAHOMA.

GUTHRIE, OKL., Nov. 11.—Reports from nearly all the counties in the territory show that the Democrats will have both branches of the legislature.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Revised returns from Pennsylvania give Harrison plurality of 62,475, a Democratic gain of 15,256.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

PIERRE, S. D., Nov. 10.—Complete and partial returns from nineteen out of fifty-one counties give Harrison 14,503, Weaver 11,559, and Cleveland 3435. Counties to hear from, it is believed, cannot reduce Harrison's majority. The Democratic and People's committees still claim the State for the Weaver electors.

TEXAS.

WACO, TEX., Nov. 11.—Late last night, after having figured up returns received during the evening, Judge Clark conceded the election of Hogg by about 25,000 plurality. Legislature in doubt.

WASHINGTON.

SPOKANE, WASH., Nov. 11.—Returns to the Review indicate that of the forty members of the legislature from this side of the mountains thirty will be Republicans and ten Democrats. Harrison carried the State.

WEST VIRGINIA.

WHEELING, W. VA., Nov. 11.—Returns from about three-fourths of the State show that the Democratic plurality on national and State tickets will be between 3000 and 5000. All four of the Democratic candidates for Congress are elected by pluralities ranging from 200 to 1000.

WISCONSIN.

Returns from Wisconsin show that the democratic plurality in the State is fully 5000. With fifty-one out of eighty-six counties in the State complete, the figures are as follows: Cleveland, 25,904; Harrison, 19,136.

A DEMOCRATIC SENATOR.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., Nov. 9.—The Republicans admit the election of Peck (Dem.) for governor by a small plurality and that the electoral vote goes to Cleveland.

Four of the ten Congressmen are probably Republicans.

The legislature is Democratic and a Democrat will succeed United States Senator Sawyer.

Democratic Chairman Wall says: "The plurality of Cleveland and Peck is about 13,000. The returns are incomplete, but late returns will not make any material difference."

WYOMING.

ST. LOUIS, NOV. 11.—The Globe-Democrat: "About all the returns have been received from the far off counties in the State of Wyoming. As near as can be ascertained, there were about 20,000 votes cast. Osborne (Dem.), governor-elect, has 2500 majority. Caffen (Dem.), Congressman-elect, has 1000 majority over Clarke, the most popular Republican in the State. Chairman Vandeventer, of the Republican committee, concedes the legislature.

What Next?

NEW YORK, NOV. 11.—Said Mr. Chauncey M. Depew in an interview to-day: "There has been a good deal of talk about Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Erick. Now, we charge Mr. Frick with having voted the Democratic ticket. I declare that he did not contribute to the campaign fund, nor did Mr. Carnegie."

THE CAUSE OF IT

Excuses for the Landslide Toward Free Trade.

Senator Perkins Emits a Calamity Howl Unequalled by Any Ever Charged to the Agriculturists.

"Uncle Jerry" Has a Word to Say.

TOPKA, KAN., Nov. 12.—Senator Perkins says:

I believe we have lost on account of the stupidity and mismanagement of the Republican National Committee. At the outset the advantages were all with us; the logic of the situation was with us; the argument was ours; the party and work of the administration were with us, and with good management we should have been beaten.

I believe our defeat is due to the rainbow chasing of the Republican National Committee. Instead of giving their attention to the Republican sections of the country, they neglected and overlooked the Republican States almost entirely.

They dissipated and wasted their efforts where there was no reason to expect Republican success. Instead of aiding Kansas and the Republican States of the Northwest and looking after Western New York and Ohio, they wasted their strength in Tennessee, New Carolina, Alabama, West Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey and Missouri. The result of this is the election of Cleveland.

In Kansas and other Republican States but little, if any, assistance was received from the national committee. The only speaker of national importance sent to Kansas was McKinley, and he was only allowed to cross the Missouri river long enough to make one speech, and then at a place as near out of the State as it could be and not be entirely. They thought Kansas was all right anyway, and did not need any assistance.

The Spirit of Unrest.

Chairman Taubeneck of the People's Party National Campaign Committee, in discussing the election, said to a St. Louis reporter:

The revolution at the polls seems to me due first to the spirit of unrest, of discontent and dissatisfaction among the people of the nation, and, second, to the fact that the old party ties are loosened, if not broken. It has taken the American people long years to discover that a tariff is a tax and that the foreign manufacturer does not pay this tax. It has cost them millions of dollars to learn and solve this question. It will now take them years to learn that a tariff for revenue will not remove the burden of which they complain. In my opinion the people have simply jumped out of one fire into another.

The People's party will reorganize immediately and prepare for the next contest. We are right, and will not turn our backs on the principles that we have advocated on money, land and transportation, before which the tariff question sinks into insignificance. The power of money must be taken from individuals and corporations and placed in the hands of the people on the same principle as our postoffice system is conducted to-day.

The land and transportation planks will not receive the pre-eminence that they have in the past, at least. We shall center our entire fight on the money question.

Uncle Jerry on the Clean Sweep.

CHICAGO, NOV. 10.—Secretary Jeremiah M. Rusk, on his way back to Washington after voting for Harrison in his home in Wisconsin, was asked his opinion on the result: "We were cleaned out; that's all there is about it," said he, referring to Tuesday.

"In my opinion the tariff was the whole and sole cause of it. There had been a howl about the tariff everywhere, and then the Homestead affair made the laboring class discontented. Undoubtedly there has been a change of public sentiment as to the tariff. The reform spirit is growing, and the result has been a clean sweep."

The South Praises Tammany.

CHARLESTON, S. C., NOV. 11.—The editors in this State are just now joining in a pean of praise to Tammany for its work on Tuesday last, and they only voice the sentiment of the Democracy of the Palmetto State, which was dangerously near straying from the fold. Here is a specimen of the prevailing style of epigram from the Greenville News:

Opinions must be changed all around. Hill has showed up clean, clear and white, and thirty-eight inches wide. And Tammany—Oh! Tammany, Tammany.

The fuzz on the sheep began to look wild and woolly.

striped, clawed, and with teeth nine inches long—how she did show up! or be rather, for no female thing ever had the ferocity, the face, the strength that Tammany manifested on Tuesday. There was no treason or baiting or fooling. Without the feeling of confidence given by the work of powerful and energetic Tammany organization the Democrats in other States could not have felt the vim and hope which moved them to unceasing, effective work. Don't forget that Tammany has done magnificently, and that the Irish have stood by their old friends.

If there comes a chance in the next four years for our Government to do a good turn for any "Mick," or the land or cause he loves, we should be careful not to forget the help he gave with vote, voice and fist, in rolling up that 110,000 majority with which Cleveland went to Harlan. To the New York Sun (on its "no force bill, no negro domination" cry) belongs the credit of getting the solid South together once more, and Tammany has emphasized and perfected the work.

New Orleans Strike Off.

NEW ORLEANS, NOV. 11.—At 2 o'clock this morning the strike was declared off. It is agreed:

First—That the laborers who went out on strike on October 22, 1892, shall be taken back to their employment as soon as they offer their services, in so far as it does not conflict with contracts already made.

Second—Wages and hours to be arbitrated.

Third—It is further agreed that the merchants, boss draymen and other employers obligate themselves not to make any unjust discrimination against union men, but always give their applications for employment first consideration, the merchants and other employers reserving to themselves the right to deal directly with the men.

The parties to this agreement declare that they will use their best endeavors to adjust any differences which may result or may have resulted from any strike made from sympathy with the strikers herein.

The arbitration clause No. 2 to be effected within the next forty-eight hours.

THE COLUMBUS STRIKE ALSO SETTLED.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, NOV. 11.—At 3 o'clock this morning the strike of the street railway employees was settled amicably. After several propositions, both by the company and employees, all of which were rejected, it was agreed by both parties that Mayor Karp should be sole arbitrator of the trouble, and pending his investigation the men were to return to work. The cars are running as usual this morning.

A Speakership Fight.

While it is almost certain that Speaker Crisp will be elected to preside over the next House, there is nevertheless already some talk of the advisability of choosing a more ardent tariff reformer for the office.

It is hinted that men like Wilson, of West Virginia; the two Breckinridges; McMillan, of Tennessee, and Johnson, of Ohio, who want no half-way tariff measures, will, during the coming winter, quietly determine the possibilities of electing an unequivocal low-tariff Democrat for Speaker.

Should this programme be carried out, there is some likelihood of a lively struggle next spring, before the extra session is convened, between the old followers of Mr. Mills on the one side, and of the present Speaker on the other.

Until the news of Cleveland's sweeping victory reached Alabama, we were conceded two Congressmen, but now the Democrats claim the entire State by a good majority and I do not know whether the count is over or not.

Although, not victors, I assure you we are not falterers and will continue to fight for our demands.

TO OWN RAILROADS

Is to be an Uncrowned King—George Vanderbilt's Country Retreat.

The magnificent country seat of Mr. George Vanderbilt, now in course of construction near Asheville, N. C., is steadily progressing, though several years will be required to bring the work to completion. Leaving the station at Biltmore—from the Dutch bilt (hill) and more (valley), the visitor entering the estate is driven over a fine wide macadamized road, five miles in length, which leads to the house. The winding character of the road and the gradual ascent gives one no idea of attaining any height until the superb site selected for the building is reached, when the splendid panorama of the surrounding country is presented to view. The far stretching blue hills on all sides, the ever changing woods and forests, now in the brilliant regalia of variegated attire.

The splendor and brilliancy of the autumnal coloring in the mountains has been commented upon too often to be repeated, but if nature repeats itself each year its effects are ever new and various. Language at least can give no idea of the glowing radiance of the past October in the woods of North Carolina. The vivid foliage and the luminous transparency of the atmosphere—trees of flowing purple, deep maroon and all shades of russet brown, of burnished gold and of blazing sumac; all the colors of the rainbow adorning the earth, a carnival of brilliance wherein the prismatic rays have harmonized, mingled and radiated into countless monotonies and half tints that baffle the brush of the artist and defy the foolish pen of him who attempts description.

Through this wonderfully beautiful country the French Broad River winds its picturesque way. Another little stream, equally beautiful, and abounding in charming bits of scenery is the Swannanoa, a careless, impracticable vagabond sort of a river, with great straggling trees lying protecting over its narrow bed, with interlacing branches above, and whose banks are almost as dense with foliage as the rambling bayous of Louisiana. These two streams add no little to the beauty of Mr. Vanderbilt's estate, which covers a territory of 10,000 acres. Both banks of the French Broad River, which passes through the estate, are owned by Mr. Vanderbilt.

The grounds surrounding the house are being converted into an ornamental park by Olmstead, whose achievements in landscape gardening give him a national reputation. The World's Fair grounds are now under his supervision, while Central Park is an eloquent testimonial of his taste and skill. Along the roadway of the beautiful grounds the North Carolina glen flowers are distributed with great prodigality and with a studied sort of carelessness which seems to emphasize the picturesque element on the natural woods. A mountain stream rippling and tumbling along, or sedately pursuing its way, borders a mile or more of the road, along the banks of which runs a rustic stone ledge, over which the wild honeysuckle climbs in graceful profusion. The up-sloping hill-sides are covered with rhododendrons and nasturtiums, and when these are blossoming by thousands in June, the color effect is wonderfully brilliant. Eight miles of arboretum is devoted to the cultivation of trees and shrubs from all parts of the world possible to be grown in North Carolina. Plants and trees are set out by thousands. The deer park embraces 800 acres. Game of all kinds, both American and foreign, will be introduced into these preserves.

The agricultural department, with 1200 acres under cultivation, is under the charge of Baron d'Allange. This department includes many interesting features which cannot at this time be enumerated. Among the live stock are 150 Jersey cows and quantities of sheep. Milk, cream and butter from the dairy are supplied to the Kenilworth Inn and other hotels about Asheville.

BUT little idea of the building, beyond its immensity, can be gathered at this time, since the first floor is not yet completed—unless one examines the maps and designs of Richard Hunt, the foremost American architect. The style of the structure is late renaissance. The material, white sandstone from Indiana. Strength, beauty and simplicity are the three characteristics presented to the mind in contemplating this plan. The solidity of the foundations gives the impression of some great fortress impervious alike to storm and weather whose impregnable front seems to defy the relentless and desecrating hand of time. The plan of archi-

PRACTICAL SOCIALISM.

English Workmen Have Struggled Manfully to Better Their Condition.

From the French of "M. G." in the Paris Revue des Revues.

Some time since, Mr. A. Fleming published in a Belgian journal some very curious information on the actual condition of workingmen in Europe. His latest work is devoted to the material condition of English workingmen. The most interesting fact is, that there is no country in Europe in which the working classes have struggled with more ardor to better their condition than in England. Mr. Fleming divides English workingmen into three classes: Organized workingmen, partly enrolled under the banner of professional unions, partly connected with some co-operative mutual aid society; workingmen not organized, or ordinary workingmen, who, either through their own fault or on account of the circumstances in which they are placed, find themselves totally outside of any organization, and therefore unarmed in the war against capital; the paupers, workingmen necessarily indigent, who are obliged to receive public assistance in order to have even the most pitiful means of existence. The organized workingmen, thanks to a strong and intelligent organization, and to a very advanced economic education, have been able to ameliorate their material condition wonderfully.

A report of Mr. Robert Giffin, a former president of the Royal Society of Statistics at London, shows that the salaries of the year 1883, compared with those of the period from 1825 to 1835, are at least 20 per cent higher, in the greatest number of cases 50 per cent higher, and in one or two cases exceed an increase of 100 per cent.

The official statistics furnished in 1883 to the board of trade by Mr. John Burnett, the correspondent of labor of that board, prove that salaries have not decreased since that time. It should not be forgotten, however, that salaries vary in the same trade and at the same time of the year, according to location. But in every case it must be admitted that locomotive firemen receive from 3 1/4 francs to 6 francs a day, ship builders from 9 1/2 to 10 francs a day. London typesetters 1 franc an hour, binders 40 francs a week, tinsmiths 45 francs a week, carpenters about 50 francs a week, etc. Now, as is seen, salaries of these organized workingmen most generally exceed those of Belgian and German workingmen.

The question of agricultural workers presents itself under another aspect. According to the census of 1880, there were a million field laborers. It is incontestable that the hygienic nature of work in the fields and existence in the country offers great compensations to the farm laborer in place of the advantages which the artisan enjoys in the great centers. According to Dr. B. W. Richardson, the greatest authority in England in such matters, the average life of an agricultural workman is one-tenth longer than that of other workingmen. In Great Britain the cultivation of cereals is, to a great extent, replaced by cattle raising. Very often half of the land is converted into permanent pastures. Thus, out of the 26,000,000 of acres which constitute the agricultural land of England, 12,000,000 are used for pasture lands. This state of things necessitates a decrease of hand work, and, in the opinion of Alfred Richard Wallace, in this element was found the Mosaic law authorizing the death penalty for murder and for not less than thirty offenses. Strange to say, the followers of the new religion selected out of these for arbitrary preservation the very one which was most distinctly revenging in its nature. It seems almost unaccountable that this should have been done in spite of the express abrogation of the law in so many words by Jesus Christ.

In later centuries, this crude notion of justice, based upon passion and matured into a sacred tradition, found fertile and congenial soil for its development in the original brutality of the Anglo-Saxon race. For these reasons and through these channels, we have to day transmitted to us, and engrained upon our American institutions, this surviving evidence of the early cruelty of mankind, this monument to the influence of custom and prejudice, this tangible tribute to the enslaving power of hereditary habits of thought. Its only plausible reason for continued existence is set forth in the frequently iterated opinions that the authoritative execution of a criminal tends to prevent the commission of capital crimes. In these later days, however, this time-honored notion has been examined with the usual critical skepticism of

the age. The result is not favorable to the traditional view. It has gradually dawned upon the minds of thinking men that the way to prevent crime is to keep the passions of the people quiet, rather than to terrorize them. The necessity or utility of capital punishment is not demonstrated either by reason or experience. Those who have looked most profoundly into the question have pretty generally arrived at the conclusion that the prevention of crime is simply a problem of education. When I use the term education in this connection I mean it to embrace every item of influence usually brought to bear upon the individual or the community of individuals. From this point of view, what can we say of the spectacle of an execution as an educational influence? The commission of a crime means a disturbance of that proper balance which should exist between the malevolent passions and the power of control. In the criminal, the former are overmastering in their strength or the latter is relatively weak. Hence, whatever tends to stir up a malignant passion or to weaken the self control is a logical cause of crime, and, conversely, the remedy is to hold the one in abeyance, and to develop the strength and educate the consistency of the other.

Does the deliberate taking of a human life by the State—whether publicly or privately conducted—tend to do these two things? It terrorizes, undoubtedly, but it brutalizes. The terror it inspires has its limit and its reaction, the brutality remains to be handed down as a precious heritage to another generation. It infallibly prevents the one man from committing another crime, but it helps to make potential criminals of a hundred more. The only safety for a community against murder lies in the direction of a universal respect for the sanctity of human life. No system of terrorism, can take the place of this. The death penalty certainly does not promote this feeling. On the contrary, like all other scenes of violence, it tends to stir up dormant impulses, which, in their turn, will give rise to other deeds of the like kind.

ENORMOUS LAND HOLDINGS.

Great West, Minnesota.

The Vanderbilts own over 20,000,000 acres of land. Some one has recently said that "in the early years of the twentieth century there will be a billionaire in this country, and it will be a Vanderbilt." Should things go on as they are getting at the present time, there will be more than one billionaire in the coming century. Less than thirty-five years ago millionaires were as scarce as "hen's teeth" in this land, but, through the (mis)management of Government affairs, under class legislation and corrupt politicians, and the machinations of Wall street, they have multiplied as thistles in a wheat field in the form of corporations, combines and syndicates, until, in every city of any considerable size in this country they are counted by the scores, hundreds or thousands. There is one man, Mr. Disston of Pennsylvania, who owns over 4,000,000 acres of land. The Standard Oil Company has 1,000,000 and Murphy, of California, an area equal to the State of Massachusetts. There are 21,000,000 acres in the hands of foreigners who are no friends to Republican form of government, and owe allegiance to a foreign power. And, last but not least, the railroad companies own 21,000,000 acres of land, which has come into their hands through the land grant system, and which could be, under the law of "eminent domain" restored to the people of these United States for settlement. In other words that one corporate system alone controls enough "earth" to make six States as large as the common wealth of Iowa. With taxes so high, and the burden of them falling upon the producer and laboring man, with the money sharks so eager to oppress the weak, and the rapid growing tendency toward landlordism, it is, indeed, a vital question, who controls the American producers, for the toilers of the land to ponder, agitate and vote over.

POVERTY BREEDS CRIME.

Marion Independent, Indiana.

YES, POVERTY DOES BREED CRIME. A few years ago a daring robbery occurred on the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern railroad, in which Express Messenger Fotheringham was bound and gagged and the safe robbed of \$80,000. At first it was assumed that Fotheringham was the robber and he was jailed by advice of the Pinkertons. Afterwards it was found that a young man named Whitrock was the guilty person. Before going to prison he offered to return the money if \$1500 of it, which he used to pay off a mortgage on his mother's home, should not be touched, and this was agreed to. He has just been released and was a model prisoner during his term.

MARKET REPORT.

Carefully Corrected for Week Ending November 14, 1892.

NEW YORK COTTON QUOTATIONS.

The New York spot market closed firm at 9 1/2 cents for middling, 8 11/16 cents for low middling, and 8 cents for good ordinary, a gain of 1/2. Futures closed steady, as follows:

November	8 1/2	8 1/2
December	8 1/2	8 1/2
January	8 1/2	8 1/2
February	8 1/2	8 1/2
March	8 1/2	8 1/2
April	9 1/2	9 1/2
May	9 1/2	9 1/2
June	9 1/2	9 1/2
August	9 1/2	9 1/2

NEW ORLEANS COTTON MARKET.

The spot market was firm and active. Futures were steady with a net improvement of twelve to fourteen points. However, upon receipt of bureau report estimating local crops as ranging from two-fifths to four-fifths of a full crop, prices advance thirty-three points from lowest quotations.

	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
Low ordinary	6 1/2	5 3/4
Ordinary	6 15/16	6 3/16
Good ordinary	7 1/2	6 3/4
Middling	8 1/2	7 1/4
Good middling	8 5/8	7 3/4
Middling fair	8 1/8	8 1/2
Fair	10 5/16	9 11/16

The following table exhibits the extreme range and closing prices on change for the leading futures of grain and hog products, also the closing quotations for last week.

CHICAGO MARKET.

Articles.	Open	High	Low	Clos
Wheat				
November	72 3/4	73 3/4	73 1/4	73
December	73 3/4	74 1/4	73 3/4	74
May	79 1/2	80	79 1/2	79 1/2
Corn				
November	42 3/4	43 1/2	41 1/2	42
December	42 1/2	43 1/2	42 1/2	42 1/2
May	43 1/2	44 1/2	43 1/2	43 1/2
Oats				
November	31 1/2	32 1/2	31 1/2	31 1/2
December	32 1/2	32 1/2	32 1/2	32 1/2
May	32 1/2	33 1/2	32 1/2	32 1/2
Pork				
December	13 4/4	13 47/52	13 25/52	13 27/52
January	13 4/4	13 47/52	13 4/4	13 45/52
May	13 6/6	13 62/52	13 4/4	13 45/52
Lard				
November	9 10	9 10	8 7/8	9 00
January	7 8/12	7 8/12	7 7/8	7 8/12
May	7 8/12	7 9/0	7 7/8	7 8/12
Short Ribs				
November	6 87/12	6 88/12	6 88/12	6 88/12
January	7 03	7 05	6 97/12	7 05

CATTLE MARKET.

In Chicago the market was quiet and easy. All grades of shipping steers are lower, owing to unfavorable Eastern and foreign advices.

Extra cattle	\$ 5 50	\$ 73
Choice cattle	\$ 10 00	\$ 40
Good grade shipping steers	\$ 10 00	\$ 40
Medium shipping steers	\$ 8 50	\$ 21 25
Common to fair steers	\$ 9 00	\$ 17 50
Common to choice bulls	\$ 12 50	\$ 24
Poor to choice bulls	\$ 2 50	\$ 23 25
Stockers and feeders	\$ 1 50	\$ 20
Western range steers	\$ 1 50	\$ 20
Western range cows	\$ 1 50	\$ 18 00
Texas steers, grass	\$ 1 50	\$ 18 00
Texas cows, grass	\$ 1 50	\$ 18 00
Veal calves, poor to choice	\$ 4 50	\$ 28 50
Milk cows, per head	\$ 15 00	\$ 25 00

The hog market was active and about steady. The best of the offerings brought \$5 80@5 85, and the greater part went over the scales at \$5 55@5 70. Closing quotations were \$5 20@5 25 for light and \$5 35@5 35 for heavy. There were sales of culs at \$3 00@4 50 and of rough stuff at \$4 75@5 00. Sheep and lambs sold readily at steady prices, the former on a basis of \$3 25@3 25 for poor to choice and the latter at \$3 75@4 00. The quality averaging common there were few sales of the former at better than \$4 50, and not many of the latter at over \$5 50. There was some inquiry for feeders at \$3 75@4 25.

The New York market was firm at 100 per 100 lbs higher; native steers, \$3 80@5 00 per 100 lbs; Colorado steers, \$3 85@4 25; dress beef steady, 7@8 1/2c per lb.; calves—market 4 1/2c per lb; lower veals, \$5 00@7 50 per 100 lbs; grassers, \$2 00@2 40; Western cattle, \$3 00@

IMMIGRATION ABUSES.

Report of the Commissioners Sent to Europe to Investigate Them.

Last year this Government sent five commissioners of immigration to Europe to investigate into the usages and customs which govern the shipment by the large steamship companies of the immense numbers of immigrants recorded every year. The reports of the commissioners have recently been published by the Treasury Department, and contain revelations at once startling and of deep significance to all who love this country. The dumping of foreign paupers and criminals is an evil that demands immediate attention. Messrs. Schulteis and Powderly of the commissioners did their work well, and made reports in the interest of the people and the country.

Commissioner Powderly says that glowing reports of the conditions of life in the United States, which the poor people of these and other countries receive from relatives and friends on this side of the water, naturally lead them to turn their eyes hither. The steamship agents encourage them to carry out their idea of emigrating to the United States, and the emigration aid societies of Ireland and England, too, do much to persuade the poor and wretched to seek these shores.

He found every reason for believing that the practice of hiring contract labor was systematically carried on in Great Britain, and more particularly in Italy. At Naples he was informed that contract laborers were imported to the United States through the agency of various Italian bankers and hotel keepers in New York city and their correspondents in the emigration centers.

PAUPERS SENT FROM IRELAND.

Evidence tending to show that pauper and other undesirable emigrants were assisted and encouraged to come to this country was not wanting in Ireland. The statistics of emigration in the reports of the various boards of guardians showed that 39,250 paupers had been sent to the United States in the last forty-one years. Besides the encouragement to emigration thus furnished, Commissioner Powderly found that various emigration aid societies and discharged prisoner aid societies assisted undesirable emigrants and in some cases sent money to them after their arrival here.

He advises against any attempt to institute a system of consular inspection of emigration, but thinks that special agents might be employed for the purpose at the European ports.

Commissioner Schulteis made many of his investigations in disguise and his report is based on his personal experiences with intending emigrants and in resorts for emigrants.

He boldly asserts that the chief causes which increase emigration from Europe to this country are the efforts of emigration aid societies supplemented by public and private associations for aiding paupers and criminals to emigrate, the seductive allurements held out by foreign steamship companies and the contract labor importers.

Mr. Powderly and he discovered at the very outset of their investigation that large numbers of homeless children of both sexes, below the age of sixteen years, were being shipped from England to the United States in charge of matrons.

Under the protection of a card, bearing the appellation "American Conference of Charities and Correction," he secured the entree to the Royal Aid of Discharged Prisoners, and was received by Col. H. B. Buchanan, the secretary in charge, who admitted that discharged prisoners were assisted to emigrate to the United States.

Mr. Schulteis includes a list of sixty-nine similar societies in England in his report, and also makes citations from printed reports of Col. Buchanan's society, the very existence of which was denied when Commissioner Cross applied for them. Between March 26 and June 11, 1891, he declares seven money orders were sent by Col. Buchanan to immigrants in the United States, one of them having been paid in New York city, June 25, 1891, to a man who was identified by the keeper of an immigrants' boarding-house in West street.

MR. SCHULTEIS' ADVENTURE.

Other proofs of the encouragement rendered undesirable immigrants are furnished, notably the announcement that the commissioner himself, in the guise of a destitute alien, returned to this country in the steerage of the steamship Servia, on November 6, 1891, by the kind assistance of the Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress. All this was told exclu-

sively in the Herald at the time, and it made a great sensation.

The exports of paupers and criminals to Canada, the commissioner thinks, accounts for the large proportion of foreigners in the benevolent institutions in the United States, near the Canadian border and in the United States at large. The fact that criminals receive short penal sentences in England, but are subjected to long periods of surveillance, naturally leads them to emigrate. The 250 homes for fallen women in England also send many of their inmates to this country.

Committees formerly existed in Amsterdam and other continental ports for the purpose of assisting undesirable persons to go to South America, but these have now been disbanded and the class of people who received their assistance are shipped to the United States.

At Amsterdam the government has established an office ostensibly for the purpose of protecting immigrants, but according to M. Schulteis, its main business is to expedite the emigration of Russian refugees and other paupers to America.

Some eighty so-called Italian bankers in New York have grown rich, according to report, on the interest on money advanced for prepaid tickets and the traffic in contract labor. Some of them have been knighted by the King of Italy, though they have unsavory court records. Commissioners Powderly and Schulteis engaged as interpreter a man who held a commission from a New York steamship agent to travel back and forth across the Atlantic and instruct immigrants to America what to say and how to act, so as to pass inspection at Castle Garden.

A SHAM INSPECTION.

The two commissioners, in disguise, witnessed a sham inspection of emigrants on the Anchorline steamer California, at Naples, and saw people passed despite manifest indications of contagious disease.

Not only in Italy, but in Germany, Austria, Russia and Great Britain, emigration is generally regarded as the safety-valve which prevents the uprising of the masses, the commissioner says. He adds that Cardinal Manning himself told him that one of England's greatest blessings was her ability to get rid of her pauper classes through emigration to the United States, and that if that conduit were closed for a decade, revolution would result.

Commissioner Schulteis suggests the appointment of three resident commissioners of immigration, who shall be physicians and have local agents at the various ports; the reorganization of our present system of inspection at entry ports and on the frontiers; protective per capita tax on all immigrants; the abolition of the prepaid ticket system; the improvement of steerage accommodations, and the enactment of an enabling act permitting the President to interdict immigration or to enforce a national quarantine when necessary.

The explanatory letter with which Secretary Foster, of the Treasury Department, transmits the report of the commission to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, substantially reiterates the recommendations of Commissioner Schulteis. It suggests that steamship companies be compelled to largely increase the cubic air space for each immigrant passenger (which would greatly reduce the steerage capacity and so compel an almost prohibitive increase of steerage rates); the levying of a tax on steamship companies of \$1 on each immigrant brought over by them; the exacting of a bond of at least \$50,000 from the owners or agent of each vessel employed in bringing alien passengers hither as a guarantee that immigrants found to have been improperly landed would be returned and the institution of a system of careful inspection at foreign ports.

He Apologises.

Some time past THE ECONOMIST published an article over the signature of "R. F. McCullough," in which it was asserted that Mr. and Mrs. Douglas had been rotten-egged in Selma, Ala., thirty-two years ago. The article caused a sensation in that section, and brought forth an indignant public denial from the mayor and other prominent citizens of Selma. THE ECONOMIST immediately forwarded the following letter to the author of the article:

Sir—We call upon you to substantiate, in some more emphatic manner than you have done, the statement, over your signature, that Mrs. Douglas was rotten-egged in Selma, Ala., thirty-two years ago. We are aware now that you used a *nom de plume*, but we do not intend to let this keep us from getting at the facts. We have written to Mrs. Williams (at one time the widow of Mr. Douglas), now in this city, and if she replies, we trust it will be an acknowledgment of the charge. THE ECONOMIST has always been noted for its reliability, and if Mrs. Williams does not uphold the charge, we demand that you send us a written apology, for publica-

tion. This is only justice to all parties concerned.

In reply to the above THE ECONOMIST received the following:

McCullough is of your party, I am not, therefore did I write, by his authority, in his name. He had heard the story, just as I had, and, as I wrote a few weeks ago, when I was greatly amazed that the present mayor of Selma had never heard it. Since I wrote McCullough has gone to California. I have sent him your letter, but I wrote both the original and the second letter, using McCullough's name by his authority. If Mrs. Douglas, whose sensibilities I would not wound on any account, denies the statement or refuses to confirm it, I must confess that I have made a statement which, thirty-two years after the event, I cannot substantiate. I am very sorry. I believed I was telling the truth, and that all I have to say.

I am not sorry that I made the publication, even if it be found to be untrue. It has compelled the excellent mayor and Democrat of Selma to condemn so fiercely, by indirection, the conduct of the degraded wretch who, in the Commonwealth in which I first saw the light, polluted its breath and fame by this shameful method of insulting a stranger.

But this depraved taste and habit of using decayed eggs in Alabama has become so commonplace that perhaps the mayor of Selma, and even Mr. Kolb, have become accustomed to this delicious fruitage, and I imagine he is not as mad now as when he wrote two or three weeks ago. I confess that I am greatly amused at the turn affairs have taken. I don't object to the publication of all I have said and done in this behalf. Mrs. Douglas may remember me as the youthful editor of an organ of her husband's party when, in 1860, she was in Memphis. I never separated myself as partisan and political thinker from Mr. Douglas, and I am to-day a Douglas Democrat, and was never a secessionist. Therefore, am I devoted to Mr. Cleveland, whose political history and my own are identical? These are the facts, however, that caused me never to forget the story of the supposed or real outrage done Mr. Douglas at Selma.

Louis DUPRE.

\$100 Reward \$100.

The readers of this paper will be pleased to learn that there is at least one dreaded disease that science has been able to cure in all its stages, and that is Catarrh. Hall's Catarrh Cure is the only positive cure known to the medical fraternity. Catarrh being a constitutional disease, requires a constitutional treatment. Hall's Catarrh Cure is taken internally, acting directly upon the blood and mucous surfaces of the system, thereby destroying the foundation of the disease, and giving the patient strength by building up the constitution and assisting nature in doing its work.

The proprietors have so much faith in its curative powers, that they offer One Hundred Dollars for any case that fails to cure. Send for list of testimonials. Address, F. J. CHENEY & Co., Toledo, O. Sold by Druggists, 75 c.

A COLORADO man tells the following story: "Speaking of 'calamity howling' reminds me of the story of the boy and girl who quarreled over the ownership of a pet cat. The mother tried to settle it, as all mothers do, by compromise. She said Mary should have the body, she would take the head and Johnnie could have the tail." This didn't seem fair to the boy, and he went out to think it over. Soon his mother heard a series of blood curdling howls from the back yard. Upon going out she found the boy jumping up and down on the poor cat's tail. Upon being remonstrated with, Johnnie replied, "Go away, mother, I'm standing on my rights. It's your cat that's doing the howling."

DEMOCRATS give much press praise to Congressman Ben T. Cable, of Illinois, who conducted the educational feature of their campaign from Chicago. His bureau sent out some 3,000,000 documents to voters in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Dakotas.

TO THE ALLIANCE. Get together. Partizanship has done its worst. The cause goes marching on. It will be the balance of power in the keystone of Government—the United States Senator in 1893.

DONNELLY is beaten, but his campaign is now acknowledged to be the most brilliant ever known in the State. The seed sown will grow ripe by the harvesting. The West has broken loose.

A GREAT many prominent gentlemen are tapping their thinkers for "causes of defeat." "Too numerous to mention" might serve. The people know—speak truth.

AN EASTERN exchange says that Weaver seems to have woven a strong web; yes a silver web at that, a web worthy the weaving of the greatest Webster.

IT IS PLEASING to know that White-law Reid declares he is not personally hipped. It would be hard on the country—very hard—if he was.

THE POLITICAL PREDICTIONIST is only excelled by the political explainer; the latter is probably a little more truthful.

UNITED STATES SENATE.

THE ECONOMIST gives below a carefully prepared estimate of party strength in the United States Senate upon its organization March 4, 1893; these figures are, of course, subject to verification by the official returns of the various States, but from the reports received up to the hour of going to press it is generally conceded that the result will not vary but little, if any, from the estimate here given.

The estimate of eight Senators, representing Farmer's Alliance prin-

cipals, and acting independent of the old parties, is conservative and may be exceeded. It will be readily seen that the reform Senators will be the balance of power in this, the most important branch of the Government, and will hold a position in the affairs of the nation of vital importance; most of the greatest outrages ever perpetrated upon a people of a nation, through the medium of legislation, have emanated from this branch of Congress, and it is well that reform is grafted in the key stone of the Government.

SENATORS WHOSE TERMS EXPIRE MARCH 4, 1893.

STATE.	SENATOR.	POLITICS.	SUCCESSION.
Rhode Island	Aldrich.	Republican.	Re-elected.
Washington	Allen.	Republican.	Republican successor.
Tennessee	Bate.	Democrat.	Democratic successor.
New Jersey	Bloodgood.	Democrat.	Farmers' Alliance successor.
North Dakota	Casey.	Republican.	Democratic successor.
Missouri	Cockrell.	Democrat.	Re-elected.
Virginia	Daniel.	Republican.	Republican successor.
Massachusetts	Dawes.	Republican.	Farmers' Alliance successor.
West Virginia	Faulkner.	Democrat.	Democratic successor.
California	Feltone.	Democrat.	Re-elected.
Mississippi	George.	Democrat.	Democratic successor.
Maryland	Gorman.	Democrat.	Re-elected.
Delaware	Gray.	Republican.	Republican successor.
Maine	Hale.	Republican.	Republican successor.
Connecticut	Hawley.	Republican.	Democratic successor.
New York	Hiscock.	Republican.	Farmers' Alliance successor.
Nebraska	Paddock.	Republican.	Republican successor.
Florida	Pasco.	Democrat.	Democratic successor.
Vermont	Proctor.	Republican.	Re-elected.
Pennsylvania	Quay.	Democrat.	Republican successor.
Texas	Mills.	Democrat.	F. A. (or Dem.) successor.
Montana	Sanders.	Republican.	Republican successor.
Wisconsin	Sawyer.	Republican.	Democratic successor.
Ohio	Sherman.	Republican.	Re-elected.
Nevada	Stewart.	Republican.	Succeeds himself Ind.
Michigan	Stockbridge.	Democrat.	Democratic successor.
Indiana	Turpie.	Republican.	Farmers' Alliance successor.
Wyoming	Warren.	Republican.	Farmers' Alliance successor.
*Kansas	Perkins.	Republican.	

	DEM.	REP.	F. A.	TOTAL
Re-elected.....	3	2	0	5
Successors.....	10	9	6	25
Total.....	13	11	6	30

*Expires 1893.

	REP.	DEM.	F. A.	TOTAL
Senators elected and to be elected March 4, 1893.....	11	13	6	30
Twenty-five Senators whose terms expire 1893.....	16	13	29	
Twenty-nine Senators whose terms expire 1894.....	12	15	29	
How the Senate stands March 4, 1893.....	39	41	8	88

The Democrats will have upon the organization of the Senate, March 4, 1893, with the Vice-President, forty-two members, as against thirty-nine Republicans and eight Senators representing Farmers' Alliance principles and acting independently.

DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS.

Anxiously Speculating on Mr. Cleveland's Probable Policy.

The Democratic politicians are anxiously speculating on Mr. Cleveland's probable policy after he gets into the White House. There are a great many who want to know if he is going to do this and that when the Democrats come into power they will find the civil service rules extended to these two branches of the service.

A Model Washing Machine.

From the New England Farmer.

Voluntarily, and without solicitation or suggestion, the Farmer recommends the "Busy Bee" washer as indispensable to every housewife. It is made by the Lake Erie Manufacturing Company, No. 178 East Thirteenth street, Erie, Pa., and costs \$2. We recommend it because it does the best of work, runs easily, saves time, money and clothes. We have seen washers and washers, but this is the only one we have ever put into our own kitchen. In an hour's time, without any labor, it will do the wash of a family (75 to 125 pieces) thoroughly and satisfactorily. John asks what to buy for a Christmas present for his wife. Buy a "Busy Bee" washer. And, John, when it is "dull times" this winter, act as agent. It will sell wonderfully and profitably. We do not say, "write for catalogue," instead, take our word for it, and send \$2 for a machine and terms to agents. She will be "perfectly happy."

THE ECONOMIST publishes in its columns thoughtful articles from the pens of distinguished writers. Its aim is to combine the weekly paper, with the educational monthly magazine feature. It does not indorse many of the views expressed. They are given publication in the spirit of fair play.

LAVING aside the marrow, bigoted partizanship of President Harrison, his political littleness upon tariff and monetary questions, no man will take more national respect personally into private life. It was his policy, and not his personality which met rebuke.

EXPERT "counters in" are a drug on the market. The day of their glory passeth as the smile of the affable candidate.

WONDER if Mr. Cleveland will forestall his

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND
INDUSTRIAL UNION.
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
BY THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST PUBLISHING COMPANY.
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Advertisements inserted only by special contract.
Our rates are reasonable for circulation. Discounts for time and space furnished on application,
stating character of advertisement required.
Advertising rates, see New York City, 123 Times
Building, N. Y., Ward Manager.

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
entitlements.

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

Whereas, This 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 this paper as one of the best
means of education in the way of industrial free-
dom.

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

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N. R. P. A.

THE ELECTION.

The great Presidential contest of 1892 is over and the public has had ten days' time to settle down to its usual occupations, and reflect upon the stirring events of the campaign, and to reason upon the causes which contributed to the surprising result. It would be worse than useless to devote time and thought to a thorough consideration of the various events and views of the contest, but for the fact that in this way the most useful lessons can be secured and rendered available for future emergencies.

The campaign opened with no very decided odds in favor of either candidate. The apparent strength of the People's party seemed to make the election of Mr. Cleveland impossible, and the prediction was freely made early in the season that Harrison would be elected, or the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives. Many believed that the only chance for Mr. Cleveland was to have it thrown into the House. As the campaign progressed Republican chances seemed to improve, and up to the time of the Georgia State election there was good reasons for thinking that Harrison would carry New York. All the causes which gave rise to the general stampede into the Democratic ranks will never be known, but the consideration of some of them is both interesting and instructive.

The brightest search light thrown upon the fight made by the Republicans will not disclose any adequate causes there. Mr. Harrison has proven himself a much stronger and abler man than the public expected, he has made no political mistakes (from his standpoint) worthy of notice, and has certainly been all that his party could desire since his nomination. Mr. Carter, although a young man, and inexperienced, has shown remarkable skill and great ability in his conduct of the campaign. He succeeded in bringing together in harmonious wdrk Blaine, Platt, Clarkson, Fassett and Reed. While his administration does not show that he ever had much faith in the work done in the South, every move he made in that direction was wise from a Republican standpoint, because, suppose that he realized the decisive fight to be in

New York and Indiana, he could force the Democrats to spend \$2 for every \$1 that he put out in the South and cripple them in that way. Therefore, the fact that he did encourage the People's party fight in the South does not indicate that he based any hopes upon it. Mr. Carter is one of the shrewdest political managers the Republican party has ever had, and if he made any mistakes they do not show on the surface. The Republican platform was practically the same as the Democratic except upon the tariff and State bank questions, and the Democratic nominee dodged the State bank question in his letter of acceptance, so the only real difference was upon the tariff question. The Republicans stood squarely by their platform and contended for the protection tariff policy, and attacked the

Democrats on State banks, election fraud, and free trade.

The People's party commenced the campaign with a good fighting prospect. Their candidate was generally regarded as equal to either of the others in point of honesty and ability and it was thought that he would not be any more subject to personal criticism and objection. The platform was much nearer in accord with the popular sentiments of the people than either of the old parties, and with the existing prejudices against the old parties it seemed that the People's party only had to convince the great masses of the people that they had the ability to carry out their platform, if successful, in order to secure their votes. But this they signally failed to do.

The policy of the executive committee of the People's party was weak, vacillating and inefficient. The people generally indorsed the platform and there never was a greater mistake than to suppose that the people of the South were afraid of the force bill. The only issue between the Democratic and Republican parties was the tariff, and the issue between both and the People's party was the money question. On this issue the people generally indorsed the People's party, but were distrustful of its inexperience and incompetent leaders. Gen. Weaver made a brilliant campaign through the silver States early in the season and laid a good foundation for success. In Texas he was well received and his trip well managed by the local committee. The same was true in Louisiana and Alabama, but in Georgia the weakness and inefficiency of the local committee, which should have been known and remedied by the national committee, left him exposed to indignities which have become historic. The result was that he surrendered his appointments in Georgia and South Carolina. Whether this was wise or not it is not now necessary to say, but one thing is certain, the blame, if any, should attach to the national and State People's party committees and not to the nominee. The result of the surrender was the loss of the State election in Georgia, which acted as a striking object lesson, demonstrating the weakness and inefficiency of the management of the People's party, and deterring thousands from embarking in it. And the tide once turned, could not be stopped. The vote cast gives no fair estimate of the sentiment which indorses the principles of the People's party platform. The fight upon the money question has, by an overwhelming majority, been postponed, and the only issue voted on at this election was the tariff.

The Democratic party entered the race with very doubtful prospects, and in a condition which seemed to indicate a defeat. The disaffection which seemed almost certain in the South made it appear that the only chance of success for the party lay in having the election thrown into the House of Representatives. They were hampered by many things. Their nominee, on account of the silver agitation, was much less popular with the people than he had been four years before when he was beaten by the same opponent on practically the same issue, when he had the Government patronage and unlimited money behind him; so strong had been the opposition within the party to the policy of nominating him that the usefulness of some of the strongest men in the party in his support seemed to be seriously impaired, and the restoration of harmony seemed doubtful; the platform contained an absurd and silly plank in favor of the repeal of the 10 per cent tax on the issue of State banks, which, had that question been at issue, would have been fatal to the party; the force bill agitation did the party no good in the South, in fact, it was so absurd that it only served to strengthen the People's party up to the time that Weaver left Georgia, after that many may, who believed in the People's party platform, have taken the fear of a force bill as a pretext for staying in the Democratic party. Senator Gorman killed the force bill in the Fifty-first Congress and the people know it, and have no fear of its ever being

again revived, and all of the silly fight of the New York Sun on the force bill was worse than useless. A large number of prominent Democrats had made a bitter and senseless war on the Farmers Alliance and its demands, they admitted that some of the things it demanded were right, but claimed that to give them what they could demonstrate to be right and expedient, would strengthen the farmer's movement enough to enable it to enforce other things that were visionary and could not be demonstrated as right and expedient and that, therefore, the best policy for the Democratic party was to fight this farmers movement and oppose every measure it advocated, right or wrong, and destroy every man politically who has every favored it. This class of Democrats headed by Mills, Carlisle, Oates, Coke, and others, generally favored the nomination of Cleveland, and when that event occurred, they seemed to dominate the party. Had they continued to do so it would surely have destroyed all chances of success, but there was one giant intellect among those who advocated Mr. Cleveland's nomination, and he, in spite of all drawbacks and hindrances, has been instrumental in securing the victory. Hon. William C. Whitney was largely responsible for the nomination of Mr. Cleveland, and showed the greatest wisdom when, having secured that end, he went to work and harmonized the anti-Cleveland men of prominence who were old party leaders and induced them to work. In fact he put them in charge of the campaign, he even secured the master hand of Senator Gorman to direct the executive work from New York, and from that time on Democratic prospects began to brighten. The bitter radical anti-Alliance element had dominated the party and secured the nomination, but the conservative, level-headed men who are willing to accept what is right, expedient and democratic as the party policy, no matter from whence it emanates, were put in control of the party, and the very names of Whitney, Gorman, Hill, Dickerson, Daniel, Morgan, Faulkner and Flower, as guiding the counsels and controlling the party, gave the people hope. The call of the New York World for contributions was a great help, because it carried with it the idea of a popular contribution for expenses as against contributions as an investment by those who expect Government pap of some sort, and the fuss made about the Republicans having plenty of money, and the Democrats none, helped this idea. The people do not care so much what the managers of a political campaign do with the money they use, as they do where they get it, and the Democrats acted wisely in showing where they got some of it, at least.

The result, so far as the issue between the Democratic and the Republican parties is concerned, is plain, certain and emphatic. The American people, after years of thought, discussion and thorough trial and experiment, have given their calm and deliberate veto to the policy of protection, and the protective tariff idea must be abandoned as not only undemocratic, but un-American. The result, as to the issue between both parties and the People's party is, that the money question was successfully brushed aside because of the lack of confidence in the executive management of the People's party at this crisis, and nearly the whole people aligned themselves on one side or the other of the tariff question. On no other hypothesis could the Democratic party have gained, laboring under so many disadvantages.

The successful work done by the Democracy, so far as the Republican party is concerned, was upon the tariff, and the successful work done by it, so far as the People's party is concerned, was work which tended to keep the money question out of issue. Silence was the most effective on line as every document they circulated on the money question hurt them, and Mill's anti-silver speeches in Texas made the People's party many votes.

It is safe to conclude that the people have not put the Democrats in power on account of their beauty or honesty

or any other personal or party attributes, the people generally understand that so far as the party machine is concerned one is about as corrupt as the other. The Democratic party has been put in possession of the entire Government, to do something for the commercial and agricultural interests of the country, and the responsibility is upon them to do it without injury to the manufacturing interests. It is time of great peril to the Democracy, the ground swell by which they came in must be properly managed or it will hurl them out with even greater force. The People's party vote in this election consisted of only the workers in that cause; the converts and the drones stayed out, and yet that vote carried a larger territory than the Republican party, and has made a big showing throughout the nation.

It is highly probable that it will supplant the Democratic party in 1896 if it is properly fed and nurtured, but the Democratic party has to do the feeding and nursing. It can completely stamp out all traces of a People's party by 1896 if it will enact fair, just and conservative laws. If it will inaugurate an adequate and efficient finance system which will furnish a natural currency that is safe, sound and flexible. The people do not want any radical laws or violent changes. They are opposed to class legislation of any kind. If the Democratic party will return to the original principles of democracy it can perpetuate itself for a quarter of a century.

The ECONOMIST opposed the nomination of Mr. Cleveland, but it bows gracefully to the verdict of the people, and now that the Democratic party will probably come into possession of the whole Government, it shall have a fair chance, and everything done or said by Mr. Cleveland or the Democratic party which is calculated to promote good government and benefit the people will be duly reported and indorsed by THE ECONOMIST, and the decline and death of the people's movement will be hailed with joy if it dies because its mission has been accomplished by the Democratic party.

PAST AND PRESENT.

The Democratic party, after a lapse of over thirty years, will in all probability again assume the administration of the affairs of the Government in all its branches, March 4, 1893.

The compromise of 1850 says Alexander Johnston, in his history of the party, as afterward interpreted by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, marks the point where the Democratic party plainly began to swerve from its historic line of development * * * The consequent discussion of slavery, while it alienated the Democratic anti-slavery element, compelled the party more and more to abandon its traditional policy, to appear as the half avowed supporter of slavery extension, and thus ultimately to force the formation of a party of slavery restriction, which meant war unless one section of the Union should change its temper or its labor system.

Hitherto the great strength of the Democratic party had been its agricultural element; its most widely trusted leaders, from Jefferson, Macon and Gerry, down to Jackson and Silas Wright, had been engaged in agriculture, and its general supremacy in agricultural States had only occasionally been disputed through the desire for protection for special interest, such as flax and wool. But in the new

prominence which the party's mistake in 1844 had led it to give to slavery over its real principles, only one agricultural section, the South, had any friendly interest, and the history of these ten years is only a list of defections of Northern agricultural States from the party, beginning with Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Iowa in 1856, and ending with the stampede of the entire West in 1860. This last loss has never since been fully recovered. These are the reasons and conditions under which the Democratic party went out of power. Now let see how, thirty-three years later, they have returned.

The Democratic party elected a President in 1884, the first Demo-

cratic President since 1860, and this was a great surprise even to the Democrats, but was not in the nature of a complete repudiation of the Republican party, only a manifestation of a restless disposition of a dissatisfied people. In 1888 the spirit of unrest was even more apparent. When the votes were counted it was found that the verdict of the people was that the Democratic Presi-

dent should go and the Republican party was placed in control of all the branches of the Government; two years later the work of the Republican party was severely rebuked at the polls, and the Fifty-second Congress was organized with an overwhelming Democratic majority. The Republicans ascribed it to the misrepresentation by the Democrats of the tariff act of the Fifty-first Congress, and felt sure that two years more would vindicate their policy and restore them in the confidence of the people, this was a serious misapprehension of the wants and disposition of millions of voters in every section of the country, as the election just over has proven; it has demonstrated also that the will of the majority cannot be accurately estimated until their ballots have spoken, and it goes without saying that they have spoken in this instance in no uncertain manner.

The feeling of unrest is still manifest, and the Republican party, its record and its managers are utterly and completely repudiated. More than half of the very States that were the first to desert the Democratic party, after a generation have returned to the ranks, and, also, many States that have for a long time been doubtful. The questions upon which the Democratic party was disrupted can no longer be made an issue, and for the Republican party to redeem itself, means a revolution of its principles and a complete refutation of its fallacies. Out of it all will come a state of prosperity—"A government for the people and by the people."

IT WAS openly claimed by Mr. Harrison's district attorney of the United States courts in Alabama a few months ago that Alabama's vote could be had for money. It is also a fact that in a Presidential campaign since the war a negro was given several thousand dollars to carry a Congressional district in the South. The district went Democratic, but the negro was the owner of a fine farm soon after the election.

POLITICIANS are already chuckling over their campaign frauds. In a group of them, one was heard to exultingly say: "We beat out the brains of the Farmers Alliance with that stuffed club of a 'force bill.' Oh, we know 'em. Line them up every time, gentlemen, on something like that." And the rest smiled audibly.

TOM REED smiles, Quay says it is awful, Gen. Alger lays it to labor, ex-Senator Farwell says Harrison did it, Senator Hill is delighted, Gov. Flower says the tariff caused the convulsion, Director-General Whitney says it was a revolt of the people, all Democrats are happy and some few Republicans don't care.

SOME extraordinary "slumps" took place in the late election. David B. Hill's county in New York went Republican, McKinley's Democratic, Cleveland's old home against him, ditto President Harrison's in Indiana. It would appear that great men are not heroes to their intimates.

TO THE WEST congratulations. You have demonstrated to a gold-ridden East and South that free coinage of silver has an uncompromising champion. You have bravely broken precedent. You have advanced the cause of silver and proved loyal to your pledges and your interests.

THERE WILL be another Congress elected in 1894. Before another Presidential election the Alliance can be the most prominent and actively exuberant quality in American politics. Reorganize for the demands—unite for future victory.

IN THE EVENT of a reorganization of the Senate John Sherman will retire from the chairmanship of two important committees—the Finance Committee and the Committee on Foreign Relations. Good-bye, John

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Please read the following in the Alliance and bring to the attention of the membership:

We have received remittances for subscription to THE ECONOMIST from the following parties who failed to give their post-office address: O. B. Abbott, N. N. Hampton, George O. Feggin, J. S. Garrard, J. P. Alexander.

The following have ordered literature and failed to give addresses: W. H. Stark, A. B. Washington.

F. M. Lauck, Waring post-office, writes us for information, but gives no State.

R. W. Bacon writes for information, but gives no postoffice or State.

J. C. Doolittle, Burton, writes for information but gives no State.

Simon King, Jr., Litchfield, writes for information but gives no State.

J. S. Roberts, of Shelbyville, writes a letters of inquiry, which can neither be answered nor investigated because he fails to give his name. All our records are filed by States; so to make a start in hunting complaints we must know what State the enquirer lives in.

A. J. Keith, secretary of Moore Hill Alliance, writes to us, but gives neither post-office or State.

W. A. Daison writes on business, but gives no post-office or State.

Somebody writes to have his paper changed from Melissa, Texas, to Roland, but forgot to give his name.

F. T. Tilley, secretary of an Alliance, wants THE ECONOMIST for the remainder of the year, but gives no postoffice or State.

In May last we received a card from W. D. Marshall, who forgot to give his postoffice, asking us to change the paper of A. Osborn from Bandon, Oregon, to Dairyville. It was done, but now a postmaster's card from Dayville, informs us that there is no such office in Oregon as Dairyville.

Wm. Campbell writes concerning a subscription sent in February, but as he gives neither postoffice or State, his inquiry cannot be answered.

W. G. Wilson sends for THE ECONOMIST one year for himself and six months for S. S. Burney, but gives no postoffice or State.

Somebody at Avalon, Mo., who forgot to sign his name, sends the names of Tom Kountz, Rinehart, Vernon county, and Wm. Bell, Bates county. We cannot send Mr. Bell's paper until we learn his postoffice.

The above remain from a large number of letters without post-office addresses received by us and placed in the suspense box to await subsequent letters of inquiry.

THE rapid and radical change of power between the Democratic and Republican parties in the last three national elections, the election of Cleveland in 1884, of Harrison in 1888, and Cleveland again in 1892, the landslide of the Fifty-second Congress towards Democracy, the partial revision in the late election—what does it all presage? No student of the times can mistake the cause. Unrest and dissatisfaction with existing conditions and statutes are rife among the people. They have turned first to one and then to the other party for relief. At last absolute power is vested in one of the dominant promoters. It must go squarely upon record from the 5th of March 1893, for what it does, and does not do. No Congress or government will ever be more jealously and zealously watched. By their acts the sovereigns will judge them again in 1894 and 1896. The thought revolution is the child of the Farmers Alliance. It will continue to grow in volume and in power, and the issues it has made be soon the slogans of the clans in their appeal to the country.

CONGRESSMAN COBB's famous inquiry has been the normal condition, so to speak, of the issues-of-the-war party since the night of November 8. Attorney-General Miller, when approached by a reckless reporter for his "opinion," grimly replied: "It does not matter to a man who has got the smallpox how he took it," and Senator Chandler, of New Hampshire, followed suit by likening himself to the boy who had stubbed his toe. It hurt too bad to laugh, and he was too big to cry.

ALONGSIDE of the Presidential returns in the Capitol city on the night of the 8th was flashed on transparencies "Tom Watson beaten for Congress in Georgia." The crowd received it in stolid silence. Something in the great heart of the people refused to endorse the work of "the machine" and rejoice with them over a temporary and purchased success.

TAMMANY and David B. Hill, its prophet, disappointed the rank and file of the Democratic ticket, as well as some prominent leaders, very agreeably, by proving more loyal than the king. Henceforth New York will be counted on as safely as the solid South, and Tammany makes its triumphant entry into national politics.

MR. HARRISON resumes his law practice, Mr. Cleveland abandons his; the legal profession seems to be a pretty good field for ex-Presidents, or vice versa—which?

HAS ENGLAND PROFITED?

Has Free Trade Contributed to Her Material Progress and Prosperity? Lord "Marshall" (President Fair-Trade Club, London, England) in the November Forum. Is England a free trade country? With many this may seem a strange, if not startling, inquiry. The license given to external trading at the ports of the United Kingdom has so long passed by the name of free trade that the world has accepted the term as representing fact, without stopping to remember its real meaning. Moreover, those enamored of such license, or from various reasons—political and otherwise—interested in advocating its continuance, are wont to claim the progress and prosperity of the latter half of the nineteenth century as its direct effect. And so great is the power of constant iteration that the term and claim have both been largely accepted without examination.

The term "free trade" is itself but a lame rendering of the original conception, the French equivalent, *libre échange*, expressing its meaning much more accurately. By the latter it is at once seen that the reciprocity of free imports is intended, whereas the English wording is too loose to carry more than a conventional meaning. In fact, the origin of the term in England is curiously typical of what it has come to be in practice. Long before the days of Adam Smith, and afterward, free-trader was a synonym for smuggler, or one who escaped paying rightful dues. To this day even the term lingers in this sense on the east coast of Great Britain, and old men still survive to tell, not without boastful pride, of their feats of "free trading," and of the perils and even punishment involved. And according to this meaning perhaps England may well be styled a free trade country, some portion of the community escaping the payment of market dues on their imports, whilst the rest, who supply the market with similar commodities from home sources, bear all the brunt of the cost of the market, i. e., of the local and imperial taxation.

But the real sense and theory of free trade, or free exchange, is that countries shall freely exchange with each other the produce for which each country is naturally fitted and the other is not. Southern climes are to exchange their fruits and the produce of their grapes for the harder products and manufactures of the North, where sunshine is rare. Countries unable to produce natural foods, but well able to supply other necessities of life in the form of clothing or luxuries, are to exchange these latter for the food and drink they cannot produce. British free trade, however, is, in practice, based on the exact opposite of this theory. It says in effect: "If there be anything another country produces which the United Kingdom cannot produce, and which presumably is therefore especially wanted, let it be taxed as an import, up to the hilt, for revenue; but whenever a country can send what can be and is very well grown or produced internally, let it be encouraged to come in free, so that the profits and wages of producers at home may be knocked down to the lowest margin, and if destroyed altogether, so much the better."

In this fashion "free trade" England levies a larger amount of customs taxation than any country in Europe. But she does so only on non-competing imports, whilst admitting free every commodity which competes with, undersells or extinguishes home production. Was there ever, apparently, so suicidal a policy? And yet British free traders (save the mark!), and especially the Cobden Club of to-day, vaunt such a policy to be the essence of wisdom.

So far have these later apostles carried their advocacy of this view, that they have openly discarded all pretense of belief in the virtues of free exchange of commodities, and at recent gatherings of their club have evinced their "patriotism" by avowing that they have ceased from seeking to convert the United States, on the pretense that British interests may be best served by that country adhering to protection, thereby (according to their doctrine) crippling its producing power. This utter negation of the free exchange policy by modern British free traders is worthy of note, as probably the latest example of the blind leading the blind; showing also how completely the scientific theory is discredited in Europe, even among its professed followers.

But no matter by what name it is known, or what illogical renderings may be given to it, if the claim that British free trade has created, or, in-

deed, contributed in any degree to the material progress and prosperity of the past forty or fifty years be just, it should be allowed. Those who have in recent years advocated a reform of the existing fiscal policy of the United Kingdom have never shirked this point. They have freely admitted the progress and prosperity achieved during the first half, or perhaps a little more than a half, of that period, but they have strenuously denied the *post hoc* to be the *propter hoc*. They have indeed asserted that when the United Kingdom was prospering exceedingly, it was in spite of her so-called policy of free trade, or rather free imports of competing products. And they have maintained that when she ceased so to prosper, as has been the case now for nearly two decades, it was because the natural operation of such policy then only took effect.

But assertion is insufficient without proofs. The Cobden clubites on their side advance a quantity of statistics to prove their case, the chief of which are those of British commerce with foreign countries. There is indeed an easy reason why proof of this character has been placed in the front. The form in which the government statistics of the United Kingdom are taken and published contribute chiefly to this style of propaganda. Except with regard to agriculture, and the assessments of calling liable to income tax (these latter being very inadequately classified in only five divisions or schedules), there are no official statistics of British industries (other than shipping, of which later on); but there are abundant ones, and in much detail, of imports and exports. And these taken in both quantities and values, and considered only by themselves, without comparison with those of other countries, and regardless of their character, are large enough to appeal to the imagination.

The British free trader is never tired of boasting that since 1855 (the year when the board of trade returns of the United Kingdom were first issued with real values instead of nominal values, as had been the case previously), the total external commerce of the United Kingdom has risen from \$1,300,000,000 a year to (in 1891) \$3,720,000,000 a year. Such figures are naturally impressive, if, when examined, they were not found to be *vix et praetera nihil*. In truth, when the character of this portion of British national trading is examined, it may be better argued whether such progress is not rather indicative of loss in other directions internally; and, if not altered, to be the forecast of disaster. This is a view of the case which the Cobden clubites do not care to discuss. They write and speak as mere professional statisticians, dealing only with figures, regardless of the facts they clothe.

Under the reality of free trade, expounded by the light of maxims of political economy, under which goods imported are paid for by goods exported, and the imports are of commodities not able to be produced internally, such progress of external trading would be naturally as gratifying as profitable. But in British free trading these conditions do not exist. In spite of the maxims of political economy, and of the repeated contention of Cobden Club writers, exports of goods have not paid, and do not pay, for all the imports into the United Kingdom. Taking quinquennial periods since 1885, the preponderance of imports over exports has been:

Very prosperous period	1855-59	150,000,000 per annum
	1859-63	277,000,000 "
	1865-69	283,000,000 "
	1877-74	279,000,000 "
Decline of previous prosperity	1885-89	300,000,000 "
	1889-91	462,000,000 "
	1890-91	545,000,000 "

Naturally, from the nature of such trading, the statistics of foreign commerce must always show an excess of imports over exports. Thus, in the years 1855-74, there was a by no means abnormal excess. It amounted to no more than what was amply justified by freights and natural profit on external commerce, accruing on the transactions themselves. It is therefore notable that these years were prosperous. But when things took a turn, or, in other words, when the world at large became possessed of the new methods of production, of which the United Kingdom had possessed a monopoly in the earlier period, the excess import was suddenly doubled. And it was then that the years of trade depression, and industrial decline commenced.

Of course, the Cobden clubites of to-day cannot, and do not, deny these figures, which go so far to disprove the *dicta* of the Cobdenites of fifty years ago. When Mr. Cobden and his friends carried on their crusade, they specifically promised that for every £1 worth of products imported, 20 shillings of British goods would be sent out in exchange. But those who now bear their mantle and carry on their propaganda under the old name, have had to alter their tactics. Like poor Reynard who lost his tail in the trap, they are

anxious to show how much better it is to be without such full return trade in goods. They argue, "it cannot be unprofitable to get so much more than is given"; or, in other words, that the world being debtors to British capitalists in their character as foreign investors, or as sea-carriers, there is so much annual tribute to be received in produce or merchandise, before it is necessary to pay for imports by exports of the products of British labor of to-day. In effect, during the controversy of the last dozen years, it has been alleged that the excess imports of the United Kingdom are a sign of increasing wealth rather than the reverse.

But this places these gentlemen on the horns of a dilemma. If such course of trading be more profitable, how is it that those years when the excess has been only normal were noted for prosperity, and that the period marked by the abnormal excess has been one of national reverse, varied by occasional glimpses of improved trade, when curiously enough the excess import has for the time diminished? And in this present year, which is the worst in more recent times, and promises to be the precursor of a still more troubled period, there is every reason to suppose that the excess of imports into the United Kingdom over exports will nearly reach the figure of \$700,000,000. According to the Cobden clubite theory the year 1892 ought therefore to be the most prosperous for British traders, instead of its being, as there is too much reason to fear, one of the worst.

It is difficult to understand how intelligent men can place themselves as controversialists in this position. To a great extent political partisanship has a great deal to do with it. British free trade has been accepted as a party plank in each of the many sections of the Liberal party of the United Kingdom. Though originally carried nearly half a century ago by a Conservative Prime Minister, the pressure came from both the Whigs and the Radicals. The events which immediately followed the repeal of the corn laws in 1846 also gave

the policy and its name an undeserved prestige. The railway boom was then on. Newly-discovered forces were opening up the world, which, added by the gold discoveries in Australia and California, gave an impetus to production and international trading, of which Great Britain was alone able at first to take full advantage. Hence years of great prosperity followed, and of this British free trade received the credit. Protectionists were silenced by the undoubtedly expansion of material prosperity, and both parties in the State acquiesced in what appeared to be working well. But in spite of Sir Robert Peel having been the instrument of repealing the corn laws, Liberal politicians brought it about; and it was a Liberal statesman who finally carried the changes to its present somewhat illogical point—namely, the free import of competing commodities, with inordinate customs taxation on non-competing products, such as tea, coffee, and fruits, tobacco, wines, spirits, etc.

Therefore, while the Conservative party has equally abstained from espousing the cause of the modern fiscal reformers known as Fair-Traders—who in politics are of no man's land—the Liberals, and more especially the advanced Liberals, have rushed into the breach made by the failure of the Cobdenite prophecies. And assuming the good faith of every one who has entered the fray, the utmost that can be said of them is, that, as devotees to their party, they have deliberately treated the question only on the surface, and ignored the factors that govern it. For example, if this item of excess imports stood by itself, simply as a matter of figures and nothing else, they would not be in the quandary of having to reconcile the vast profit accruing (as they allege) with the patent fact that the years when such "vast profit" has been greatest the national prosperity of the United Kingdom has been, to say the least, on the ebb tide.

For excess imports *per se* are not necessarily bad. Nay, they may be

Continued on page 6.

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HAS ENGLAND PROFITED.
Continued from page 5.

entirely good. Supposing the whole of the 2,000,000,000 (and upwards) of imports into the United Kingdom were the payment of tribute to such portion of the people as are foreign investors or sea-carriers, and that not a cent's worth of British goods went out in exchange, under one condition it might be all really national profit, coincident with general prosperity. But that condition is absolutely essential. It is material that the import of such tribute (by goods) should consist of non-competing imports, say of articles of consumption unable to be produced under ordinary methods at home; or of articles of luxury in which other peoples, either from climate or racial distinctions, have the great pre-eminence; or, best of all, of raw material for manufacture, indigenous to other soils and incapable of production at the place of import, but useful to the importing country for the better employment of labor.

When, however, such excess imports consist in the main, as is now the case of the United Kingdom, of products, chiefly food and especially corn (than which no other country in the world can grow finer crops, or to so great a quantity per acre), or of manufactures, in which Great Britain is still pre-eminent, but which by longer hours and cheaper living in other countries, and freedom from taxation, can be imported at a lower cost than that at which the handicapped manufacturers at home can make; with the results that land is thrown out of cultivation and mills obliged to reduce their production for the home market; what is earned by the foreign investor or the sea-carrier ceases to be national profit. What is gained in one pocket is lost from the other, with the still further disadvantage that the stronger the foothold secured by the import, especially in the matter of foods, the more precarious the position of the importing peoples. This is the *cru*s of the position, and no free trade advocate has ever been able to get around it.

Indeed, foreign commerce, instead of being necessarily a symptom of prosperity, may mean exactly the reverse. Imports, they say, beget exports (always apart from that "tribute" question to which some have of late given the term of "invisible exports"). But if so, home production also begets customers. When, however, the import displaces home production, though an export may be attracted, the equivalent home customer is lost, in addition to the primarily displaced product. For the sake of one new national profit from outside, two national profits are lost inside. Take the case, for example, of the United Kingdom and France, of which the populations are nearly equal. The French consume as much food per head of population as the English. But the United Kingdom imports \$500,000,000 more of competing foods than France does, the latter under a policy of not immoderate food duties producing nearly all she consumes herself. Discarding the "tribute" question for the moment, let it be assumed that the United Kingdom pays for such extra import by \$500,000,000 of goods exported. She has then \$1,000,000,000 more foreign trade than France has. But which is better off, the United Kingdom whose national profit is confined to the labor, etc., involved in the \$500,000,000 export, or France who gains the double profit, first on the \$500,000,000 of food primarily produced, and then on the \$500,000,000 of return custom given by the home producer? Even though the cost to consumers in France may be greater, the margin of national profit involved in such transactions is too great for anyone—except the imminent political free trader—to doubt which policy is the wiser; always providing, of course, that such production is reasonably natural, and not requiring hot-house treatment.

It is the custom, also, with certain politicians in the United Kingdom, who by wont of long usage have the ear of the public, to treat the so-called free trade era as though it had had the monopoly of light, and that all that had preceded it was dark. And men who have not taken the trouble to investigate facts, or had the courage to discard the prejudice which in England surrounds the "dear loaf" bogie, have accepted such statements without questioning. A condition of general adversity, with high prices of bread, is the common picture drawn of the days of protection. In one of the Cobden Club leaflets, adopted from a Radical electioneering handbill, a doleful story is told by one professing to be a very old man (anonymously, of course,) of the hardships of 1812, in which year wheat was 112 shillings (\$27) the quarter; but the memory of that old man was evidently defective, and not a hint is given by those respectable gentlemen who edit the club "literature" that in the year 1812 there was no tax on wheat in operation. That old man had forgotten that the

wicked corn laws repealed in 1846 dated only from 1815, with some changes in the interval. In the course of the Fair-Trade propaganda it has been a common thing for men beyond middle age, saturated with this idea of past calamities so often retailed, to rise and declare how they remember the time when the loaf was so and so (perhaps double what it is now), using this as an argument why no return should be made in the direction of a protective policy. And when pressed, to name the year of such high prices, these historians of repute, if they are definite at all, universally fix upon the "fifties" as such period of distress. But the absurdity of this story (from the point of view of the free trade or free import controversy) is patent, when it is remembered that the corn laws were abolished in 1846, and that at the period named, as in 1812, there had been free imports of corn for several years, with the exception of the small registration duty of 1 shilling (quarter dollar) per quarter.

Both in the earlier years of the century and in the "fifties," when at times the average price of wheat in the United Kingdom has been very high, war and the absence of transit facilities have been the causes. In the earlier period Europe had been in strife for years, and England had had a chief share in the fighting; whilst, in the "fifties," the Crimean war put a stop for the time to trading with the Black Sea, whence the imports of wheat into the United Kingdom were then chiefly derived. But the British free traders have annexed these events, and through their distortion sought to discredit the fiscal policy of 1815-46; whereas if a fiscal policy had had aught to do with such results—and it had none—the facts tell rather against free imports than against import duties. No better illustration than the foregoing could be given of the ignorance and prejudice on this point amongst Englishmen at home (though when they travel, and especially when they settle in other parts of the world, their eyes are quickly opened); and how this ignorance and prejudice are fomented for political ends by those who ought to know better.

Another feature of these bygone days is always forgotten, and one cannot but think purposely overlooked. Doubtless there were times and place when and where, in different parts of the United Kingdom, small as the country is compared with the United States, there were scarcity of crops and high prices, with hardships pressing upon all classes, especially the peasantry, which did not exist at the same time in other parts of the country. In certain counties—in, for example, Dorsetshire—the conditions of production would be far below the average of the United Kingdom, and the position of the laborers inferior to the lot of the same class elsewhere. In a changeable climate like that of the United Kingdom, where the spells of hot and rainy weather are of brief duration, and where the times of harvest vary in different parts of the country by several weeks, crops may be above the average in one part of the kingdom, and much beneath the average in another part. In the present day such diversity of local influences is not felt, the locomotive having brought distant parts together, precisely as the ocean steamer has knitted country with country. But the absence of means of quick transit in these olden times made it possible for abundance to exist in one part of the country, whilst scarcity and distress might be the portion of another part. This is proved from the fact that the average prices of wheat throughout the country during the protective period were certainly much less than they were in the decade preceding, or the decade succeeding, the operation of import duties.

Indeed, were it necessary, it would not be difficult to show that, instead of the protective period of 1815-46, in the United Kingdom, having been one of gloom and adversity, it was not merely the contrary, but that the foundations of the future wealth and prosperity of British traders were laid during those years. That the special nature of the corn laws of that time was defective, and in many cases vicious—more particularly in the facilities they gave to money speculators to control the market—may be freely admitted. In a word, what the circumstances of 1815 might have dictated was unfitted for the period of thirty years afterwards, when these laws were abolished; and probably many of those who are now clamoring for an alteration of the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom, to suit the new conditions of to-day, would have been found among those who, forty or fifty years ago, fought for repeal. But the British free traders have pinned their creed to that of the political economists, and, instead of respecting the special needs of each country and generation, still teach their faith as though it were an exact science, regardless how very imperfectly they themselves already carry out the real creed in operation. However, in spite of admitted

evils and drawbacks, it was during this much decried, and most undeservedly decried, period that England placed herself in a position, not merely to take the lead, but to be the only country able to take the first advantage of the commercial and industrial revolution ushered in by the new reign of science and invention, which the gold discoveries so powerfully stimulated for the time. By fortuitous circumstances these historic events followed the introduction of the free import system so closely, giving rise to the now famous leaps and bounds of trade, that Englishmen were too busy to diagnose the real factors governing the occasion, while the politicians and professional free traders at once seized on such progress as a sign of the wisdom of their policy. But, in point of fact, the real operation of free imports of competing products, and without reciprocity, was only retarded; and it was not because, but in spite, of free imports that the country prospered. As a well-known writer on the subject has pithily put it, free trade really failed when it was apparently succeeding; but when in later years the causes that prevented its natural operation were removed, and apparent failure resulted, it was really succeeding.

There are also two or three signs standing to tell us that instead of disaster or distress being the portion of England's protection period, the reverse was the truth. In the year 1841, before even the first approaches towards a free trade policy were made, the Edinburgh Review, the chief organ of the Liberal party of that day, and therefore on the side of the anti-Corn-Law-Leaguers, wrote as follows (p. 502):

The history and the prospects of the manufacturing industry of Great Britain have long excited mixed feelings of pleasure and pain, of pride and regret, of satisfaction and uneasiness, in all thinking minds. We have raised the value of British industry far beyond the value of any other European community. We have accumulated a capital far exceeding, both positively and in relation to our population, that of any other existing

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SENATOR IRBY

Show How the Agriculturists of South Carolina Overthrew Bourbonism.

"I propose to show," said the senator, "that there is no foundation whatever for the reasoning or argument that the social question entered at all into the political revolution which culminated in the election of Tillman as governor of South Carolina in 1890. First, as to the causes of the Tillman movement, so-called. The political history of the State up to 1890 shows that it was ruled by an oligarchy of which, perhaps, no Northern State can furnish an example. This oligarchy has been variously called the Ring, the Bourbons, and more recently and quite appropriately, the 'Conservatives,' in the original meaning of the term. Under whatever name this regime is known, the voting people—the great majority of them—saw some years ago that so far as the holding of offices was concerned, the Bourbons were a privileged class, which claimed high station and every station by an inalienable, divine right to rule. This kind of government was a colonial relic, a system once necessary, perhaps, but which had outlived by a half century its usefulness or necessity. It might have been tolerated for many years after 1890, but for certain issues which arose and which, carried to their logical and inevitable conclusion, brought about financial reforms, economic reforms, and swept away, with many Governmental abuses, the Bourbon as an office-holding class.

"Before the year 1890 the farmers had asked their rulers for an agricultural college. The request was denied, but even this was not the primary cause of the revolt. In my opinion the true cause of the unrest which pervaded the State for some years before 1890 was a system of commercial extortion or legalized robbery of the farming and, in general, the poorer class by the money owners and money lenders, in whatever form it was loaned to the people, whether by bankers, private usurers, or cotton factors. This system began as early as the close of the war, when the Confederate soldier came home to find that all was lost, both on the battle-field and his farm. In order to assist him in the struggle to restore his fallen fortunes, to give him credit and standing in the commercial world, the lien law was enacted. It was intended as a blessing, but became a curse so potent that in time the farming classes cried out against it as an infamous, though silent, oppressor.

"Merchants and bankers charged outrageous rates of interest. With rates of 300 per cent under the lien system, and 50 per cent charged by bankers and merchants, the farmer was taxed to death, certainly to the point where forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and where revolt was the remedy, both in law and equity. The farmer was growing poorer every day, and it was while the condition was about at its worst that Mr. Tillman, who had been through it all as a practical farmer, appeared above the horizon. He was a farmer who had become bankrupt through the extortions of the system I have but briefly described. He found the people ripe for any reduction that would relieve them of their grievous burdens. Tillman became a political factor in 1885, and one year afterward the farmers and their friends organized themselves to correct the evils from which they suffered. In this movement for self-protection the city merchant and the town merchant were naturally unpopular, a feeling which still exists regardless of the social standing of the merchant, be he from city or country, town or cross-roads.

"That there was and is no social element in the movement may be, perhaps, most easily and conclusively proved from the character of the leaders under whom the Farmers' Association began to move as a quasi-political body. The more prominent of the leaders and charter members of the association were B. R. Tillman, J. E. Tindal, G. W. Shell, W. D. Evans, D. K. Morris, M. L. Donaldson, John E. Bradley, T. J. Kirkland, E. T. Stackhouse, Y. J. Pope, Hugh Farley, W. T. C. Bates, J. A. Sligh, Sampson Pope, Eugene B. Gory, John Gory Evans, W. J. Talbert, W. A. Courtney, Dr. Timmerman and myself. These men enlisted in the cause of reform in the State government and redress of the evils oppressing the farming classes. Those who know anything at all about the social history of South Carolina would never contend that all or any of the leaders I have named would

have entered into a conspiracy to dethrone their own class as a class, or to pander to communistic prejudice and passion as a means of self-destruction. The leaders in most instances belonged to what has been called the higher or highest social class in South Carolina, and they represented the State from border to border, among them being included some of the colonial 'aristocracy' of Beaufort, Georgetown and Charleston.

The Tillman family ranks among the best in the State. In 1885 Tillman made a speech before the South Carolina Agricultural Society, at Bennetville, in which he advocated the building of an agricultural college, in which the farmer boys could learn the science of agriculture. He advised, also, the divorce of the literary and agricultural departments of the South Carolina University, in which was an 'annex' for agricultural studies. The idea of the agricultural college and the abolition of the 'annex' were indorsed by every county in the State. In 1886 the farmers met, formed an association, and presented their claims in a memorial to the legislature, which were almost indignantly refused.

This meeting was the largest ever held in this State, and was composed of representative farmers and the friends of the association, lawyers, doctors, mechanics, and all other professions and vocations. In that year, after the rejection of their respectful claim, they tried to solidify their forces and elect a governor in sympathy with them; but they failed for a reason not necessary to explain in this connection. In 1888 they tried again, but failed again. They tried this year to nominate Gen. Joseph E. Earle, a Bourbon of the Bourbons, a fact which is its own commentary on that 'social revolt' in South Carolina and the 'true inwardness of Tillmanism,' and especially when it is stated that Tillman himself worked sincerely and hard for the nomination of Earle. Gen. Earle was one of the opponents of Tillman on the stump in 1890.

The farmers of the State and those who favored the establishment of an agricultural college had, in my judgment, the best of reasons for their rebellion against the then existing political powers. Their demands were reasonable, and they had become exasperated by the failures to perform and by the broken promises and hollow assurances of the party leaders. Gov. Richardson, who pretended Gov. Tillman, while pretending sympathy with the agricultural college idea, made no reference to it in his inaugural address, so that near the close of his last term the storm burst, the revolution was on. The revolutionists—not socialists or anarchists—were determined to obtain redress. In the Spring of 1890 G. W. Shell, now Congressman from the fourth district, and then chairman of the Farmers' Association, issued an address calling upon the farmers of the State to meet in convention to nominate candidates for State offices, to canvass the State and stand for nomination at the regular Democratic convention in September.

Tillman was nominated by this convention in the spring, or was 'suggested,' as the phrase went in that campaign. Gen. Joseph E. Earle and Gen. John Brotton made the canvass against him, but Tillman swept the field and was nominated and elected, administering a crushing defeat to the independent-savannah negro-radical ticket, led by Alexander C. Haskell as candidate for governor. During the campaign several new issues were raised by the newspapers, but the fundamental issues of Tillmanism remained the same and were incorporated in the party platform of 1890. The cause for the perennial stream of abuse of the farmers' movement and its leaders from the News and Courier and other papers is not hard to locate. I am a representative of the movement. The patronage of the Federal Government is worth about \$250,000. The former rulers of this State—the ring, as they are called—hope to control this patronage as a corruption fund to bribe weak-kneed reformers and to eventually restore themselves to power. But they may as well understand now, once for all, that the people in the saddle, there to remain for at least twenty years—and, in truth, they do know it.

There is another reason for this daily assassination of the State by her patriotic sons! The debt of the State is to be refunded in 1893. Ever since Tillman came into office the daily newspapers have been endeavoring to discredit the State, to hold her up to the world as a 'poor bedraggled creature,' indeed. They hope that the people will repudiate Tillman should he fail to refund the debt, but in this they will be mistaken. The so-called 'conservative' Democracy cannot afford much longer to block the effort to make the refund because they, too, must pay a part, a good part, of the taxes, and I expect to see the day, near at hand, when a sensible consistency like the conservative Democracy will repudiate the newspaper leaders, to whom

the unfortunate strife, the fratricidal war of past years, has been justly chargeable. The course of events in the very near future will prick their bubbles and relegate them to the rear.

The truth is that the people who now reign in South Carolina are happy under the present benevolent government, happier than they have been at any time since the war. They are happy in the fact that they now are their own masters, that they are the electors, and that they exercise their full power in the choice of their rulers. The recent election passed off quietly and satisfactorily to a great majority of the citizens of the State. The State debt will be refunded in due time, and—a consummation I most earnestly desire—the wings of the Democratic party will flap together again in peace and unity, unless the conservative element as a distinct party is kept asunder to preserve a constituency for some moribund newspaper enterprises."

ALLIANCE DEMANDS.

Adopted at Ocala and Reaffirmed at Indianapolis.

1. We demand the abolition of national banks.

2. We demand that the Government shall establish subtreasuries in the several States which shall issue money direct to the people at a low rate of tax, not to exceed 2 per cent per annum, on non-perishable farm products, and also upon real estate, with proper limitations upon the quantity of land and amount of money.

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

4. We demand that Congress shall pass such laws as will effectually prevent the dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions; providing a stringent system of procedure in trials that will secure prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.

5. We condemn the silver bill recently passed by Congress, and demand in lieu thereof the free and unlimited coining of silver.

6. We demand the passage of laws defining alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

7. Believing in the doctrine of equal rights to all, and special privileges to none, we demand—

8. That our national legislation shall be so framed in the future as not to build up one industry at the expense of another.

9. We further demand a removal of the existing heavy tariff tax from the necessities of life that the poor of our land must have.

10. We further demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on incomes.

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

12. We demand the most rigid, honest and just State and national governmental control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuse now existing, we demand the Government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

13. We demand that the Congress of the United States submit an amendment to the Constitution providing for the direct vote of the people of each State.

FINANCE.

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

We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 15 to 1.

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

We demand a graduated income tax.

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

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

TRANSPORTATION.

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

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

LAND.

Third. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited.

All land now held by railroads and other corporations, in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

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GET OUT OF THE WOODS.

Plain Words to Workingmen by One of Them—How to Do It.
Fred Woodrow, in the Century Magazine for November.

We have come to a point in labor progress where we see not only the fence rails that shut us in to small puddings and poor pay, but have the means, and the public consent, to take them down. We can get out of the woods into the road, and out of darkness into daylight, if we choose to do so. We wanted good laws, and we have come at last under the dome of Washington, and up the stairways of Congress. By civilization and progress we are no longer the serfs of society, but the sovereigns. What we think, and say, and do, is not now a mere matter of club rooms, third floors and back basements, but a national concern.

We have also in sight the direct way of being better off in our stock of eatables, clothes and dollar-bills, by such a process as that of co-operation. Just remember that file of twenty-eight poor weavers, tramping over the cobblestones of Toad Lane in Rochdale, taking down the shutters of an old factory-room, and stocking it with groceries, with the shoe-blacks throwing mud at them, and the policeman uncertain whether they were tramps or lunatics. They went on, however, in the way of weaving by day and running their store at night, buying out of their investment what they wanted of tea, sugar, matches and bacon. In 1844 they started with just twenty-eight members and a capital of £28. In 1867 they had 623 members, £128,435 in funds, had done business to the amount of £284,910, and had accumulated the round sum of £41,619 as clear profit. There is no reason why we should not add to our little store by such enterprise and good sense. It is a grand idea; there is no such like it in any scheme for our industrial well-being. We are grumbling, and very rightly, too, about the way the money runs; most of it, like the rain on a roof, into a few big tubs, and sparing only some chance pailfuls for the rest of us. By co-operation we can change this system of big water-pipes, and do some good plumbing on our own account. There are some men in the world who would persuade us that the inequalities of wealth can be removed by anarchy and revolution—by upsetting the farmer's wagon and having a general good time in eating his watermelons. They teach us the doctrine of a forcible division of all things, so that no man's share of gold and silver, beef, mutton, cake, and pie shall be more than any other's. It never was, never can, and never will be done. A given amount of work or investment has its legitimate results. We may not get it in every case, but, when we do, no man has the right to the egg so long as we own the fens, or to the crop so long as we paid for the seed and did our own plowing. What we want is not a division; but a system of co-operation and profit-sharing that is distributive without being unjust. To bring about such a system is one of our aims, and, like all other things worth having, it will be on the line of hard work, common sense and fair play. The principle of co-operation goes to show that the wrongs of industrial life at which we kick are most of them removable by judicious methods, and not by any other means that we know of.

The idea of profit sharing is in the same direction, though not so far advanced, as co-operation. It is not a move from the labor side; but from that of capital toward labor, by giving it a share in the profits of its investment. It is a step upstairs, and its application and benefits depend on ourselves. It is a matter of much promise, to us workers, as recognizing faithful service, energy and well-doing. It meets us in our want of capital by giving us a share of investments toward which we could not spare a dollar, and it is adaptable to our present condition of ignorance (most of us with no knowledge or fact whatever) in the manipulation of money and the management of business. We look upon profit-sharing as a step on the line of progress, and as indicating on the part of employers a wise and manly intent to make our lot better than it is. Our chance lies in being equal to our duties, and not abusing our privileges. In these things there is no room for demagogues or deadheads; the lazy and the shiftless, the drunken and the dishonest, must rub their elbow joints somewhere else. We want no such sand in our sugar; and to my fellow-toilers I would say: Let us be as deserving of our rights as we have been noisy over our wrongs. We have no faith in any nonsense that thinks it can make the world so flat that there will be no hills to climb and no holes to tumble into, and life

in general so easy that we can go to heaven on padded chairs. There will always be some of us who will spend all they get, as if it was a hot coal in their jeans or a pot of butter in their hats. Men will lie and cheat, and be tyrants, so long as this old planet throws a round shadow on the silent moon; but for such as are not of that kind the outlook is clear and the future full of hope. The chances are in our favor if we are but wise enough to see them, and are not so loosed-fingered as to let them slip. We workingmen have, as a class, our faults and follies; we have had our backssets, and we have some excuses for our ignorance; but be the past all it has been of wrongs, tyrannies, rags, tears and bare bones, we can be even the better for that stern discipline—if we do not come short of our duty.

BASIC PRINCIPLE OF LAW.

Some Pertinent Questions Suggesting Themselves to the Careful Student.

Much is said in our press in relation to anarchy. Tons of paper and barrels of printers ink have been used in late years in calling the attention of the people to the danger of anarchistic doctrines. That a greater danger is lurking behind the powers of law, that more harm has been done, more oppression and crime committed under the pretense and authority of law than ever by anarchists, only a few will admit. Yet it is a fact. All reforms, whether on a scientific, religious, or political field, have at one time or another been under the bane of law.

At all times in history those questioning or opposing existing rules and customs of society have been severely censured and punished. To-day any one may question the existence of a higher supreme force and power or creator, but to dare to question the authority of law is a crime that will be punished; no matter what kind of law, whether just or unjust, is opposed or violated. Now, what is law? What is the purpose and intention of all law? Who makes it and has a right to make it and enforce it? These are some of the questions suggesting themselves to a careful student.

Law is supposed to be a certain rule of action, established by co-operative consent of the individual citizen composing the state or government where it is in force, to govern the conduct of man towards man.

On that point, little difference of opinion exists. But many fail to consider the true basis of statutory law. After a careful study, I cannot find any deeper, broader basis than God's law of nature itself. Nature's laws have never been changed or modified with, have never taken away a single right of the individual unless it be for violating her laws. In nature the rights and privileges of one individual never infringe upon the rights and privileges of another. Only when man became selfish, by letting animal nature and instincts control his action, and came to use superior physical strength or mental capacity, as well as circumstances and opportunities—produced by and entirely the gift of nature—for his own selfish ends, instead of the whole, like he ought to; only when the stronger took advantage of the weaker, mentally or physically, it became necessary to enact rules, or laws, backed by all the individual members of the agreement.

To protect the weaker against the stronger, to guarantee to each individual a full and free enjoyment of all natural rights and privileges, surely, was the only true, prime object of establishing law and government. To establish justice between man and man, to maintain the natural rights of the individual and the collective rights of a community or state, is the only true purpose of enacting laws. Every law, or law-making body, disregarding this great foundation principle; every judicial decision losing sight of this general purpose—"to maintain natural rights and establish justice between all"—is anarchy in a worse form than any other, and more dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people on account of the power derived from the consent of the governed behind it.

When I, therefore, make the charge that more anarchy is entrenched behind the words, "Be it enacted," and, "It is hereby decreed by this court," I would ask every fair-minded citizen to study our laws, our court decisions and the acts of our administrative agents. If, on attending our court sessions, or studying reports of proceedings of legislative or executive acts, as given by the press, you do not find that great basic foundation principles of law—"To maintain the natural rights of all, to establish justice between all"—are the main questions considered, I will beg the pardon of all and acknowledge myself as greatly in error and mistaken.

If they, however, find that, in our courts, the question whether this or

that rule has been complied with by the attorneys, or is this decision in harmony with a decision of a higher court? while the question, is it right or wrong is lost sight of, they will have to bear testimony to the truth of my charge. At present a law may be strained to comply with the rules of a court as dictatorial as the rules of the Czar, but seldom to cover cases in order to do justice to litigants. Technical errors of making out or serving papers decide a case, although due to ignorance of attorney, but does the decision give full justice, is another question.

Go to our legislative halls and how often do you hear the questions, will this law guarantee to each citizen full and universal justice?

Will it fully protect the national rights of all? I say, how often are those questions considered?

In the execution of law by our agents, elected to interpret and administer our laws, seriously consider the question of maintaining the natural rights of all?

Look at Pennsylvania, where men, standing up for their natural right to live, are arrested for treason. Look at our State, where the State Chairman is arrested, not for doing an injustice or wrong to a fellow-man, oh, no; only for violating a statutory provision, based upon what principle?

As to the question, who makes our laws? much might be said. The people, through their agents, are supposed to make them in a republic; but history shows that in all ages past the physically and mentally strongest have entrenched themselves behind the power of brute force, and through such power as was conceded them, by ignorance and lack of reasoning of the masses, they have always made laws for selfish ends, to be obeyed only by the weak, but never by themselves; always placing labor, the creator of wealth, at the mercy of capital, the creature of labor, usurping nature's law and substituting selfish greed and haughtiness.

Not until the people will study the great foundation principle of government, not until reason is enthroned instead of brute force and passion and greed, not until natural rights and privileges are placed above property rights of citizens, not until natural rights are placed above vested, or, in other words, granted and silently conceded special privileges, will our laws rest upon the only fair and tenable basis it should rest on.

Violate nature's laws, or rules, and punishment must follow as sure as nature exists. Comply with her laws and learn to understand them, and the more you understand and comply therewith the higher the science and advancement of civilization. All science is nothing but study of nature's laws. Not until our social system rests upon this scientific basis can the human instincts and reason control the animal force and selfishness.

All for one and one for all, is the motto of the future.

TEXAS produced 665,069 more bales of cotton in the season of 1889-90 than she did in 1879-80, and had 1,754,320 acres more in cultivation. The total area devoted to the cultivation of cotton in the State of Texas in 1889-90 was 3,932,755 acres and a production of 1,470,353 bales, as compared with a cultivated area of 2,178,435 acres and a production of 805,284 bales in 1879-80. In 1879-80 she produced a bale of cotton for every 2.705 acres in cultivation; in 1889-90 she produced a bale for every 2.675 acres in cultivation. This shows an improvement in cultivation of thirty-one-thousandths of an acre to the bale; that is, it takes that much less land to produce a bale of cotton than it did in 1879-80.

THE death of Lieut. Schwatka, the explorer, at Portland, Ore., by laudanum suicide will be regretted. The lieutenant served in the army against the Indians, and studied law and medicine. In 1878 he commanded an expedition which sought for and found the bodies of members of the Sir John Franklin arctic exploring expedition. Later the lieutenant explored Alaska, following the line of the Yukon River, 1305 miles, and in 1884 he ascended Mt. St. Elias. Five years after Northern Mexico was the scene of his explorations. A number of books published by Lieut. Schwatka record his various observations.

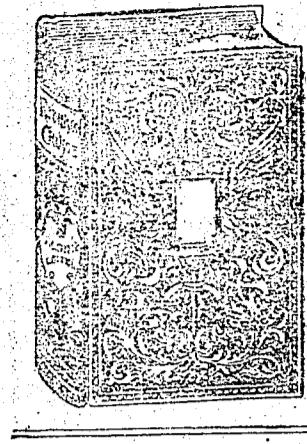
IN CINCINNATI theatrical managers ask injunctions against boycotts and labor combines. The case is far-reaching. It is dawning upon men and women prominent in labor matters that the framer of Sherman's anti-trust law meant the crippling of no corporations, but the ultimate prosecution and persecution of men ordering strikes or boycotts.

If they, however, find that, in our courts, the question whether this or

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THE CHOLERA MISSION.

To Purge the Church and State and Weed Out Noxious Growth.
By JOHN T. JAMES, Addie, Va.
Minister of the Gospel and Principal of High School.)

This dreadful plague and scourge now nesting in our greatest port for its future work in this land is among the "all power" given unto Jesus for the good of His church, and for the protection of that class most largely constituting that church when truly ordered—the poor. It is one of a class of "last resort" for weeding out noxious growth, that would overshadow and ruin the church, as well as for purging the church and State in general.

It has a "mission" to this country, as truly from God as that of a heaven accredited evangelist, only of a different nature. It is a "Pride's Purge" for proud America, to be applied chiefly to the proudest section of this land, the North, and at a time of its greatest pride and in the place of the exposition of that pride, the Great Chicago fair, where it will burst forth with supernatural fury. Satan, who once got license to practice his plagues on Job, has now got permission to bring his greatest plague to Chicago, a city where some years ago a four-hundred-million-dollar fire was ascribed to the kick of a cow, and apply it at a time when multitudes of the proud churches of this land, which harbor the rich oppressors of the laboring man, will be gathered. This time Chicago's judgment is not to be by another kick from some descendant of that cow, but by an agency brought thousands of miles for its work.

It has a mission, too, for other cities where an ungodly and unassimilated foreign element is ruling those cities to the ruin of this country. And a very special mission will the cholera have for such cities as New York, where thousands of foreigners have used their liberty in this land to set up saloons to debauch the very country whose liberty they crossed the ocean to enjoy. That vast army of saloon-keepers, which defies law and buys law-makers, and makes it impossible to root it from its legal entrenchments, will receive special attention from cholera. Saloon-keepers will be beautifully less when God's army is done with its mission services in the saloons of our cities.

It has a mission service for bloated bondholders, and will lay many of them so low that only the last trump will awake them. American pride in her millions and bondholders will lay in the dust when the plague is called off from this country, and the American eagle, which these days is carried about by soldiers to flop its wings at laborers, goaded into lawlessness by moneyed oppression, will be a very poor fowl by the time the fowls of death are done feeding on rich carcasses.

And the American flag will not fly so high above the cross of calvary after this judgment has been visited on a nation whose national stripes once meant stripes for tyrants and oppressors, but have now been transformed to sustain money tyrants in laying stripes on the poor classes of this once honest poor man's land.

We are known in some twenty States of this Union, mostly North, and are ready to stand or fall with these utterances.

John Allen's Latest Story.
Chicago Letter to St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

"There are quite a number of citizens here from the South, but I am the only prominent man I have seen from our section," said Congressman John Allen, of Mississippi. "You remember the reply of the man when asked who were at a certain meeting. 'Myself and several other prominent persons,' was what he said. I am, as you see, suffering from a sprained leg. I got it running so hard for Congress in my district. Really this campaign of education on the tariff is not altogether encouraging. The other day I tried to show one of my colored constituents the error of the Republican policy of protection. He works for about \$8 a month. 'Hiram,' said I, 'what did you pay for that knife you've got there in your hand?' 'Fifty cents,' he said. 'Well, don't you know, I said, 'that if it wasn't for the tariff you could have got it for 25 cents?' 'Huh!' he said, 'what do I care for a quarter?'

The cholera has a mission, too; for the money-bloated supporters of that political party which, after nearly thirty years of patient acquiescence to a desolating war and the payment of millions of pensions annually to support the soldiers of the Union, are now proposing to put on the desolated and tax-paying South a force bill, to perpetuate the national supremacy of one of the most shamelessly corrupt parties that ever disgraced a country. When the plague is over its mission work in this land, there will be less of these money-bloated supporters of a money-floated party.

But this plague has a much higher mission than any of these. The fowls of death are to be given a feast on much higher and richer flesh than these. They are to find carcasses in the pulpit—in those money-owned and money-controlled pulpits of this land, now numbering thousands, where men stand in the livery of Jesus to preach a rich man's gospel and uphold a rich man's power, in a so-called church of Him whose crowning proof of being the Messiah was that "The poor had the gospel preached unto them;" who, though He was rich, yet for our sakes became

poor, that He might sanctify and bless worldly poverty and crown it with eternity's riches and immortality. There will be many of these pulpits "to let" when God Almighty has finished His cholera controversy with these menials in a land which He kept hid for centuries, until the time He needed it as a refuge for the poor man's church, and the honest poor man's Government.

And in general, when God's cholera mission has closed its services in this land, there will be room again in this land for His olden time and all time missions for the laboring poor, both in church and State.

"When God makes trouble, who can make peace?" Not all the quarantining of the wisest physicians can stay this cholera mission in one iota of its intended force and purpose and effect. This plague is brought from Asia, in whose most populous nation the precious mission work of God's most blessed son has been threatened with disruption and expulsion because of the shameless treaty-breaking on the part of this boasted Christian nation. So full of the spirit of greed and monopoly has this nation become in its ruling class, that it will break a solemn treaty with a great heathen nation, and expose Christ's mission work and workers to looting and murder.

Now let the humble classes of this country learn their refuge during this plague. Let them take refuge in God—the poor man's God. "This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him and saved him out of all his troubles." "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord." Let them shelter themselves under the mercy seat of that Jesus whose blood was shed especially for "the poor." Let them take refuge under the wings of those mighty angels which come down to protect God's poor when God's judgments are searching out their oppressors and destroyers. Let them hide in the book of books, and especially in the ninety-first Psalm, whose promises have shielded millions in battle and in plagues. And in that Psalm let them quietly await the advance of Jehovah's cholera army, and they will see how truly and wonderfully that army is under strictest orders. What eyes and intelligence it will have as to the classes it is to destroy.

And now let all papers friendly to the humble working classes of this land, publish and scatter this warning. A short time will show whether the Most High God has a prophet in this land. The undersigned is 50 years of age, is thirty-three years a Christian and twenty-seven years a preacher of the gospel to the poor. In his early ministry he was offered adoption by a childless family worth half a million, with the promise of building him a fine church in which he would have a rich congregation in a rich city. He declined with thanks that he might continue to preach the gospel to the poor. He once warned the most popular minister of a great church, who was professing the highest grace and serving a grand church of moneyed aristocrats, that he was shaming his Savior in so doing. He needed not the warning and was cut off in the bloom of life.

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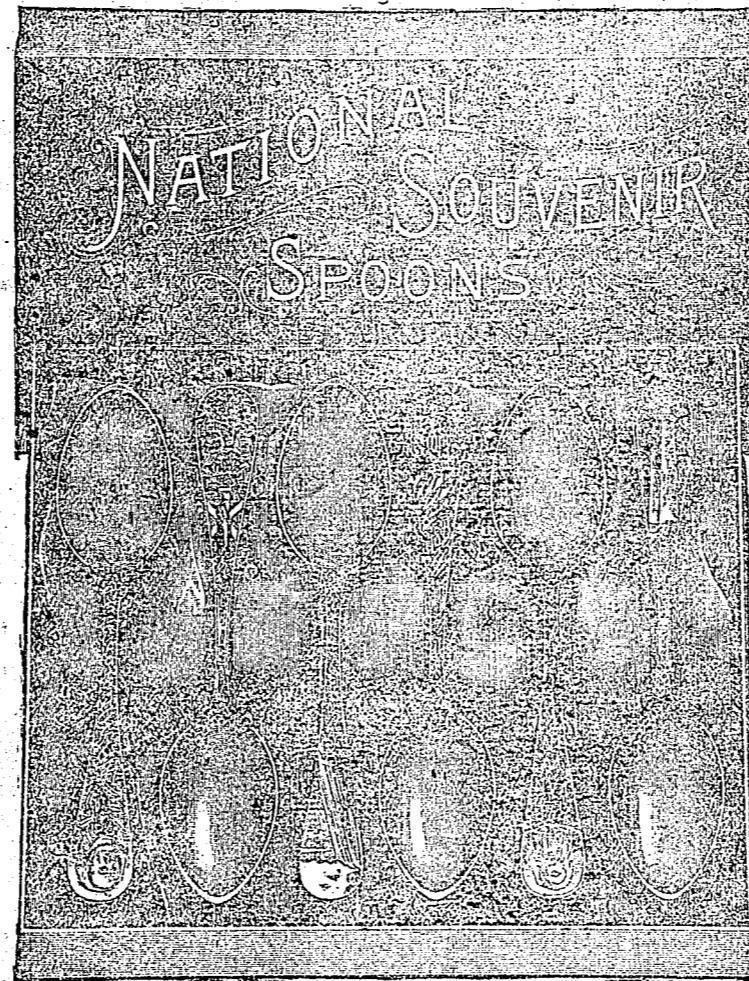
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and that of the very rich by a surfeiting and a lack of proportionate exercise. The middle-class girl has plenty of wholesome food and is required to lead a moderately-active life. The result is that she grows up tall and graceful, with the easy carriage of an athlete. I believe that the young ladies of to-day will average an inch taller than their mothers. The men of America are also growing taller, but the advance is not so marked as in the case of young ladies. I attribute this backwardness to the very general use of tobacco or liquor, or both, by the boys of America. Climate has a very considerable effect upon race development. As we increase in population, and the stream of immigration ceases to materially affect us, we will approach nearer and nearer to the physical characteristics of the American Indian—tall, strong, erect, with very little superfluous flesh."

J. H. McDowell, president of the Tennessee State Alliance, deserves much credit for the able, direct, and straightforward manner in which he has met and answered all the campaign falsehoods that have been flooding his State. Brother McDowell can console himself with the reflection that under the best apple tree the clubs and stones are most abundant.

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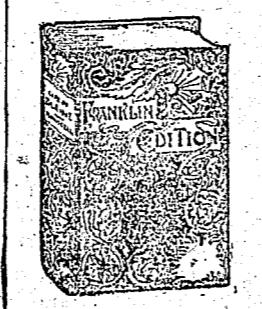
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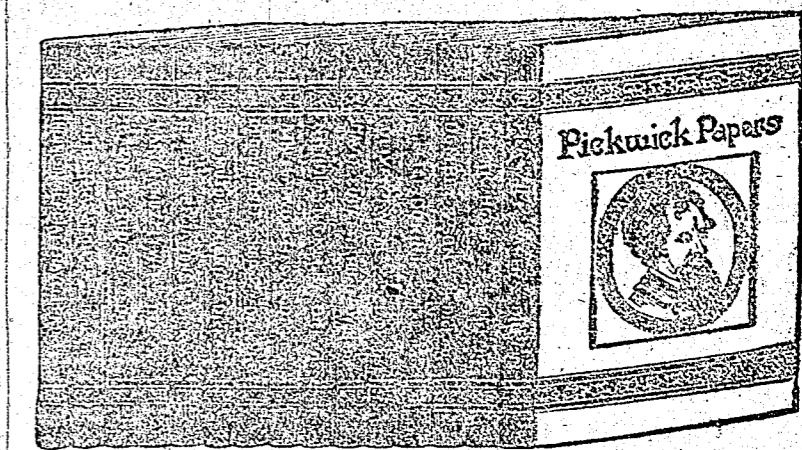
In using the following directions the only caution necessary is that before the hypnotic sleep merges into natural slumber the sleeper is apt to answer unconsciously any questions that may be gently asked, and thereby reveal secrets that might perhaps cause domestic disturbance. But the innocent need have no fears. Lie on your right side, close the eyes gently; forget that the lids are barriers to seeing, and turn your eyes inward and downward, so that you can see your breath as if it were vapor leaving your nostrils and curling off in the air. Then watch it return up the nostrils, and then out again. Concentrate your powers of vision until you seem actually to see this, then you are asleep.

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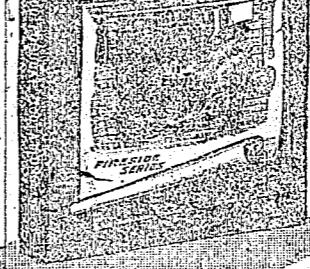
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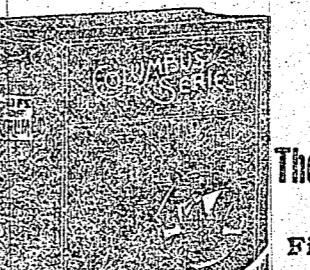
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MINTS AND ASSAY OFFICES.

Annual Report of Director of the Mint
E. O. Leech.

Mr. E. O. Leech, Director of the Mint, has submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury a report on the operations of the mints and assay offices of the United States for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1892. The value of the gold deposited at the mints and assay offices during the year was \$66,476,975, of which \$61,131,460 were original deposits, and \$5,345,516 were redeposits.

Of the original deposits, \$31,961,546 were the product of our own mines, \$24,975,342 foreign gold coin and bullion, \$557,968 light-weight domestic gold coin and \$3,036,604 old material.

The deposits and purchases of silver aggregated 72,121,268 standard ounces, of the coining value of \$83,922,930, of which 64,461 standard ounces, of the coining value of \$745,564, were redeposits.

Of the silver received, 63,139,609 standard ounces, of the coining value of \$73,461,072, were the product of domestic mines and refineries; 2,118,978 standard ounces, of the coining value of \$2,464,672, were foreign silver bullion and coin; 5,593,907 standard ounces, of the coining value of \$6,509,274, were uncirculated domestic coins for recoinage; 1921 standard ounces, of the coining value of 2236 trade dollars melted, and 636,290 standard ounces, of the coining value of \$740,411, old plate, jewelry, etc.

The coining of the mints during the last fiscal year aggregated 113,556,124 pieces, valued as follows: Gold, \$35,506,987; silver dollars, \$8,329,407; subsidiary silver, \$6,059,812; minor coins, \$1,296,710; total value, \$51,792,976.

The number of silver dollars coined during the fiscal year from bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, was 3,450,995, and from trade dollar bullion, 4,878,472, a total of 8,329,407 silver dollars, upon which the seigniorage or profit was \$930,487.

The total coining of silver dollars under the act of February 28, 1878, to the close of such coining was \$378,166,793; under the act of 1890, to November 1, 1892, \$33,167,579, and under the act of March 3, 1891, \$5,078,472, a total coining of silver dollars since March 1, 1878, of \$416,412,835.

The net profit on the coining of silver during these fourteen years, including the balances in the coining mints on July 1, 1878, has aggregated \$72,736,665.

In addition to the coining, gold bars were manufactured of the value of \$36,125,552 and silver bars of the value of \$7,130,270, a total of \$43,255,822.

The purchases of silver by the Government during the last fiscal year were all made under the mandatory provisions of the act of July 14, 1890, requiring the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver in each month.

The total amount purchased during the year aggregated 54,355,748 fine ounces, costing \$51,100,608 at an average cost of 94 cents per fine ounce.

The price of silver fluctuated during the last fiscal year from \$1.02 per fine ounce, which was the price at the beginning of the year, to \$0.855 March 28, the lowest price, closing June 30 at \$0.873, a variation of \$0.073 an ounce during the last fiscal year.

On July 1, 1892, the commercial value of the pure silver contained in a silver dollar was 66 cents; at the highest price during the fiscal year it was \$0.786, and at the average price \$0.724.

The number of silver dollars distributed from the mints during the last fiscal year was 9,407,920, being \$3,800,874 less than in the previous year.

The beneficial results of the liberal appropriations for the last two years for loss on recoinage of worn and uncirculated silver coins in the Treasury is shown by the fact that the balance of such coins has been reduced from \$23,002,268 on July 1, 1890, to \$11,499,579 on November 1, 1892, a reduction of \$11,502,689.

By the recoinage of uncirculated coins in the Treasury, principally half-dollars, into new quarter-dollars and dimes, for which there was an urgent demand, the Treasury has been relieved of a large unavailable asset, and the small change of the country increased to a corresponding extent.

The total exports of gold from the United States during the fiscal year aggregated \$50,305,533, while imports aggregated \$50,162,879, show-

ing a net loss of \$142,654, against a loss for the preceding fiscal year of \$67,946,768.

The exports of silver aggregated \$33,800,562, and the imports of the same metal \$28,764,734, showing a net loss of silver by export of \$5,035,828, against a net gain during the previous year of \$2,745,365, a change of \$7,781,193.

The total expenditures for the support of the mints and assay offices during the last year aggregated \$1,106,538, against \$1,335,910 expended in the prior year, a reduction of expenses amounting to \$229,371. The total earnings from all sources aggregated \$2,294,288, while the total expenditures and losses of all kinds aggregated \$1,500,494, a net profit of earnings over expenditures of \$793,794.

The mines of the United States produced during the calendar year 1891 precious metals as follows:

	Fine ounces.	Commercial value.	Coining value.
Gold	1,604,810	\$33,175,000	\$33,175,000
Silver	58,330,000	\$7,630,040	75,416,505

The products of the refineries and reduction works of the United States, as contradistinguished from the product of our own mines, aggregated: Gold, 2,169,863 fine ounces, silver, 69,336,415 fine ounces.

The product of gold and silver in the world, based upon returns to the director of the mint, was as follows:

	Fine ounces.	Commercial value.	Coining value.
Gold	6,102,893	\$26,159,000	\$26,159,000
Silver	143,994,000	143,260,000	186,174,000

The coinage of gold and silver in the various countries of the world during the calendar year 1891, so far as reports have been received, aggregated: Gold, \$119,183,735; silver, \$135,008,142.

The stock of gold and silver in the United States on November 1, 1892, based upon official tabulations brought forward from year to year, was, approximately: Gold, \$656,041,863; silver, \$878,614,951. Total, \$1,243,656,814.

The amount of money in actual circulation (outside of treasury vaults), including paper and metallic, was \$1,606,139,735, or \$24.34 per head.

The value of the gold bars furnished for industrial use during the last calendar year was \$16,644,953, against \$14,605,901 in the prior year, an increase of \$2,039,062; and of silver, \$9,631,746, against \$9,031,178 in the prior year, an increase of \$600,568.

If there has been no falling off in the amount of coin melted annually for use in repairs and jewelry, the total value of the precious metals used in the industrial arts and manufactures in the United States during the last year was, approximately: Gold, \$19,700,000, and silver, \$9,330,000, a total of \$29,330,000, of which \$10,697,679 gold and \$7,289,073 silver consisted of new bullion.

Medical Science.

C. R. Hammerton, in the Chautauquan for November.

We are in the midst of a transition period which will mark a great epoch in medical progress. It is well to discriminate between medicine and surgery in making this statement.

In surgery, the epoch is perhaps fully rounded; in medicine, it is scarcely at its height. Let me again name the two great allies which the surgeon has called to his aid. They are anesthetics and antiseptics—the pain killing and germ destroying agents now used in all operations. Fifty years ago, anesthesia was practically unknown; a quarter of a century later, all operations were still undertaken without antiseptic precautions.

It would be difficult to determine the relative importance of the two discoveries. They have opened every organ of the human body save the heart itself, to the merciful invasion of the surgeon's knife. Operations which two generations ago were not deemed possible are now of daily occurrence, and with the element of danger almost completely eliminated.

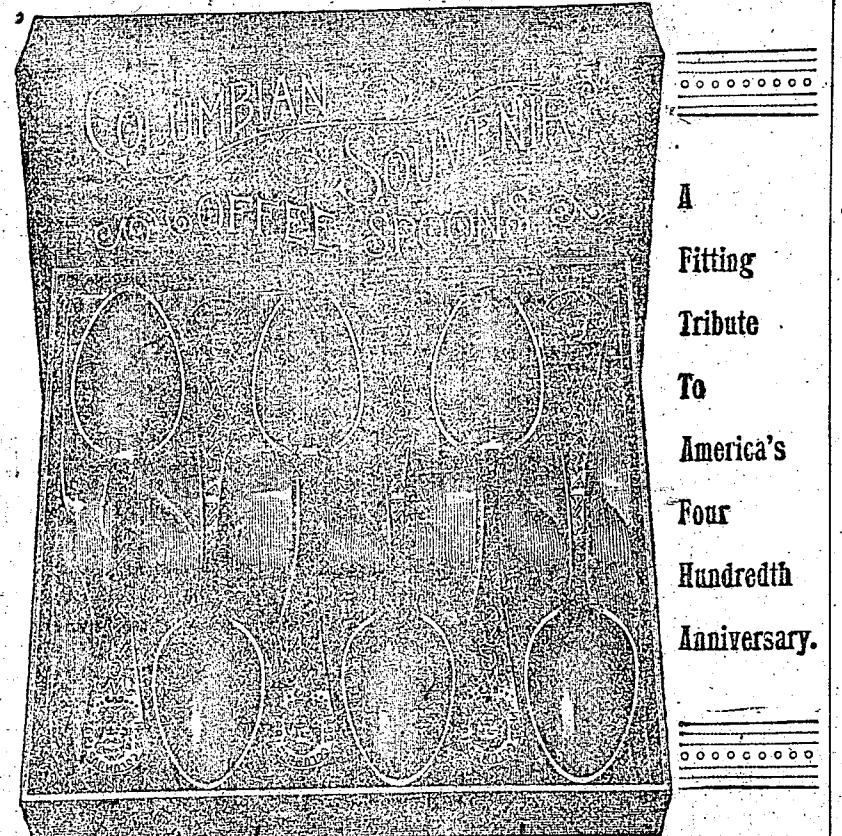
If the strictly medical portion of the profession had kept pace with the surgical division, the vital statistics of the world would have shown a wonderful lengthening of the span of human life in the last generation. And yet in an important sense this statement should be exactly reversed. Anesthetics and antiseptics were discoveries of the laboratory and not of the operating room. It is not fair to argue that modern surgeons have greater manual skill than their predecessors. It is quite likely that the contrary is true, for even more depended upon skill and dexterity than than now. There were some grand surgeons in the early days of the century, and the records of their achievements show some splendid triumphs when it is considered that

their resources were confined to their own skill and mere mechanical aids. Speed was then the great desideratum. Human endurance, without anesthetics, could not bear any of the necessarily tedious operations to-day. It is sometimes necessary to work rapidly even now. I once saw a famous surgeon remove a man's leg just below the hip in less than fifteen seconds.

In the strictly medical field, contemporary history is not without its record of great discoveries. The most interesting and those which promise the most important results have been made in the laboratory of the bacteriologist. His experiments have already yielded us some wonderful secrets, but the practical rewards of his work have only just begun to come to us. He tells us that many, perhaps all, the ills that flesh is heir to have their origin in the devastating work of countless minute bacilli which inhabit both air and water and which invade our poor bodies and prey upon the tissues. The physician's diagnosis has been made more complete. The matter of treatment is a question for the future. Many of the best minds of Europe and America are already devoted to the subject. The century will not close, it is safe to say, without witnessing many new and splendid triumphs over the manifold evils which continually threaten our tene- ment of clay.

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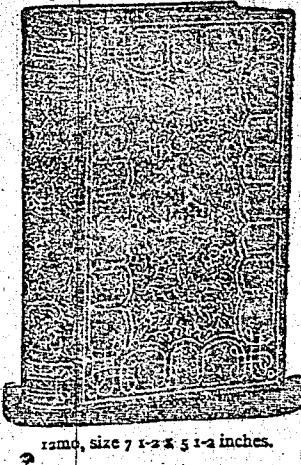
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Last Days

REGULATING COMMERCE.

It is a Constitutional Power and the Duty of Congress.
By W. R. ROBINSON, Texas.

In section 8, article 1, Constitution of the United States, is this clause and specific declaration:

Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States.

Of the six specific objects had in contemplation by the framers of the Federal Constitution, this power is intended to meet, at least, three of them in the most important sense, viz., "Establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

It occurs to one that the failure of Congress to meet the requirements of this Constitutional duty has been the prolific source of more injustice and suffering, prevented the general welfare of our common country, and has led to the destruction of more of the legitimate blessings of liberty than can be traced to all other sources combined.

When we contemplate this duty of Congress upon which the Constitution is so clear, we are led to wonder that the American people have quietly submitted to such manifest disregard of duty on the part of Congress which has permitted, yea, invited such stupendous wrongs to be introduced into the administration of our Government. Systems of wrong and oppression built up, fostered and perpetuated by the laws of Congress in direct contravention of the specific declaration of Constitutional duty.

In order to insure the successful organization of a thing, there is involved the necessity for the control of certain instrumentalities upon which that thing depends, and which are essential to its very existence, and without a control of such essential instrumentalities, such regulation is absolutely impossible.

It therefore follows that if Congress is to regulate commerce between the States, it must have control of these things, without which commerce can have no existence. Nothing short of such control of acknowledged essential instrumentalities would enable Congress to discharge its duty under this provision of the Constitution.

There are at least three things without either of which, in our day, we can form no idea of commerce. These essential instruments of commerce are money, transportation and the communication of intelligence.

The clear and unmistakable teaching of the Constitution is that Congress must at least control and regulate those prime instruments of commerce, whether it furnishes them or not, in order to be able to regulate commerce itself.

The framers of our Constitution and the founders of our Republic believe it to be the duty of Congress to supply these necessary instruments—at least those which were beyond the reach of the people themselves.

The limited and circumscribed extent of our nation in the early history of the Republic was such that money was the only one of these three instruments, whose want oppressed the people; the territory covered by our commerce was so small that private boats and other private means of transportation were sufficient to meet all the demands of trade, while all the necessary means of communication were supplied by the United States mail service. But when our nation spread itself from ocean to ocean and from the Great Lakes to the Southern Gulf, and our commerce covered a continent with millions of tons. No private means of transportation could possibly meet the demands of trade. Immense transactions involving vast sums of money and the necessity of communicating with persons widely separated could no longer wait the course of the United States mails.

To meet the demands of these new conditions of a great national interstate commerce, the railroads and telegraphs were called into requisition.

The fathers of our Republic did not consider it safe to delegate the duty of furnishing the commercial instrument of money, to an individual or corporation, and the same arguments then used on this question will apply with great force and pertinacity to the instruments of transportation and means of communication now. On the subject of farming out to banking corporations the duty of Congress with regard to the commercial agent of money, the national Democratic platform of 1840, made the following ringing declaration:

Resolved, That Congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the

country, dangerous to our Republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and will of the people.

They held that when the Constitution had charged Congress with a specific duty, that it did not have the power to delegate the discharge of that duty to others. And again, in their opposition to national banks, they did not mean to convey the idea that they were in favor of private or State banks to furnish the people with money.

Thomas Jefferson, in his letter to Mr. Epps, September 11, 1813, says: "Bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulating medium restored to the nation, to whom it belongs."

Later on in the history of our country and the discussion of Constitutional law, and especially touching the commercial power of Congress, Mr. John C. Calhoun, then whom no greater stickler for a strict construction of our great fundamental chart ever lived, said, in a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, September 28, 1837:

The Constitution does not stop with this grant of the coinage power of Congress; it expressly prohibits the States from issuing bills of credit. The States are, therefore, prohibited from issuing paper for circulation on their own credit and this provision furnishes additional strong proof that all circulation, whether coin or paper, was intended to be subject to the regulation and control of Congress. The Constitution declares that Congress shall have power to regulate commerce, not only with foreign nations, but among the States. This is a full and complete grant, and must include authority over everything which is a part of commerce, or essential to commerce. And is not money essential to commerce? No man in his senses will deny that.

I now ask the question, is not railway transportation and telegraphic communication essential to commerce? And, with Mr. Calhoun, I answer, no man in his senses will deny it. Then it follows that, if Mr. Calhoun's conclusion is correct, the commercial power of Congress is a "full and complete grant, and must include authority over everything which is a part of commerce, or essential to commerce." Congress is bound by this grant to control and regulate both the railroad and telegraph lines of the United States. And, as the very same argument applies to them that governs Congress in its duty on the money question, it follows as a logical conclusion that it is as much the duty of Congress to supply these instruments as it is to furnish the necessary volume of money to meet the demands of commerce. There is no way to dodge this conclusion. I quote again from the same speech of Mr. Calhoun:

A general and universally accredited currency, therefore, is an instrument of commerce, which is necessary to its just advantages, or, in other words, which is essential to its beneficial regulation. Congress has power to establish it, and no other power can establish it, and therefore Congress is bound to exercise its own power. It is an absurdity in the very face of the proposition to allege that Congress shall regulate commerce, but shall nevertheless abandon to others the duty of sustaining and regulating its essential means and instruments.

The force of this argument of Mr. Calhoun is certainly conclusive for, not only control, but the Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs. As he well says it is absurd to hold that Congress shall regulate commerce, and at the same time abandon to others the duty of supplying, owning and controlling the very instruments upon which commerce itself depends, and without which it could not possibly exist.

In order to regulate the money, the Government must issue and supply it direct to the people. On this point Mr. Calhoun said in the United States Senate in the December following the speech above quoted from:

Why should the people be compelled to give 6 per cent discount for the credit of the Government mingled with that of the banks, when the superior credit of the Government could be furnished separately without discount to the mutual advantage of the Government and the community.

In order to regulate the commercial instruments of transportation and communication, it is necessary that the Government shall furnish those itself in order to be able to control them. Indeed, the Government ownership of these instruments is far more necessary, in order to secure Congressional regulation and control, than ever, in case of money supply.

In the whole field of commercial regulation, Congress has fallen far short of its constitutional duty. It has farmed out the duty of supplying a circulating medium to the national banks, against whose dangerous character the fathers of the Republic warned us.

In the matter of transportation, it has relegated this vastly important duty to a few corporations, who have in a few years, by their exorbitant tax on productive industry, absorbed one-tenth of the entire wealth of the nation, and has grown so strong that they are above the Government, and defy the laws of the land, and no

longer disguise the fact that they buy legislation and secure elections with their ill-gotten gains.

The very things predicted by Jefferson, Jackson, Calhoun and Benton, regarding the danger of delegating this second Constitutional prerogative to banks has been much more than fully realized in the arrogance and usurpations of the railways and telegraph companies.

What a great misfortune it is that our Congress did not pursue the course taken by New Zealand with her railroads and telegraphs. When the necessity arose, her legislature, after a careful canvass of the experience of other nations, resolved to build her own railroad and telegraph lines, and the enterprise has proved satisfactory beyond the hopes of the most sanguine advocates of government proprietorship. Notwithstanding it is a very sparsely settled new country, her railroad investment has paid as high as 3 1/2 per cent on cost of building and equipment. She has 1841 miles of completed roads which have cost her \$80,000,000. The net revenue from the investment amounts to an average of \$2,065,890 per annum.

The producers of American wealth, the tax-payers of our common country who have our glorious free institutions in such jeopardy, now at the hands of corporation greed and law-

lessness, should demand that our Congress repeal all unconstitutional charter grants, and at once assume the discharge of its constitutional duty.

If our present representatives hesitate from fear of their plutocratic masters, just let them know that they shall be made to answer to us whose servants they are, or else their places shall be filled by better and truer men. This will bring about the much needed reforms.

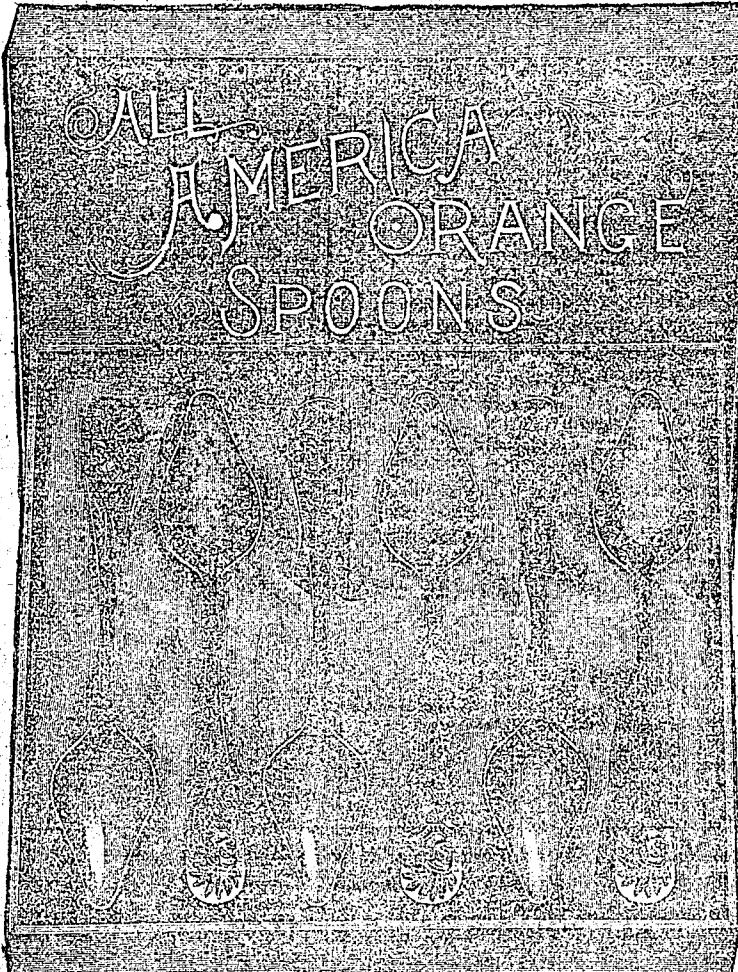
We need look no further for argument for the Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs than to the commercial power of Congress as set forth in the Constitution of the United States and expounded by the framers of that document and the founders of the Democratic party.

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Adventures of M. M. in Asia.
Adventures on the Road.
Notes of a Traveller in Texas.
singular Encounter with a Cobra di Capello.
Tremendous Eruption of Vesuvius.
Adventures of James Bruce in Africa.
Adventures of John Leyden.
Adventures of Mungo Park.

Simond in Switzerland.
Cavaliere's Adventures in Egypt.
A Winter in the Arctic Regions.
Perilous Ascent of Adam's Peak, in Ceylon.
Adventures of Burckhardt.
A Traveller's Encounters with Albanian Brigands.
Adventures in California.
Rouping it in Canada.
The Indians of Canada.
Encounters with the Banditti and Smugglers of Andalusia.
Meeting an iceberg in the Northern Ocean.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

Astor Library

DE DICATED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 8.

C. W. MACUNE.

The delay in returning from Memphis has made it impossible to publish in this issue the open letter of C. W. Macune to the members of the Farmers Alliance in which he takes up and exposes fully all causes which contributed to the recent trouble in the National Alliance at Memphis. He proves in a plain straight-forward manner that will satisfy every member as well as the general public, that he has been a true friend and efficient champion of the people. After reading it the verdict of every person is, the same as the conclusion of the delegates to the Supreme Council, that C. W. Macune has saved the Farmers Alliance from one of the most diabolical conspiracies ever concocted by the brain of man, and that he did so by boldly throwing himself into the breach and taking the full fire of venomous conspirators. He has ended his career as an Alliance official but he has saved the order from disgrace and shame. His letter will be published in full next week.

Dr. Macune's Tribute to L. L. Polk.

MEMPHIS, Nov. 16.—Dr. C. W. Macune was the next orator. He is a speaker of prominence among his organization. Said he: "I feel deeply the solemnity of this occasion. If any one can tell me how to frame words that will describe a Christian gentleman, a model husband and father, a true patriot, a martyr to a glorious cause, an orator, a statesman, a friend, a brother, and a man who possessed every other tribute that commands respect and honor, I will apply that description to our dead chief-tain and it will fit."

"He was a typical Alliance man; he conceived something above and beyond co-operation for personal gain. He saw in the Alliance a power for the good of the people, and he used it as such. He is the man to whom is due the conception of the idea of spanning the river of sectional hate, and in a large degree carrying it out. Col. Polk accomplished the grandest life work of any man I ever knew, and as such a man he should be honored. From his mighty brain and generous heart emanated the principles which are to emancipate mankind. In paying a tribute to him as a martyr to the cause of reform we give him no more than he deserves."

World's Fair Souvenirs.

CHICAGO, Nov. 18.—Several weeks ago it was announced that the Remington Typewriter Company had offered \$10,000 for the first souvenir coin. At that time it was thought by many that the offer was not bona fide and that the money would never be given. Now, however, nothing of that kind can be thought of. The offer has been accepted by the exposition company, the money has been paid and the Remington people hold a contract for the first coin. Now that the deal has been completed, the exposition company can claim the honor of having sold a coin for the highest price ever paid. The transaction also gives the entire issue of coins a higher value. Bids are now being received for the last coin and it is understood that the Remington people have an ambition to also be possessed of this.

FRANCE maintains a regular army of 541,000 men at a cost of \$111,689,000. Germany's army consists of 488,000 men and cost \$185,614,000. Great Britain has an army of 150,000 men that cost \$83,516,000, while Russia has the tremendous number of 871,764 men in its regular army at a cost of \$121,649,000.

VILLARD'S DINNER

Mr. Cleveland's Great Speech—Democracy's Opportunity.

The President-Elect Declares that Its Campaign, Instead of Being Concluded, Is Just Begun—Obligation to the People.

Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.
NEW YORK, Nov. 18.—The address which President-elect Cleveland made at the dinner given to him at Sherry's by Mr. Henry Villard last night is regarded as one of the most patriotic and statesmanlike of the utterances of the Democratic leader.

It is the first reference since the election Mr. Cleveland has made to the policy and duty of the Democratic party in view of its recent overwhelming victory at the polls.

Mention of the dinner was made in the Sun of to-day. The address was as follows:

"MR. VILLARD AND GENTLEMEN: I find it impossible to rid myself at this moment of the conflicting emotions which stir within me. I see here assembled good and staunch friends who have labored incessantly and devotedly for the success which

has crowned Democratic efforts in the canvass just closed, and I cannot forget how greatly these efforts have been characterized by personal attachment and friendship for the candidates selected to carry the Democratic banner. This awakens a sense of gratitude which it is a great pleasure for me to thankfully acknowledge. I confess, too, that I have fully shared in the partisan satisfaction which our great victory is calculated to arouse in every heart as thoroughly Democratic as mine."

"It is seldom given to any man to contemplate such a splendid campaign, so masterfully arranged in his behalf by such good friends, followed by such a stupendous and complete triumph. I should not, perhaps, introduce anything sombre on this occasion, but I know you will forgive me when I say that every feeling of jubilation and even my sense of gratitude is so tempered as to be almost entirely obscured by a realization, nearly painful, of the responsibility I have assumed in the sight of the American people. My love of country, my attachment to the principles of true Democracy, my appreciation of the obligation I have entered into with the best and most confiding people in the world and a consciousness of my own weakness and imperfections, all conspire to fill my mind with sober and oppressing reflections."

"When I consider all we have to do as a party charged with the control of the Government, I feel that our campaign, instead of being concluded, is but just begun. What shall our performance be of the contract we have made with our countrymen, and how well shall we justify the trust they have reposed in us? If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoils we shall fail at every point. If we merely profess to enter upon our work, and if we make apparent endeavor to do it as a cover for seeking partisan advantage, we shall invite contempt and disgrace."

"If we attempt to discharge our duty to the people without complete party harmony in patriotic action we shall demonstrate our incompetency. I thank God that far above all doubts and misgivings and away beyond all difficulties we may constantly see the lights of hope and safety. The light we see is the illumination from the principles of true, honest and pure Democracy—showing the way in all times of danger and leading us to the fulfillment of political duty and the redemption of all of our pledges. This light is kindled in the love of justice and in devotion to the peo-

ple's rights. It is bright in a constant patriotism and in a nation's promise. Let us not be misled to our undoing by other lights of false Democracy, which may be kindled in broken faith, and which, shining in hypocrisy, will, if followed, lure us to the rocks of failure and disgrace. If we see stern labor ahead of us, and if difficulties loom up on our horizon, let us remember that in the thickest weather the mariner watches most anxiously for his true light."

"Who in our party charged with any responsibility to the people has not pledged his devotion to the principles of true Democracy, and who among us has made pledges with intent to deceive? I have faith in the manliness and truthfulness of the Democratic party."

"My belief in our principles and my faith in our party constitutes my trust that we shall answer the expectations of our countrymen and shall raise high aloft the standard of true Democracy, to fix the gaze for many years to come of a prosperous, a happy and a contented people."

Among the guests at the dinner were Messrs. William C. Whitney, Carl Schurz, Daniel S. Lamont, Josiah Quincy, Lawrence Godkin, Wayne MacVeagh, Don M. Dickinson, Calvin S. Brice, Oswald Otterdorfer, William R. Grace, William Steinway, William F. Harity, Congressman Wm. C. P. Breckinridge, Fitch and Warner.

A VERY SHORT CROP.

Six Million Bales Is the Estimate of Cotton Produced.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Nov. 18.—The News and Courier has had an exhaustive examination made of the condition of the cotton crop of the south, extending over the entire cotton belt, and will to-morrow publish the result of its work. The reports show that the crop is short far beyond the calculation of all experts, who have thus far figured on it. It further shows that the greater part of the crop has been picked and rushed to market and that the late top crop will amount to practically nothing. From these reports, which come from the commissioners of agriculture of the various States, and from trustworthy newspapers, it appears the crop will scarcely exceed six million bales.

The Columbus Enquirer-Sun says: "Cotton fields in this and adjoining sections are almost entirely bare. It is a conservative statement to say that fully nine-tenths of the crop has been picked and marketed. A few of the large and more wealthy planters have their cotton in different warehouses awaiting a further advance, which is confidently expected. Small farmers have, with scarcely an exception, disposed of their crops, and it is thought safe to say fully seven-tenths of the crop has been sold."

The yield in some sections is conceded to be 50 per cent less than that of last year; in others, about 25 per cent. The average decrease in yield may be put at 33 per cent."

Walsh Reynolds, of The Memphis Appeal, telegraphs: "It is estimated by conservative men that the crop in the Memphis territory, west Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi will be fully 40 per cent less than that of last year. This showing is due not only to a large decrease of acreage, but to various other causes, among which may be mentioned the disastrous floods which prevailed in the spring in Arkansas and Mississippi. The floods prevented the farmers putting in any cotton on their best lands. Cold, wet weather has been prevailing throughout this section for the last two weeks and complaints are general among planters that the damage to the cotton is general therewith. The top crop will prove an almost total failure, owing to this weather, as immature bolls are reported to be decaying. It is probable that from 50 to 60 per cent of the crop in this territory has been marketed."

Gen. Mijares will remain in New York for a while, stopping at No. 209 East Fourteenth street, but will return to Venezuela the moment his services are required.

Capt. Chambers, of the steamship Philadelphia, went to the custom-house this forenoon and presented his consular clearance papers from the port of La Guayra. The papers explained why the captain could not get clearance papers from the Venezuelan customs people. Deputy Collector Gunner accepted the expla-

cotton crop is 1,900,000 bales. Frost has killed nearly all the top crop; picking is progressing well, but a considerable portion of the late-picked cotton will be inferior and trashy. Cotton has been rushed to market, planters fearing a continued decline. At least 65 per cent of the crop has passed out of first hands."

John Robinson, commissioner of agriculture for North Carolina, says: "The cotton crop of this State will not exceed two-thirds of last year. It is practically all gathered and three-fourths of it marketed. The News and Courier estimates that the crop of South Carolina will be about two-thirds of that of last year and that it is sold as fast as picked. Nineteen-tenths of the gathered crop of the State is sold."

E. Craighead, correspondent at Mobile, telegraphs that the cotton crop of Alabama is placed at 650,000 bales. Leading members of the Mobile cotton exchange estimate the crop short by 40 per cent, and that half of the crop has been sold.

Other reports from the cotton belt say that the crop is from 33 to 40 per cent short and that the bulk of the crop gathered has already been marketed.

HESTER'S FIGURES.

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 18.—Secretary Hester's weekly New Orleans cotton statement shows a still greater drop in the movement of cotton during the past week; the deficiency compared with seven corresponding days of last year being upward of 140,000 bales. This makes the decrease for the first eighteen days of November 520,508 bales, from last year.

HORSE STEALING.

The Fugitive Governor of Caracas Denies the Charge.

NEW YORK, Nov. 18.—Gen. Mijares, the governor of Caracas, who arrived last night on the steamship Philadelphia from La Guayra, was, from 1886 to 1888, the Venezuelan consul in New York. After his return to Venezuela he was elected member of Congress from the State of Miranda. When Palacio became president he received a cabinet appointment, and under the recent President Pulido was appointed governor of Caracas.

At that time Crespo and his army were in Guayabo, and, according to Mijares' tale, he was ordered by the government to go into the interior and to purchase horses and provisions for Pulido's army. He purchased horses, cattle, and a large quantity of provisions, giving payment orders on the national treasury, payable in sixty days. When the orders came there was no money in the treasury, and the people who had sold their horses and provisions were obliged to go away empty handed. This, Mijares said, was no fault of his, but it was the ground upon which Crespo endeavored to make him a criminal prisoner by charging him with having stolen the horses and provisions.

He says that the trouble is not yet ended, and that before another year has passed a greater revolution than the last one will take place. Crespo, he says, has made no attempt to form a congress, and has proclaimed himself politically dictator, doing himself the very things against which he raised the revolution.

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Capt. Chambers, of the steamship Philadelphia, went to the custom-house this forenoon and presented his consular clearance papers from the port of La Guayra. The papers explained why the captain could not get clearance papers from the Venezuelan customs people. Deputy Collector Gunner accepted the expla-

nation, and formally entered the steamer.

D. B. Villamil, the recently appointed Venezuelan consul general to Liverpool, arrived here to-day on the Philadelphia on his way to England.

There is much speculation concerning the reception the Philadelphia will receive upon her appearance in Venezuelan waters. The ship will sail from this city on Wednesday. Mr. Bliss, of the Red Line, said this morning, that an application would in the meantime be made to the customs officials for a new certificate of registry, to be carried by the vessel in lieu of that withheld by the Venezuelan authorities. "She will go prepared to give bonds," he added, "in case a fine is imposed upon her."

Mr. Bliss does not think such a course will be pursued by Crespo's subordinates, as the issue is not between the steamship company and the Venezuelans, but between the two governments.

"Chambers, let it be understood," said Mr. Bliss, "was acting on the advice of the representatives of his government, and the failure to surrender Mijares thus becomes a national question."

An exciting incident occurred this morning on the dock of the steamer Philadelphia. W. M. King, a passenger, had a long box of firearms which he brought as mementos of the Venezuelan revolution. While the custom-house officer was examining them a rifle was discharged; the bullet passing within a few inches of the head of Senor Mijares.

M. Carrade, Crespo's commercial agent in this city, was on the dock at the time, and within a few feet of the muzzle of the gun when it went off. The bullet made a splinter fly from the side of the building. The custom-house officer dropped the gun. For a time there was great confusion among the assembled people.

The Homestead Strike Broken.

HOMESTEAD, PA., Nov. 18.—The first big break in the strikers' ranks occurred yesterday, when some 150 men applied for positions at the mills.

The second break came this morning, when they went up Eighth avenue to the mill in large bodies. Just outside the mill office the men were made to form in line, and they were taken six and seven at a time before General Manager Schwab, who examined them individually, and they were rapidly assigned to vacancies in the mill. Up to 10 o'clock this morning over 250 men had applied, and very few were turned away. The applicants consisted principally of day laborers, but here and there a mechanical man was seen in the crowd.

The mechanical men and day laborers held a meeting this morning and it was determined to declare the strike off so far as they were concerned, but the Amalgamated men propose to continue the fight for the recognition of the association, firmly believing that the company will finally accede to their demands.

Congressman Breckenridge.

NEW YORK, Nov. 16.—Congressman Breckenridge was seen by a reporter at the Hoffman House, and expressed his views fully on the situation.

"I cannot see the need of an extra session," he said, "but, of course, I have nothing to say about that. If Mr. Cleveland does not favor it, that settles the question."

"As to tariff legislation, I think the party will go slow and be governed by wise counsels. Mr. Depew and Mr. Reid say they are in favor of giving the Democrats a chance to go ahead with their reform program, and that would seem to mean that they would like to see some tariff legislation at the coming session of Congress. Nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to see the Senate take up the bills that were passed by the House last winter and put them through. That would be the beginning, and the sooner we begin the better."

Thomas M. Morgan, the labor leader, gave his views concerning arbitration of disputes, forced and voluntary, and the employment of detectives by corporations, after which the committee went into executive session to consider the testimony which had been taken since the investigation began.

Gen. Stevenson Going to Atlanta.

BLOOMINGTON, Ill., Nov. 18.—Vice-President-elect Stevenson has accepted an invitation to attend the opening of the new Commercial club house at Atlanta, Ga., on or about December 20. The invitation was tendered by a delegation of Atlanta men, headed by Mr. Clark Howell, editor of the Constitution.

THE PINKERTONS

Testimony Elicited by the Senate Investigating Committee.

The Men Were Not Uniformed or Armed Until They Boarded the Barges, and Were Never Sworn in as Deputy Marshals.

CHICAGO, Nov. 18.—Capt. Foley, captain of the protective patrol department of the Pinkerton agency, was the first witness before the Senate investigating committee to-day. Mr. Foley cited many instances in which the Pinkerton men had been sworn in as deputy sheriffs. As a general thing, the witness said, Mr. Pinkerton would not send the men to do "strike work" unless they were sworn in as officers. The men who went from Chicago to Homestead did not take arms with them, but were armed at Pittsburg with Winchesters sent in advance from this city. Mr. Pinkerton's orders were that the men should be armed with clubs only, and Mr. Foley confessed that he disobeyed orders in causing the men to take Winchesters. But he did so to save life and to prevent disorder. Miners and iron men, he said, were in terror of force only; the law and officers of the law, were matters of indifference to them.

Assistant Superintendent Robertson was recalled and identified a circular published in several trade union journals, which advertised the services of the Pinkerton agency as of especial value to corporations and manufacturing establishments in case of strikes. The circular, he said, was authorized by the Pinkerton agency. The committee had endeavored to identify the circular by other members of the agency, but had been unable to do so.

John W. Holloway, a Pinkerton man, who had been through all the Homestead trouble, gave a minute account of the fight on the barges. The Chicago men, he said, were not uniformed or armed until they boarded the barges, and, so far as he knew, were not sworn in as deputy sheriffs. This was in direct contradiction to the testimony given before.

CHICAGO, Nov. 19.—W. P. Rend, coal dealer and producer, appeared before Senators Peffer and Gallinger, the detective investigating committee, to-day. He told the Senators if they could patch up the troubles between capital and labor they would be called the wisest men that God had ever created.

He said that he had never employed detectives to sound his workmen, and he regarded the practice with extreme disfavor. Mr. Rend declined to express any opinion of the Homestead difficulty, saying that he had been dealing with Mr. Frick continuously for twenty years, and it would be indecorous for him to do so.

Roswell M. Miller, president of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, stated that during a strike of yard men he employed Pinkerton men for a short time, but discharged them as expensive and futile.

Thomas M. Morgan, the labor leader, gave his views concerning arbitration of disputes, forced and voluntary, and the employment of detectives by corporations, after which the committee went into executive session to consider the testimony which had been taken since the investigation began.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE SUPREME COUNCIL

Knowing that the brotherhood would be very anxious to read the proceedings of the Supreme Council at the Memphis meeting at as early date as possible, we held our forms open to the last hour possible, and wrote the national secretary requesting copy of the minutes of the meeting, to which we received the following reply:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 2, 1892.

DEAR SIR: I have not yet gotten the minutes transcribed and arranged, and it will be a day or two before I can get the work done. Yours respectfully,

J. H. TURNER.

We therefore decided to publish the report of our special correspondent.

Special Correspondence.

MEMPHIS, Nov. 19, 1892.—At 10:30 o'clock the first open session of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union was held at the Young Men's Hebrew Association hall on Union and Second streets. The hall and stage were tastefully decorated with draped red, white and blue bunting, and United States flags were hung in the different parts of the house. The crowd present, while it did not fill the house, was a large one for the opening session. Naturally the majority of the audience was composed of the visiting delegates to the convention, but many members of the Alliance from neighboring States were present.

The Press Reform Association was also present in a body. No business was done by the convention; it was merely a session held to listen to the addresses of welcome delivered by members of the State Alliance on behalf of the State, county and city, and to fittingly respond to them.

Badges were distributed, and Rev. Mr. Willingham, of Memphis, opened with prayer.

SPEECH-MAKING.

The first speaker was Col. Robert Gates, secretary of the Commercial Association. He was introduced in a few well-chosen words by President Loucks. Said Mr. Loucks:

We are all delighted at the hearty welcome that has been tendered us by the people of Tennessee and Memphis. I, myself, am especially pleased at the magnitude of the audience, especially as it is harvest time. All who left their fields, however, to attend this meeting are planting seeds of hope and encouragement for the great political harvest of '96. I now take great pleasure in introducing to you the gentleman to whom is due, in a large degree, the achievement of the selecting of Memphis as the place for our national convention.

"I was only notified a few moments ago that I was to have the honor of addressing this distinguished audience," said Mr. Gates. "I supposed that Mr. Clapp was to have that honor; but he is out of the city, and I am his successor. My welcome is from the hearts of our people. We recognize the great influence of your organization. For my part, I saw that, when capital had organized and labor had organized, that the question of the organization of farmers was only a matter of time. It would be folly for any man to say what the outcome of this movement would be. I am an optimist, and see in this meeting a hope for the future. When the organization of these parties is effected, and they fall upon each other in battle array, then, and then only, will it be realized that the interest of one is the interest of all. I desire to again extend the hearty welcome of the Memphis people, and to assure you that anything we can do for your pleasure or comfort will cheerfully be done. Gov. Buchanan is unable, on account of business, to be present himself, but he sends an able representative.

A. S. Mins, President of the State Alliance, "Farmer" Dean, of New York; G. B. Fleecy, President of the Shelby county Alliance and Marion Butler, of North Carolina, followed in brief but eloquent addresses.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

A committee on credentials was then appointed, and adjournment taken until afternoon executive session, when committees on order of business, on constitution, on demands and resolutions, on Polk memorial meeting were chosen.

At 7:30 p.m. President Loucks, read his annual message which appears in another part of this paper. No business of any importance was transacted.

SECOND DAY.

The morning session was signified by a verbal report of J. F. Tillman, of the executive committee upon charges of offensive participation in mailing out through his propaganda lists large quantities of Democratic campaign literature. Mr. Tillman admitted it, but proceeded to show that he had been no more partisan than the officers

and official organs of the body in espousing the People's party. He was called upon for a written report at 4 p.m., and agreed to then make it to the body. The utmost order prevailed reports of newspapers to the contrary, notwithstanding, and though feeling ran high perfect courtesy prevailed.

TILLMAN'S WRITTEN REPORT.

Promptly at 4 o'clock Mr. Tillman submitted his report which was received and referred to the judiciary committee.

The report reads:

To the officers and members of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union:

DEAR SIR: I have not yet gotten the minutes transcribed and arranged, and it will be a day or two before I can get the work done. Yours respectfully,

J. H. TURNER.

We therefore decided to publish the report of our special correspondent.

Special Correspondence.

MEMPHIS, Nov. 19, 1892.—At 10:30 o'clock the first open session of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, and Civil Government, and other literature. In addition to this I have written many letters and attended to all duties of my office without expense to the national organization. I have sought to disseminate, as much as possible, literature in support of our demands, but during the last three months it has been so common for the Alliance officials to give public expression to partisan sentiments in support of the People's party that I deemed it my prerogative to speak out in behalf of the Democratic party, to which I belong. In pursuance of which I sent out several documents calculated to sustain and assist the Democratic party as against the Republican party. In endorsing this I did what I had a right to do, as a member of this order, which I have always been taught to believe was a non-partisan organization. I sent those documents out entirely on my own responsibility, and without consulting President Loucks, Secretary Turner and Brothers Macune and Wardall, who are my colleagues on the propaganda fund. Respectfully,

J. F. TILLMAN.

The vicious and unprincipled attempt of political exploiters and their more unprincipled tools in the order were convicted by the entire candor of this report.

The attempt of men to drag into Mr. Tillman's breach of official trust the names of more prominent officials was laid aside as a bold falsehood by Tillman himself, who openly faced their condemnation, and declared he had used the stationery of his lecture bureau and the names of his colleagues without their knowledge or consent.

Further, upon said Democratic documents "Washington, D. C.", appeared: It had been vilely charged that THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST printed and disseminated same. Such was a premeditated and unfounded falsehood.

The documents were issued in New York, under direct charge of the Democratic National Executive Committee, Mr. Tillman furnishing to them his lists.

An attempt was made to get them through THE ECONOMIST office, but when their nature became known the job was indignantly thrown out and utterly repudiated by the paper's editors.

The report was quietly received, and, after abolishing the lecture bureau, the committee on constitution made report. It was recommended that none of the national officers be obliged to reside in Washington, D. C., and the following changes made on the salary-lists: The president formerly received \$3000 a year and his expenses; he now receives \$2000 and expenses. The secretary, under the old constitution, used to receive \$2250 and expenses; he now receives \$1500 and expenses. The national lecturer, who was formerly paid \$2000 per year and expenses, has been cut to \$1200 per year and expenses. The members of the executive committee formerly had a salary of \$5 a day and expenses. This was reduced to \$4 a day and expenses. There were before the change only three national committees, who were elected for three years. Their number has been increased to five, including the president of the Alliance. They are now elected yearly.

With the exception of the president and secretary, who are hired by the year, the other officials are only paid for the actual time they work. It is necessary, therefore, for them to have other occupations.

A committee on co-operation was appointed to serve only during meeting. The legislation committee was abolished, and practically the whole executive power vested in the president and his board. Some business committees reported and their papers were appropriately referred.

At the night session services in memory of the late lamented Col. L. L. Polk were held. The speakers were President Loucks, Brother Denning, of Pennsylvania; Dr. C. W. Macune, W. S. Morgan, Mrs. A. S. Diggs, Brother Marion Butler, and Mrs. Marion Todd, of Michigan.

THIRD DAY.

Reports from committees were still in order and were adopted as

soon as promulgated. The Ocala demands were again indorsed. Dr. C. W. Macune, rising to a question of personal privilege completely exploded, the slanderous statements of street corner, hotel corridor vilifiers regarding his action in the Tillman imbroglio. He met every question put and substantially sustained his course as an Alliance man and editor of THE ECONOMIST as being above criticism.

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An attempt was made to get them through THE ECONOMIST office, but when their nature became known the job was indignantly thrown out and utterly repudiated by the paper's editors.

The report was quietly received, and, after abolishing the lecture bureau, the committee on constitution made report. It was recommended that none of the national officers be obliged to reside in Washington, D. C., and the following changes made on the salary-lists: The president formerly received \$3000 a year and his expenses; he now receives \$2000 and expenses. The secretary, under the old constitution, used to receive \$2250 and expenses; he now receives \$1500 and expenses. The national lecturer, who was formerly paid \$2000 per year and expenses, has been cut to \$1200 per year and expenses. The members of the executive committee formerly had a salary of \$5 a day and expenses. This was reduced to \$4 a day and expenses. There were before the change only three national committees, who were elected for three years. Their number has been increased to five, including the president of the Alliance. They are now elected yearly.

With the exception of the president and secretary, who are hired by the year, the other officials are only paid for the actual time they work. It is necessary, therefore, for them to have other occupations.

A committee on co-operation was appointed to serve only during meeting. The legislation committee was abolished, and practically the whole executive power vested in the president and his board. Some business committees reported and their papers were appropriately referred.

At the night session services in memory of the late lamented Col. L. L. Polk were held. The speakers were President Loucks, Brother Denning, of Pennsylvania; Dr. C. W. Macune, W. S. Morgan, Mrs. A. S. Diggs, Brother Marion Butler, and Mrs. Marion Todd, of Michigan.

THIRD DAY.

Reports from committees were still in order and were adopted as

times, and had faced what no other living man had had to encounter for opinion's sake. He said that U. S. Hall had assailed his character, and, through treason, risen to Congress, but that Macune's heroic devotion to the Alliance cause had enshrined him in the members' hearts and made him proof against Hall's falsehood and slander.

Again was he assailed by that arch-enemy of the Alliance, W. S. McAllister, who, at Duran last year, attempted his dastardly assassination, which this year got its reward from the Democratic national committee, but "beloved Brother" Macune survived them all.

Congressman Otis, of Kansas, followed West, but seconded the nomination Loucks. He said that he could not return to his people in distant Kansas if Macune was elected president; that he was covered all over with dark clouds of accusation, which he (Otis) considered sufficient to unfit him for the office.

TILLMAN CENSURED.

During the morning session the appended resolution was adopted:

We are of the opinion that brother Tillman, both as a citizen and member of the Alliance, to pen, print and distribute all such documents that would contribute to the success of the political party to which he belongs, but in his official capacity it is, in the opinion of the committee, a violation of his obligation to do so, because it places the Alliance before the world as a partisan organization.

THE PROTEST

In the afternoon session the indignant Southerners filed a protest. It follows:

To the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union:

We the undersigned delegates of this body, and all Alliance men, hereby respectfully ask to be placed on record as disapproving certain conditions which have prevailed during the session in connection with the election of officers of this body, and in justice to the people at large, and to the people we represent, we present this, our protest, for the consideration of the brotherhood present and throughout the nation.

1. We deplore in unmeasured terms the false, cruel, unjust warfare which has been waged upon Brother C. W. Macune by partisan leaders throughout the country, whose chief object was the destruction of our noble order. We do here and now assert our fullest confidence in Brother Macune, and in the belief that he has been slandered and maligned in the most cruel and wicked manner without a precedent in political partisan warfare of this country, and by the enemies of organized labor and the productive industries.

2. We deplore the fact that those emissaries and minions, who are not even members of the order, have, by their assumed access to the secret sessions of this body sought to degrade the Supreme Council in the public mind, and to produce discord and strife among the members in order to impair its usefulness to produce its ultimate ruin.

3. The efficiency and usefulness of this body has been impaired by these unfortunate agencies, and the wicked perversion of the facts. While we believe the majority of the body to be sincere and in earnest to have at heart the good of the order, yet we do most earnestly protest against the course that some of its members have pursued against Brother Dr. Macune.

While we, as delegates, shall remain and participate in the proceedings of this body, we maintain that if these conditions are persisted in by future Supreme Councils that we fear that the Alliances of the several States will be driven from this organization.

All of which we respectfully submit and ask to be filed in the minutes of this body.

Ben Terrell, Henry Tracy, Texas.

Milton Park, R. J. Sledge, Texas.

T. N. W. Baird, W. R. Cole, Texas.

W. R. Robinson, O. F. Dombasser, Texas.

R. B. Reese, W. F. Gwynne, Tennessee.

J. C. Robertson, George A. Gowen, Tennessee.

W. R. Beck, J. R. Maxwell, Alabama.

I. L. Brock, A. M. West, Mississippi.

John A. Moore, M. D. Davis, Florida.

T. F. Gardner, M. W. Davie, Kentucky.

L. W. Tussing, D. D. Lankford, Ohio.

L. W. Crompton, Ohio.

The South Carolina and California delegations also affixed their signatures.

No effort was made to obtain signatures to this paper, as was

shown by the personal offer of some

fifty delegates after its promulgation to attach their names.

The co-operative committee, proposed by Dr. Macune earlier in the session, made report, as did other committees.

The evening session was simply held for installation of officers.

In the hall above, public speaking attracted quite a crowd, among the audience being Messrs. Taubeneck and Washburn. The speakers were brief. Langford, of Kentucky, Baird, of Texas, E. C. Tully, of California, and Dr. Macune, of Texas, were the orators of the evening.

In closing this synopsis of the proceedings of the Supreme Council, your correspondent desires to state that the minutes of the meeting have not been furnished by the secretary, hence memory and newspaper reports have been used.

Great praise and thanks are due

Col. Gates and Mr. West, of Memphis,

for the numerous courtesies extended the council and its visitors.

Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union badges carried members

free over the street railways.

Carriages were placed, one afternoon,

at the disposal of the order, and

the hotel charges of officers dis-

LOUCKS' ADDRESS.

Delivered Before the Supreme Council at Memphis, on the 16th Inst.

Since assembling one year ago our organization has met with an irreparable loss. Our beloved president has gone to receive his reward of well done good and faithful servant. We will miss his warm, fraternal greeting, his encouraging words, his earnest "God bless you," his wise conservative counsel, and at no time in our history did we need it more than now. The death of Brother E. L. Polk at a critical time in our history was not only a great loss in our order and the hosts of organized labor of the nation, it was a national loss. His work will live long and bear fruit, as it is doing daily.

We will best comply with his wishes by pressing forward to victory the cause he loved better than life, and for which he was willing to sacrifice the comforts of home, the prospect of wealth; aye, even life itself, in his devotion to our demands. We cannot doubt that his spirit will be with us during this session. May each and every one present be imbued with his zeal, devotion and self-sacrificing spirit, and all will be well.

As a national organization we have been passing through a crucial test, a winnowing process, a separation of the wheat from the chaff and foul seeds that grow up with the order. The result will be a reduction in numbers, but a great improvement in quality.

In its incipiency, in the various organizations now united in the National Farmer's Alliance and Industrial Union, we realized that there was something wrong. We began our work by groping in the dark, as it were, our attention being directed chiefly to relief through co-operative efforts in buying and selling, with the social, educational and political features as secondary considerations. Combined capital and experience against us has made it difficult to make much progress in that direction. Many were induced to join for selfish financial benefits, who would not have joined for the other reasons, and thus they became interested in the great educational work which has caused the present upheaval in the nation. We have learned, and the census reports of 1890 affirm the proposition, that the trouble is not with the production of wealth, but with its unjust distribution through special privileges conferred on favored industries and private corporations. Our sailing was comparatively smooth until we were confronted with this political problem.

The earnest workers' attention was directed to its solution. The result was the formulation and adoption of our demands, each one of which required a change of laws; in fact, a reversal of political action; to that extent we became a political organization, and our minds were trained to look for relief through political action at the ballot-box, rather than through commercial co-operation.

We should be proud of the fact that, through it all, we have been so broad and patriotic as to ask for no special privileges for us as a class. We have stood by the grand doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

When we became fully convinced that relief must come through political action to repeal the special privileges conferred on the favored classes, we were confronted with two enemies—the one, those who were to be deprived of their special privileges and who, controlling unlimited wealth, through which they controlled the industries of the nation, the press and the political machinery of both political parties, were loth to lose their so-called vested rights. They resorted to abuse, ridicule, misrepresentation and oppression to destroy organized labor. They wield a tremendous power.

On the other hand, many joined our ranks from selfish reasons, hoping to use the political upheaval to their own personal advantage. The enemy from within will prove more dangerous than those from without.

Some were scared off by the former, many were side-tracked by the latter, in their efforts to use the organization for their own personal political advantages, or prostitute it to the political parties with which they are affiliated. These have proven our worst enemies. It is fortunate that there has been an early opportunity for thoroughly testing our devotion to principle. All honor to those who have stood the test and remained faithful.

full. If any have proven unfaithful they are no longer worthy of confidence and should be removed from our council. The result in the end will be beneficial to the order and the cause. It is well for us that those placed in representative positions are watched with a jealous eye by the masses. At times they may suffer from unjust suspicion, but the true man need have no fear of the final result.

Our organization will stand by those proven true to their trust as surely as they will repudiate the unfaithful. In all cases, it will be better to give the order the benefit of the doubt where doubt exists and purge our ranks of the tricksters and traitors wherever they may be found.

OUR DEMANDS.

Our demands having been adopted and affirmed so unanimously, and been so thoroughly discussed before the public, I do not deem it necessary at this time to enter into any discussion on their merits. The only change I would suggest would be the slight ones necessary to make them conform to the demands adopted by the great industrial conference held at St. Louis last February, in which your representatives took an active official part, and to the support of which we, as a body, were pledged.

How to secure this enactment into law seems to be a question on which there is a difference of opinion, and an official declaration by this body might be an aid. My own judgment is very emphatic on the following points:

First—We need not expect to secure their enactment into law until we demand them.

Second—Our demands will not be respected until political parties are convinced that we are in earnest.

Third—Political parties will judge our earnestness by our votes, rather than our words. If we can be side-tracked on minor issues, they will smile at our requests; if we can be induced to postpone action by appealing to sectional hatred, they will use, but despise us.

If we continue as citizens to support political parties that not only ignore our demands, but openly fight them, they will treat our demands and ourselves with the contempt we deserve.

The time has arrived when we must decide between our principles and our partisanship.

Our great educational work will count for naught if, after we have learned the truth, we fail to practice it, and in no way can we so utterly fail in living and acting the truth as in knowing it and failing to record it at the ballot-box.

Truth is the great epitome.

Truth is the epitome of all that the great Creator of the universe demands of man. You may sum up your responsibility to your fellow man and your duty to God in the simple word "truth." Be true to yourself, true to your family, true to this order, true to your country and true to your God. Speak the truth, live the truth, and vote the truth. I have no sympathy whatever with the idea of pushing our educational work up to the point of conviction, laboring for years to teach our fellow citizens certain true economic principles, and then the last week of the campaign deserting our principles and jumping for the band wagon. That may be termed "practical politics," but it can have no permanent abiding place in a great reform movement, based on the eternal rock of truth as a foundation. The idea is thoroughly abhorrent to every true Alliance man. The ballot-box should be the sacred ark of our covenant, where we can deposit our principles for record with absolute faith that they will be counted as cast. Without this the franchise is a mockery and our system of government a sham.

The spirit of unrest abroad to-day may, by such means, be suppressed or smothered for a time. It will not be palliated or eradicated. It must have vent. The longer it is suppressed the more violent will be the explosion when it does come. The duty of every American citizen, every lover of our country, every true man and woman in our nation, is to investigate well the causes of the present unrest. If found to be without just foundation, point out the fallacy. If the claims of organized labor can be proven unjust, no class will repudiate them more quickly than the farmers, the acknowledged great conservative class of the nation.

Temporary defeat will not solve the problem or stop the agitation. These questions cannot be side-tracked by ridicule. We believe in our demands as devoutly as any Christian man or woman believes in his or her Bible. The eloquence of an Ingersoll, surcharged with ridicule, aimed at the sacred volume, will not cause a devout Christian to lose faith in a single verse of that grand old book, no more will the eloquence of all the sarcastic orators of the nation, aimed in ridicule at our demands, cause the true Alliance man to waver in his faith and devotion to the grandest platform of political principles ever enunciated by any body of men.

Organized labor has arrived at these conclusions after many years of

careful, patient investigation and study. If changed it must be by the same methods. We must press forward on the lines of justice, equality, truth. The great need of the time is honest, manly, courageous men. Honest in seeking the truth, unbiased by partisanship or prejudice; manly enough to proclaim it regardless of surroundings or past party affiliations; courageous enough to record it at the ballot-box, though voting alone. So-called "practical politics" or "bandwagon practice" can have no place in the Alliance. Our duty is to vote our principles regardless of the result. Anything issued officially, assumed or otherwise, contrary to this, is in violation of the grand, high and noble teachings of our order.

I concede the right of every member of the order to vote and work for the political party of his choice. I concede his right to choose between the Alliance and a political party. I believe it to be the duty of every true Alliance man to advocate and support our demands as in his judgement seems best. As an officer of the Alliance, he can do so officially, consistently, but I deny his right to use his official position to push the interests of a political party that has not adopted our demands, or worse, one that is fighting them. The non-partisan feature of our order has given rise to much misunderstanding of just what we mean, and a clear definition of the term would be advisable at this time, in connection therewith. It would be well, and I would recommend that you seriously consider whether it would not be wise to make the support of our demands a test of eligibility to membership in the order. In that way we would avoid the anomaly of having members fighting our demands. One member opposing our demands can do more harm than ten who are not members.

I hope the Alliance will never become a partisan organization, that is, the tool of any political party. So long as other classes remain organized we must perpetuate and perfect our organization or remain at the mercy of the organized classes. It is not enough that a political party has adopted our demands—we are yet only on the threshold of this movement. We must continue the work of education on the economic principles incorporated in our demands, and this can be done much better inside our organization than through a political party.

In too many localities the mistake has been made during the past year of concentrating all effort for the success of a political party, neglecting the Alliance organization. We must now turn our whole energies to the upbuilding of our order on a more solid basis, and the work of this session should be devoted especially to that line of work.

We should economize wherever economy can be practiced without impairing efficiency. Further recommendations on this line will be submitted when I have had time to investigate the report of the executive committee.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The most perplexing problem for us to solve and the greatest obstacle in the way of economic reform is to be found, in my judgment, in the South. Three years ago at St. Louis two of the great stumbling blocks in our way were happily removed when the Alliance of the North and South resolved to unite as rapidly as possible, thus removing the sectional barrier, and the compact entered into with the Knights of Labor paving the way for unity of action at the ballot-box on the part of labor in the field, shop or mine. In each of these our progress has been phenomenal, as evidenced by the great gathering of labor at St. Louis last February, in which twenty-two great labor organizations participated, and without a dissenting voice, united on our demands. The third great barrier and the one we find much harder to remove is that blind idolatry of party, peculiar to our Republic. The movement for its obliteration took root in the Northwest and spread rapidly to the East and South, bidding fair at one time to develop a majority who would vote for principles instead of party. Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota and South Dakota had shown their devotion to our principles as early as 1890, giving a form and stability to the movement hitherto lacking—a nucleus around which we, the reform forces might gather. Education in the South in our demands progressed with a zeal, power and force unparalleled in the history of any reform movement of the past.

The South seemed ready once more to assume its place—lost for thirty-two years, as a potent factor in shaping the live issues of political economy—something she never can hope for so long as she remains a solid South on sectional lines of partisan prejudice. The result of the fiery ordeal through which we have passed in the last few months has been a disappointment and developed this great obstacle in our pathway, more powerful than any yet encountered, and one more difficult of

removal because less understood—indeed incomprehensible to those of us having no experience with the race problem. When the great St. Louis conference, called at the suggestion of this body and in whose councils we were a potent factor, closed its session, our friends in the South were enthusiastically hopeful that the New South would assert itself by obliterating sectionalism, partisanship, and prejudice. Organized labor was hopeful as it had never been in the past. We all returned to our homes North, radiant with hope, confident of the speedy victory for our principles, and the cause prospered as never before.

The first sign of a new obstacle appeared when Alabama spoke, or tried to speak, in August, and her voice was, by fraud unparalleled, stifled and perverted. This did not discourage us, the fraud was so apparent that we knew it must be righted, but when Arkansas, followed by Florida and Georgia, our banner stronghold, showed that race prejudice and sectional feeling were still the most potent factors at the ballot-box, it means that it will require much more earnest, patient, self-sacrificing work to dislodge the professional politicians and demagogues from their strong-hold.

The recent elections all over the South show that fewer men are elected endorsing our principles than were elected two years ago. Is this because reformers have not had the courage to vote their convictions, or plutocracy, realizing its danger, used greater effort and more means to combine all anti-reform elements against us, and further, to pervert the ballot by the many sharp practices known to professional politicians. Be this as it may, the West and Northwest have made great progress, while the South, apparently, has not. These sections must stand together.

Education or devotion to our principles will be useless unless these principles can be recorded in the ballot-box and counted as recorded. The Alliance has been a great educational factor, in promulgating the demands of organized labor, in uniting labor in the field, shop and mine, in wiping out sectional lines and removing prejudice. We must now devote our energies to the solution of this new problem, which retards further progress. It cannot be glossed over. It cannot be explained away.

The difficulty is local, confined to certain portions of the South. In my judgment it must be solved from within. The North and West must learn the truth that they may not be altogether discouraged in the conflict. We are paying the penalties for mistakes of the past. The first being that of human slavery, for which the North as well as the South is responsible, and for which all have paid the terrible penalty inflicted by the civil war. It was hoped by many that by the fearful sacrificial atonement of blood and wealth thirty years ago the penalty had been paid, but it has proved to be only the beginning. The civil war, the outcome of the agitation to prevent the extension of slavery, abolished chattel slavery of the negro and in doing so permitted the money power of Europe to fasten upon us their financial policy of controlling labor by controlling money, which in the end, if continued, will make the condition of so-called free labor, white and black, infinitely worse than that of chattel slavery. The second mistake was in enfranchising the ex-slave without an educational preparation fitting him for an intelligent participation in the duties of citizenship. Those living in the North can have but a faint conception of the trials of our brethren in the South during the reconstruction period of unscrupulous carpet-bag rule. It is enough to know that the recollection of it still haunts their memory to such an extent that the fear of revolution causes them to shudder still. Restoration of white supremacy became the battle cry. All other issues were lost sight of and this became paramount.

Here again another grave mistake was made, that comes in now to check further progress in the emancipation of labor, and from which we must suffer. North as well as South I mean the suppression of a free ballot and a fair count, and which is now turned on our friends in the South. This must make reform by the ballot exceedingly slow in the States where the negro vote is an important factor. Having secured the control of the Government in all the ex-slave States, the white citizens began the discussion of the economic problems pressing for solution, and were paving the way for a new alignment of political parties on live national issues, when the Republican party made another grave mistake in trying to correct without that which can only be corrected from within by the passage of what will pass into history as the "force bill," giving the plutocratic Democratic machine another chance to renew its lease of power by appealing to the fears of the white people of negro supremacy and Federal interference and a repetition of the reconstruction period, and an excuse to count out the white man's

ballot as well as the black. In this the Democratic party are making their great mistake. Our white brethren in the South will not long stand being counted out. No political party can hope to continue in power in a free republic on such a foundation. In this connection there is one thought that I wish to press earnestly on the minds of our Southern brethren. The machine element of the Democratic party appeals to you to put aside the discussion of economic questions and to give a united white vote to prevent the enactment of the force bill, etc. They lost sight of principles and appealed to fear, prejudice and passion. You fought for principles. You claim, and I believe justly, that a majority of the white men in the South believe in our principles. On e more many of you put aside your principles of reform and voted with the minority anti-reform element. The proposition now is, shall you, the majority, ask them to sacrifice their prejudices and vote their principles, or will you continue sacrificing your principles and voting their prejudices?

"Have you not done that long enough? The overwhelming defeat, almost annihilation of the party threatening the force bill, should now remove it (the force bill) as a factor from the political arena. Our opponents can no longer make it do duty to keep them in power.

The second factor used in the South to prevent our friends voting our principles, was to cry out against every proposed reform that it was simply a Republican scheme to disrupt the Democratic party, etc., but our friends in the South must know that they tried to work the same scheme in the West, except that it was a Democratic scheme to disrupt the Republican party. However, in the West and Northwest, we not only held our own, but more than doubled our strength. The only thing that prevented a great victory for our principles in the West was the failure of the South to respond with evidence of equal devotion to the cause of reform. When we can assure our friends in the West that the South will be able to break down the barriers to reform there, they will meet you half way with an avalanche of votes that will sweep everything before it.

Our duty then at this session is to devote our best thought to the upbuilding of the organization that has accomplished so much in the past and can be made the medium for doing so much greater good in the future.

All selfish aspirations and ambitions must be laid aside, each one resolving to do what he can for the good of the cause. There will of necessity be difference of opinion. That is essential to true progress. Wherein we differ let us remember that we are brethren met together in an enlarged family circle to discuss, not personal advantage, but the best interests of the whole family. If a member has erred in judgment, he should welcome a correction from his brethren as he would in the home circle.

If any brother thinks that in any way the order has been injured by the act of a brother official or otherwise, it is his duty to the order, regardless of personal friendship or fear of offending, to point out the injury in a fair, fraternal spirit.

The interests of our well-beloved order, representing so much of hope for the future for ourselves, the nation and the perpetuation of a republican form of government, must be paramount.

Why They Want an Army.

Vanguard Chicago.

It is only justice to the candor of the triumphant plutocrats to say that they make no secret of the reasons for building up a great army in the land. On their own blunt confession they are doing this because they expect that millions of the hard-working American producers will become so turbulent that a powerful military force will be required to put them down and keep them down.

The infamously undemocratic condition has crept over the country so slowly and imperceptibly that the majority of our good people have not been shocked into horror thereof, but there are thinkers among us to whom it has brought a profound melancholy by reason of the awful public calamities which it so surely prophesies.

A Tremendous Rumpus

In the system is produced by a disorderly liver. Bile gets into the blood and gives a saffron tinge to the countenance and eyeballs, sick headaches ensue, the digestive organs are thrown out of gear, the bowels become constipated, there are pains through the right side and shoulder blade, the breath grows sour and the tongue furred, dizziness is frequent, especially on rising suddenly. This state of affairs could not exist unless the disturbances were a serious one. Yet it is easily remediable with Hostetter's Stomach Bitters, which relieves every symptom of biliousness and indigestion, and promotes a regular action of the bowels, and is auxiliary of appetite and sleep. The Bitters is a superb specific for malarial and kidney trouble, rheumatism and debility. A wineglassful thrice a day.

WEAVER'S ADDRESS.

He Expects the Democrats to Ignore the Demand for Free Coinage.

DES MOINES, IA., Nov. 16.—Gen. Weaver to-day issued an address in which he congratulated his followers on the splendid showing made by the third party, and sounds a note of warning as to what vicious legislation may be expected from the party in the ascendancy. The address says:

"Unaided by money our grand young party has made an enviable record and achieved surprising success at the polls. We are but little behind the Republican party in the number of States carried. Not being formed on sectional lines, our party in a single campaign has gained a large and influential following in every State in the South.

"The country is to be congratulated upon the fact that the leaders of one of the heretofore great parties have been abandoned and overthrown by the people and their organization, well nigh annihilated. This leaves the former adherents of that party free to align themselves with the great anti-monopoly and industrial movement.

"The accession of the other party to power is the result of violent reaction, and not, I am sure, of the deliberate judgment of the American people. The battle leaders of the triumphant party are without any well-defined policy, except that of contemptuous disregard for every element of reform within the ranks of their own party and among the people at large. The new administration will ignore the three great contentions of modern times relating to land, money, and transportation, and will not attempt to solve either. In fact, the whole force of the new regime will be exercised to prevent reform in these important matters.

"The urgent demand of the people for the free coinage of silver is to be disregarded, and new obstacles will doubtless be interposed to further restrict the use of the white metal. In contempt of the doctrine of Andrew Jackson European aristocrats are to be permitted to dictate our financial policy.

"One of the most valuable results of the late civil war, that of a uniform legal-tender currency issued by the Government, is to be sacrificed and abandoned, and serious attempts will be made to force the people to return to the fraudulent system of State bank issues which existed prior to the war and which periodically swindled the industrial classes of the fruits of their toil. This is to be sprung upon the people by a sudden stroke of policy by leaders who carefully kept their motives concealed from the public. This crime is to be enacted into law between elections and before the people can have time to pass upon the question by the selection of representatives chosen for the purpose.

"Our party has not made its advent too soon. Its mission is to restore to our Government its original and only legitimate function, which has been well nigh lost by non-use—that of securing to all its citizens, the weak as well as the mighty, the un molested enjoyment of their inalienable rights. This cannot be accomplished until the relations between labor and capital are so adjusted as to cause each to respect the domain of the other.

"I sincerely trust that the work of organization and education may now be pushed with energy throughout all the States. The field is ours and we must occupy it without delay."

A Silver Man.

Detroit Free Press.

The small boy who had been quite attentive at mission Sunday school for several Sundays disappeared all of a sudden, and the teacher didn't see him for two months. One day she met him on the street.

"Why, Johnnie," she exclaimed, "what's the matter? Why haven't you been to Sunday school!"

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE

NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND

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Our rates are reasonable. In consideration of the time and space furnished on application,

the character of advertisement required.

Advertising office in New York City, 132 Times Building, F. L. Ford, Manager.

The publishers of this paper have given a bond

to the sum of \$50,000 to the National 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 educational and official national organ, has so boldly and fearlessly advocated our cause and defended our principles; therefore,

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

Reaffirmed at Ocala as follows:

Resolved, That this Supreme Council reendorse

The NATIONAL ECONOMIST and the action of

Brother C. W. Macune and his associates in said

paper, and will do all we can to urge them onward

in the good work of education.

Address all remittances or communications to

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THANKSGIVING SERMON

By Rev. Alexander Kent, Pastor of the People's Church, Washington, D. C.

In accordance with a custom as old as our history, though uniformly observed only since 1863, the President of the United States has issued the annual proclamation of national thanksgiving, and appointed Thursday, the 26th inst., as the day for this joyful religious festival.

The special causes for thankfulness named are:

1. The bounties of God's providence.

2. The peace in which we are permitted to enjoy them; and

3. The preservation of those institutions of civil and religious liberty which He gave our fathers wisdom to devise and establish, and us the courage to preserve.

Among the appropriate observances of the day suggested are, first, rest from toil. Second, worship in the public congregation. Third, renewal of family ties about our American firesides, and, fourth, thoughtful helpfulness toward those who suffer lack of the body, or of the spirit.

Perhaps we cannot spend this morning hour in any better way than in considering, as carefully as we can, the subject which our Chief Magistrate has thus opened up for us.

We may consider, first, the real grounds for thankfulness to God, and, second, the best way of showing the thankful spirit.

But as preliminary to this, let me call your attention to the fact that the issuance of such proclamation is entirely inconsistent with that separation of church and state, alleged to exist in this country, and provided for in the Constitution. The act of the President in issuing such proclamation is without any warrant of law. It is not, therefore, properly an Executive act. It is an act, indeed, which the Constitution expressly prohibits Congress, from requiring or sanctioning.

The Constitution says that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." If Congress should enact a law setting apart a day for thanksgiving to God, and requiring the people to gather in their places of worship and observe the same, that would be making a law respecting an establishment of religion. This proclamation, therefore, has no legal warrant whatever, and no binding force upon any of the people. It is permitted for this very reason. It is understood merely as a recommendation which every one is as much at liberty to disregard as if it came from any other person. It does not, therefore, interfere with anyone's freedom; and so long as the majority of the people regard it with favor its issuance is permitted. But this absence of binding force you will readily perceive is somewhat disguised by the form of the document.

The recommendation is couched in the language of authority: "I, Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, do hereby appoint," etc. "In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed," etc. A foreigner would hardly imagine that such a document merely meant that in the opinion of the President the people of the United States have abundant cause for gratitude to God, and that, in ways which seemed appropriate to him, they should at the time appointed express the same.

Nevertheless, this is all there is of it. Two things follow from this:

1. The issuance of such proclamation, without warrant of law, is an assumption by the President of the teaching and preaching function, nowhere provided for in the duties prescribed for him in the Constitution.

It is a part of his duty to make recommendations to Congress, but not that I am aware of, to the people.

2. Such assumption of authority gives to our Government a paternal aspect entirely inconsistent with the thought of its founders, and utterly at variance with the spirit of the Constitution.

It is somewhat remarkable, when we consider the emphasis with which, in recent speeches, our good President expressed his disapproval of this same paternalism in government, that he should have allowed himself to follow the common custom in this matter.

But then I suppose paternalism didn't seem so dangerous to him when he happened to be the *pater*.

Now, in what I have said on this subject, I do not wish to be under-

stood as opposed to the national custom, or to the blending of church and state implied in the proclamation of the President.

I regard the present attitude of our Government to religion as a temporary attitude, justified and required by the ideas of religion which obtained when the Constitution was formed, and which, to a large but diminishing extent, still prevail. When rational and scientific thought shall rule in this realm, as it is coming to rule in others, the state—that is, the people—will sustain the same relation to religion as to all other educational institutions.

When religious truth comes to be regarded as something of which man may have knowledge, and something the knowledge of which is to be gained by the use of powers and processes as natural as those which open to him other realms of truth, then all discrimination against religion by the state will become absurd. Education in religion will take place under the authority of the state precisely as does education in geology and chemistry, and with no more attempt to regulate belief in the one case than in the other. That is, the state will encourage love of the truth, will stimulate search for the truth, and will expect men to make progress in the science of theology or religion as in other branches of knowledge. I call attention to the inconsistency of our practice with our theory, not to show that our theory is really defective, and that our Constitution will need revision and amendment touching this matter of religion, as it needed amendment in the matter of human freedom. Its imperfection in relation to the future has been, I am free to grant, a merit in the past. Nor do I believe we are quite ripe for amendment yet, but I feel sure the time will come when the inconsistency and compromise which now exists between theory and practice touching the relation of the state to religion will be done away, and done away in the interest both of religion and freedom.

When this takes place the act of the President—supposing the custom should continue—in issuing such a proclamation, will not be a taking on of the teaching or preaching function, nor an assumption of paternal authority. It will be the act of the Executive of the nation, voicing the will of the people, and, therefore, an act fraternal, and not paternal, in character.

With these preliminary remarks we come to the subject proper. First, the grounds of gratitude. What are they? I suppose that the obligation to be thankful will be generally held to rest upon all. But manifestly if it does, it must be on account of some benevolent and impartial intent indicated in the order of the universe, and in the widespread bounty of nature, that fails of effect in the case of a vast number. Thus the children of a wealthy party who had made abundant provision for them in his will would have a real cause for gratitude to him, though the executors should conspire and defraud them of their rights. So if there be, in the moral order of the universe, and in the widespread bounty of nature, evidence of a divine and impartial intent to make provision for the whole human family, the poorest and most wretched may have cause to feel grateful, though through the conspiracy of those entrusted with the carrying out of the will, they have been grossly defrauded of their just share in the original provision. Unquestionably something like this has taken place, if there is any justice at the heart of the universe. It is evident that if all are under obligation to be thankful, the real ground of the obligation must be found in something that is shared by all, and not in anything that is peculiar to a portion. If wealth, or health, or happiness, or anything else that one may or may not possess, be the ground, then those who lack these things have no reason to be thankful. If I owe gratitude to God, e. g., because He has given me riches, what does my neighbor owe who finds himself in extreme poverty? If the blessing of health enjoyed by me calls for thanksgiving on my part, what does the sickness of my neighbor call for? If the happiness which is my portion should lead me to feel grateful, what should be the feeling of my neighbor whose life is one of prolonged misery? Do you say that poverty, sickness and misery are, equally with wealth, health and happiness, causes for thankfulness? I reply that this can be so only on the supposition that these are means, not ends. They are surely not goods in themselves. They can become causes for thankfulness only as through them, and the discipline which they bring, we come to the mastery of ourselves, and to the real secret of true living. Such discipline and blessing are frequently found, we freely grant, in the experience of these trials. But these are not the common results of extreme poverty or misery. More frequently character deteriorates under the pressure of such burdens. The mind

grows dull and listless, and the heart hard and bitter.

We cannot conclude, therefore, that a wise Providence deliberately sends these trials for purposes of discipline. Neither can we, on the other hand, suppose that wealth, health and animal enjoyment are Divine tokens of moral desert.

These things are often the possession of men low in the scale of moral being, and quite as much in need of discipline as their poorer brothers. But we cannot believe that discipline is the object which determines the distribution of these goods.

Even less than poverty does wealth tend to the making of manly character. More than sickness and pain, often it hardens and makes callous.

We cannot, then, regard any of these things as the real ground of our gratitude to God. We will, of course, be pleased and gratified always when we obtain the things for which we are striving, and in so far as we recognize the Divine agency in the matter, we will feel thankful; but if we are truly so, it will not be because we are rich, while our brother is poor, or well while he is ill, or happy while he is wretched, but for some deeper reason which calls equally for thankfulness on his part. If we really believed Divine Providence responsible for the present distribution of earthly goods, no lover of justice could regard such Providence with respect. If the present proclamation, in mentioning the practice is wrong, but to show that our theory is really defective, and that our Constitution will need revision and amendment touching this matter of religion, as it needed amendment in the matter of human freedom. Its imperfection in relation to the future has been, I am free to grant, a merit in the past. Nor do I believe we are quite ripe for amendment yet, but I feel sure the time will come when the inconsistency and compromise which now exists between theory and practice touching the relation of the state to religion will be done away, and done away in the interest both of religion and freedom.

But you say, is not God responsible for the present distribution of worldly goods? Is it not by His will that rich men are rich and poor men

poor? I answer, No! No more than it is by His will that some men are mean and stingy, selfish and wicked. His will is an ethical will. It demands rightness, justice. To deny this is to defy evil. No one pretends that the rich man has a right to do what he pleases with his gains. All Christians, whether Calvinists or Arminians, hold that the rich man is only trustee for mankind. It is the will of God that he should use his gains in some way for the benefit of the world, the betterment of his fellows. But all the same he doesn't do it. God's will, then, is not done on earth as it is in the heavens. Nobody really believes that it is. If it were, or if Jesus had believed that it was, we would never have had that petition in his prayer, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in the heavens."

I not only say it is not God's will that rich men should use their wealth selfishly. I say it is not God's will that any man should be rich while other men are poor. It is not His will that any man should get, save by gift or grace, what he does not earn. The distribution of the world's product that disregards this law of equity is not God's distribution. Therefore the man with ill-gotten gains has no more reason to thank God for his wealth than the poor man has to blame God for his poverty.

What would you think of a band of highwaymen returning thanks to God for the providence that put a victim in their path, and enabled them to enrich themselves with his wealth? Or a lot of burglars holding a prayer-meeting to express their sense of the Divine goodness in prospering their burglarious enterprise?

You perceive at once that the thing is incongruous. But it is not a whit more incongruous that many a prayer-meeting held in all our large cities, where men who have spent the week in cornering the necessities of life, wrecking railroads, or fleecing the people in some way, meet on Sunday to thank God for the prosperity with which He has crowned their labors. The idea of the Highest being in any way a party to such wrong and injustice is abhorrent, and to a moral being of any considerable moral development, unthinkable. But the case is not

Continued on page 6.

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THE COLLECTED WORKS

THANKSGIVING SERMON.
Continued from page 5.

materially altered when the degree of injustice is lessened. The infinite of justice and goodness is no more a party to the sowing of sugar, or the watering of milk, than to the robbing of a bank. The power that makes for righteousness is as hostile to the spirit of avarice as to the spirit of murder, and God is no more a partner in the gains of a greedy church member than in the swag of a footpad.

God is the infinite of wisdom, justice, goodness, and it is more impious to thank Him for gains made in defiance of all that is essential in His nature, than it is to utterly deny His existence.

You say: If the present distribution of the world's products is not God's distribution, if it is not made according to His will, why does He permit it? Why does He not have a distribution made that is according to His will? Because this is impossible even for the Infinite. Mere power has no relation to such an end, even when guided by infinite wisdom and goodness, unless you give it time in which to work. Millions of years were spent in preparing this planet for man's habitation. Millions more in the evolution of man to take possession of his abode. Shall we expect that development of man which is to put him into fellowship with the universe and fit him for companionship with his Creator to be the work of a moment? Can the Infinite speak virtue into being? Is that for which all else exists to be the work of an instant, while that which exists for it has come only through the birth-throes of the ages? The world's products are man's products; their distribution must in the very nature of the case take place through man. It can become a just distribution, therefore, only as man's will becomes a just will, i.e., becomes one with God's will, or, in other words, only as the social organism becomes the ready and willing instrument of the Divine Spirit. But this is necessarily a result of growth, of education, of development. Man must learn by experience what this power that makes for righteousness requires of him; what justice and righteousness are, and what they ask at his hands; and he must learn the wisdom of doing what they require readily, faithfully, lovingly.

This is the process of the ages. Here and there scattered along the pathway of history are bright and luminous souls in whom the results of experience, growth, education development have centered and culminated. These become the helpers and inspirers of their fellows. But the total and absolute of truth and righteousness lie ever before us. The last word in religion has never been spoken, will never be spoken. The movement of the finite toward the infinite is an endless journey, and every step of the pathway has new wonders to unfold. With all the light that the past of the race has thrown upon the problem of civilization; with all that the great prophets and seers of our kind have done to make clear the great fundamentals of ethical requirement, the future of society lies still in the shadow. How to put ourselves into line with ethical demands, and yet preserve the vigor and power of individual life-currents, is the problem that confronts us just now. We are facing it with increasing earnestness, as the pressure of events make more urgent its solution.

Here is the part God is playing in history. He is teaching us constantly by the operation of His providence the presence and power of a moral order, i.e., an order that requires justice and demands goodness. It does not prevent wrong; but more and more it is making clear the inutility, the folly, the harmfulness of wrong. More and more it is making us see that of all whom wrong-doing hurts, or makes to suffer, none are so deeply wounded, none are morally so greatly injured as the wrong-doer.

He is teaching us also that there are laws of social architecture, as absolute and relentless as those that hold in the realm of matter. We may build in defiance of these if we will, but the structure which we rear we cannot make stand. Deeper and deeper grows the conviction in all thoughtful minds that in many important particulars modern civilization as well as the ancient has disregarded these laws, and that only a wise reconstruction can save our civilization from that disaster and collapse that have fallen upon others.

What, then, have we to be thankful for?

Everything of good that we have, unless we have defrauded or robbed somebody else to get it. The Highest is partner with everyone who loves and does the right. What comes ethically comes legitimately, comes by the will of heaven. But the real ground of thankfulness is not in any of these possessions. Men or circumstances may leave us almost none of these to be thankful for. But nothing can take away the great facts in which true thankfulness has its

root. These facts are the facts of moral order and moral government of the Infinite bounty, and the impartial goodness. If these are real to us; if we see in the movements of history the working of a power that makes for righteousness; if we see that this power is continually educating the race, causing it to take up and embody in character and institutions more and more of justice and goodness; if, as Jesus of Nazareth did, we realize that this power is not a blind force, but a loving Providence, our Father in heaven, and that He cares for us with more than a mother's love and tenderness, we will have a ground of thankfulness that no possible adversity or calamity can destroy, and a ground on which we can rest in thankfulness for others as well as for self. This is something in which we can have no monopoly. It is possible to us only as we see it to be a certainty for all. Whatever of gratitude, then, wells up in our hearts to the source of all good, because of any earthly comfort or blessings we possess and enjoy; below all this, and as the real foundation on which this rests, must be an abiding sense of the Infinite and Impartial goodness, a goodness as truly intent on blessing the poorest and worst—not as worst, but by making them better—as the richest and best. Confidence in the existence of such a power is the root of all hope, whether for the individual or the state.

Given such a power—call it what you may—and the future of man and society is assured. Nations may rise and fall, empires grow and decay, but man will survive, and society will come, soon or late, to the harmony and blessedness of the kingdom of the heavens.

But how may we best show the spirit of thankfulness that this sense of the Infinite goodness awakens in our hearts?

We answer in a general way, first, by hearty co-operation with this goodness in all movements that look to the advancement of the kingdom of heaven. The life of the Highest is a life of service. If we would be true children of the Highest, having a purpose and spirit of life akin to His, we must serve with Him. Even the Son of Man—the Man among men—came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and the noblest souls of the ages have regarded true life as a working together with God in the service of their fellows. This purpose and spirit of life therefore is the truest expression of a thankful heart.

But to be more specific. There are two lines of effort along which our social activities may profitably take place. First, realizing that the present industrial system, however, grave and serious its defects, is likely to be with us some time, and may possibly outlive all of us, we must do what we can to lighten the burdens and relieve the sufferings of those on whom it bears most heavily. This is indeed a most formidable and difficult task, and so much beyond the powers of any local body, however strong in means and numbers, that it seems almost futile to attempt any part of it. The spirit that pervades the business community, that leads men to seek for soft places, for opportunities to get something for nothing, or much for little, pervades the poorer and more dependent classes as well. So that any movement to aid them, whether individually, or collectively, must be managed with great wisdom and firmness, or it will only play into the hands of the most designing and the least deserving. Many of these have learned the lessons of their teachers well. They can live by their wits on their level, as well as stock gamblers can live by theirs on Wall street. Novices in the work of relief are almost certain to be imposed upon by them. Nothing can be done for this class that does not oblige them to work, and work faithfully for what they get. Another difficulty of a serious sort is that the moment any movement is set on foot looking to relief, word is passed from tramp to tramp and city to city, and the tide of poverty sets toward the friendly shore. Even the single soft-hearted and gullible individual who takes up this work and gives material aid, is soon known throughout the length and breadth of the land. Every tramp knows him and knows his friends, and can talk of them with the air of an intimate and familiar acquaintance. Of course there are worthy and deserving poor, those who have retained their integrity and independence of spirit through all reverses and all misfortune. To help these is not only easy—when work can be found, it is a delight and a joy. To these only can material aid be safely given, except in return for work actually performed, and it requires great power of reading character to discriminate these classes.

The most hopeful field of labor is among the children. Here faithful and persistent effort is sure to be fruitful. This, I think, should be the field especially cultivated by us. We have so large a number of cultured men and women who are really

interested in rational religion and in social ethics, that we ought to be able to do a grand work among the young along these lines. Success here, too, is the surest way of reaching the older ones. You can draw them where you can hold their children.

And here, too, is good place to lay deep and broad the foundation for the larger and grander work we hope to do—the work of helping forward the social reconstruction. This is the second line along which we may work. And on this line we shall have to move with a good degree of liveliness and vigor if we would keep toward the front of the procession.

The Episcopal Church Congress, which has just closed, revealed a surprising growth of socialististic sentiment in that body. I do not mean that those who committed themselves to any particular form of socialism, but that they were heartily committed to the socialist attitude. They were outspoken in their denunciations of the competitive system of industry, and the thoroughly selfish and unscrupulous individualism which is its legitimate and necessary product. They felt the imperative need of affecting a change in this system. Professor Gould, head of the Divinity School, affirmed squarely that the competitive system is in direct violation of the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." He traced to this the vast amount of cheap, trashy and almost worthless goods with which the markets are flooded, the adulteration found in almost everything we eat, the shoddy in everything we wear, the false labeling and branding on all kinds of goods, and the systematic deception which pervades the general world of business. And worse than all this, he pointed out, was the effect upon the general character. Man cannot carry deceptive methods into business and retain integrity of character.

The influence of the whole system, while intensely stimulating and quickening to the planning and instrumental powers, is demoralizing in the extreme to the powers concerned with aims, motives and ends. He showed also how the law of supply and demand reduces wages, or tends to reduce wages to the bare point of subsistence, turning men into mere machines for taking in food and giving out labor. As to what should take the place of this competitive system, the professor was not so clear. He feared the result of any system which should take away the spur and incentive that comes from returns proportioned to energy and skill. He dreaded any organization that meant the abridgment of individual liberty, but felt sure that if we would give our minds to this problem as we have to the development of our material resources, the way out would be made plain.

Rev. Mr. Bartlett, of Delaware, spoke much to the same effect. He

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lieve they are the best
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of current fiction.

THE most hopeful field of labor is among the children. Here faithful and persistent effort is sure to be fruitful. This, I think, should be the field especially cultivated by us. We have so large a number of cultured men and women who are really

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155 The Antiquary, By Sir Alexander Scott.
156 Strange Adventures of a Phaeton, Black.
157 Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, By R. L. Stevenson.
158 Strange Story, A, By J. H. Shorthouse.
159 Sunshine and Roses, By Bertha M. Clay.
160 Swiss Family Robinson, By Carl Spitteler.
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162 Tale of Two Cities, By Charles Dickens.
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291 Washington

ALLIANCE RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by State and Sub-Alliances throughout the Country.

Resolutions adopted by the Kentucky State Alliance at the annual session held in Owensboro.

Be it resolved by the Kentucky State Union, "That we deeply sympathize with the bereaved wife and family of Brother Polk in the loss of a devoted husband and an affectionate and indulgent father, and would direct them to breathe their most fervent orisons unto Him, our Heavenly Father, for their guidance in this time of what may, to them, seem unbearable, and remind them that even now His solace will comfort them in a home made to mourn over the death of a husband and father."

Resolved, That we keenly feel the heavy loss upon the National Farmer's Alliance and Industrial Union by the death of its late president, Col. L. L. Polk, and appeal to the brotherhood everywhere to renew their devotion to the principles of the organization, for the firm establishment of which your committee would beg leave to offer the following resolutions expressive of the sympathy of the Farmers and Laborers' Union of the State of Kentucky, with the bereaved family in the loss of our beloved national president, the late Col. Polk.

We, your committee, together with the great brotherhood of the State and nation, ever mindful that the decrees of an almighty and a merciful God, while inscrutable are ever for the good of mankind, and we beg the brotherhood and the family of our late lamented president to remember the twenty-third Psalm. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof; the world and they that dwell therein." He spent the last years of his life for his people, and denied himself the pleasures of his own home.

Resolutions adopted by Butler County (Missouri) Farmers and Laborers' Union:

Be it resolved by the Butler county Farmers and Laborers' Union, now in session assembled, "That the Farmers and Laborers' Union of Missouri take courage, for we firmly believe that they have a work to do. As John the Baptist came to prepare the way for the Savior of the world, so the Farmers and Laborers' Union has come to prepare the way for the restoration of the Government. That our liberties are at stake, and the Farmers and Laborers' Union, as an educational order, with the assistance of other kindred associations, will be the means of restoring this Government to its purity. We would admonish the brethren and sisters of the Farmers and Laborers' Union to stand firm, attend sub-unions at every stated meeting, and not shrink from any work that may be assigned them. And, as the People's party has sprung up from the teachings and demands of the order, let us consider the teachings of our order, and work for the interests of the farmers and laboring classes, regardless of our former associations, lay our party prejudices aside, and labor for principles alone."

Resolutions passed by Brundidge Primary Alliance, Alabama:

Resolved, That we, the membership of Brundidge Primary Alliance, do hereby condemn the unlawful and, in many instances, the extortionate practices made by bankers, loan companies, and some private individuals upon the farmers and laborers of Alabama.

Resolved, That we, as Alliance men and citizens of Alabama, do hereby pledge our consideration, our aid, and our united efforts for the riddance and utter abolishment from our State of these unlawful and unjust customs that live in defiance to the great motto of our order—"equal rights to all and special favors to none"—and also the ineffectual law-making body for the protection of the borrowing class of our population.

Resolved, That, now realizing the burden of debt that has been heaped upon many citizens of Alabama—in many instances the result of these unlawful customs—we now see the need of a law (within the jurisdiction of our legislature) with something like the following provisions:

Before any creditor, without distinction or through any medium, can invoke the aid of law for the collection of a debt of any kind, or foreclosure of a mortgage, he shall produce to the court, before whom the issue is carried, proof positive and plain, and without the shadow of a doubt, on the following points, to-wit:

1. If the debt is based on money loaned, the creditor must show that debtor neither promised nor paid over lawful interest, neither directly nor indirectly. Further, that the debtor neither paid nor promised to pay, either directly or indirectly, any agent's commissions in the way of fees or bounty in order to get the loan, and further, the creditor must show that the parties whose names stand as payee to the

transaction was a genuine trade and not a ruse to defeat the law.

2. If the debt is for farm supplies, such as dry goods, groceries, tools, stocks and vehicles, fertilizers, the creditor must show to the court that over lawful interest was not paid by the debtor, neither directly nor indirectly, and the basis upon which to calculate the interest on debt shall be the prevailing cash price, or market price of the commodity sold at the time of sale.

And now, viewing the constitutionality of this proposed law, we say, that if the State of Alabama had the right to fix the rate at 8 per cent per annum, she has the right to go further and make such a law as would be effectual and also respected; and further, if the State of Alabama had the constitutional right to appoint, a railroad commissioner with the power to check or put a stop to discriminating practices on the part of railroads in our State on the towns or inhabitants of Alabama, she has the constitutional right to make a law to control and compel capital to respect our State law, and also the law of God and humanity.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Hardin county, Kentucky, Union:

Whereas, War is death and destruction, a monster of iniquity, a waste of time and treasure, an expensive, inhuman and barbarous method of settling difficulties, the useless shedding of human blood is anti-Christian, and as the masses are the greatest sufferers, both in blood and money, therefore be it

Resolved, by the Tunnell Hill Union, No. 2635. That we recommend that all disputes between nations be settled by arbitration. Resolved, That we consider the World's Columbian Exposition to be held in Chicago in 1893, to be an appropriate time and place for the consummation of such a treaty.

Resolved, That we hope our own country will take the initiatory steps in this important matter.

Resolved, That we believe that organization and education on the part of the people is their only protection against oppressive monopolies and designing politicians.

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics from Organized States.

St. Louis (Mo.) Monitor:

If the Democrats have the Presidency, Senate and House, what excuse will they frame for not legislating in the interest of the people? Are we now to have free coinage of silver? Will the McKinley law be repealed? Here's dollars to doughnuts that no radical change will be made in either of these questions.

The Fort Worth (Tex.) Advance:

There isn't a millionaire, a banker, a money shark or speculator in the land that wants a change in our financial system. It is good enough for them. It made them rich and is making them richer. They would rather talk about tariff.

The Eye (Washington):

Sometimes by electing a man to office we spoll a good patriot and make a poor officer. Office is a public trust and does not belong to the man who fills it (unless he has bought and paid for it), and he should discharge the duties which it imposes entirely uninfluenced by personal motives. Quite too often men, as soon as they are elected, begin to scheme for re-election, and not unfrequently stultify their their manhood and barter their honor in their mad desire for continuance in position.

The Forum (Texas):

"Where are they at?" now?

A national convention of colored men at Indianapolis denounced Mr. Harrison, refused to endorse Grover Cleveland, and then declared in favor of free trade.

The Bruceville Herald (Texas):

And is said to be greatly responsible for Republican defeat.

H. C. Frick is said to be responsible for forty-one strikes and boycotts.

Southern Mercury (Texas):

What do we get through Cleveland, Democracy and Congress? That's the question.

All the good things which have been a boon to mankind have come through sorrow, poverty and tears, but there is a better future for the race. As intelligence makes progress, men become more liberal in their ideas.

Beacon (Indiana):

Last year Kansas had 60,000,000 bushels of wheat which sold at about an average of 75 cents per bushel, which amounted to \$45,000,000. This year we have 70,000,000 bushels of better wheat, which sells, we may say, at 50 cents per bushel, amounting to \$35,000,000. This is a clear loss of \$10,000,000. Coal is higher, taxes no lower, interest just the same, salaries of officials all safe, freight all right. Who pays the bill?

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

The efforts of the organized wage-workers to seek amelioration in the condition of the wealth-producers of our country by gradual evolutionary methods and to keep pace with the development and progress of improved machinery and the concentration of wealth is not met in a spirit of fairness, but opposed and antagonized as if our movement were destructive rather than constructive, that we were enemies instead of the friends of the people.

Nonconformist (Indiana):

We have had twenty-five years of peace, prosperity and protection. Last year the United States produced the greatest crops that the world has ever seen. This year the mortgages have increased, and four States have been compelled to call out their militia to keep

workingmen from fighting for the privilege of earning an honest living. Does it not appear to your mind that something is wrong?

Dublin (Tex.) Progress:

Prof. R. T. Ely, of the Johns Hopkins University, the best authority in the United States, says: "There are 3,000,000 paupers in this country," and evangelical church members own \$13,075,300,000 worth of property. All of our Fourth of July orators say, "this is the richest, most prosperous and most intelligent country on earth." Draw your own conclusion.

Rocky Mountain News (Colorado):

Russia's demand for gold continues to attract the attention of all financiers. For years that nation has been accumulating the yellow metal, and the wonder is what is being done with it. European banks now hold \$20,000,000-\$100,000,000—gold that they did last year at this time, and at least three-fourths of it has been drawn from the United States.

Talma:

The great shadowing curse of America to-day is the monopolist. He puts his hand on every bushel of wheat, every sack of flour and every ton of coal, and not a man, woman or child in America but feels the touch of moneyed despotism.

Advocate (Kansas): Let the corrections begin now.

This is the greatest of all political lessons we learn from history: Evils that grow within a party are never corrected while that party is in power.

ALLIANCE DEMANDS.

Adopted at Ocala and Reaffirmed at Indianapolis.

1. We demand the abolition of national banks.

b. We demand that the Government shall establish subtreasuries in the several States which shall issue money direct to the people at a low rate of tax, not to exceed 2 per cent per annum, on non-perishable farm products, and also upon real estate, with proper limitations upon the quantity of land and amount of money.

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

d. We demand that Congress shall pass such laws as will effectively prevent the dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions; providing a stringent system of procedure in trials that will secure prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.

e. We condemn the silver bill recently passed by Congress, and demand in lieu thereof the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

f. We demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the Government, and held for actual settlers only.

g. Believing in the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, we demand—

a. That our national legislation shall be so framed in the future as not to build up one industry at the expense of another.

b. We further demand a removal of the existing heavy tariff tax from the necessities of life that the poor of our land must have.

c. We further demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on incomes.

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

e. We demand the most rigid, honest and just State and national governmental control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuse now existing, we demand the Government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

f. We demand that the Congress of the United States submit an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people of each State.

FINANCE.

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

We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

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

We demand a graduated income tax.

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

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

TRANSPORTATION.

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

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

LAND.

Third. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited.

All land now held by railroads and other corporations, in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

NONCONFORMIST (Indiana):

We have had twenty-five years of peace, prosperity and protection. Last year the United States produced the greatest crops that the world has ever seen. This year the mortgages have increased, and four States have been compelled to call out their militia to keep

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Continued from page 9.

been built only for a generation and its uses have long overgrown its limits; this one, through the far-sighted liberality of Congress, will provide room for the nation's books for nearly two centuries to come. The ultimate cost is limited to \$6,000,000, a sum somewhat less than half the cost of the Capitol, or of the large building erected for the accommodation of the State, War and Navy Departments. The library building covers very nearly the same space as each of these Government buildings (about three acres), and is constructed of solid granite, with iron, brick, and marble interior. Its ample interior courts and numerous windows will render it the best lighted and best ventilated library of proportions yet erected.

There is no Government institution of any considerable cost which is not frequently required to answer the inexorable query: "Cui bono?" To what end does it exist, and what does it accomplish? In a popular government this is more peculiarly a pertinent inquiry, since every citizen has a voice in the making of the laws through which all government agencies perform their functions. He is, moreover, directly interested in the proper expenditure of the money raised by taxation from the whole people. Can the Government library, then, justify its existence and the cost of its maintenance by its actual utility to the nation? This question is but partially answered in what has gone before. Viewed in a closer light, the value of a comprehensive national library to Congress, in its varied and responsible functions as the legislator for 65,000,000 of people, cannot be overrated. In the vast and complicated range of its powers are embraced all the questions of public welfare and economic science, the methods of taxation, the proper sphere of government, the foreign policy of the country, the surveys and explorations of public lands, the questions of immigration, quarantine, naturalization, interstate commerce, internal revenue, customs, tariff, the postal system, patents and copyrights, education, agriculture, pensions, the military and naval establishments, Territorial government, lighthouses and coast surveys, the policy toward Indians and the treatment of the Chinese, the fiscal system and the people's money, the public debt and its management, State rights and national supremacy, the fisheries, mining, manufactures, merchant shipping, foreign mails, the conduct of the civil service, and an infinitude of questions new and old, constantly arising in our complex system of government. To say that every member of Congress is well informed upon all these subjects would be as far from the truth as to deny that many Senators and Representatives make an earnest and intelligent study of each question involved in their public labors. When the subject of restricting Chinese immigration is up, all the literature upon the races, from the fifteen-volume "Mémoires concernant les Chinois" of the early French missionaries in the flowery kingdom to Minister Seward's latest pamphlet on the Chinese question, is drawn upon. When Charles Sumner prepared the notable speech on Russian America which so largely influenced the purchase by the United States of the vast territory of Alaska, he drew nearly all the materials for his argument from the great arsenal in the Congressional Library. Not a problem in national or international policy is ever grappled with but has its lights or illustrations in the history or experience or discussions of other nations, which only the ample stories of a collection rich in books, pamphlets, and periodicals can supply. Of all nations the Americans are perhaps the most persistent in their search for precedents, although candor may require us to add that none is more ready to disregard them when found. The almost innumerable reports of committees in both houses of Congress often require on the part of those preparing them a breadth of information little comprehended by those who think the daily work of the legislator is light and easy.

The administrative officers of the Government in their various departments have to deal with a range of subjects so comprehensive as to require access to the largest collections, legal, political, and scientific, for facts and references. They have in the limited store of books gathered in the departments and bureaus resources often found wholly inadequate to answer the numerous inquiries that arise. A great national library is the only means of supplying these constant calls for information in the many fields of research which have to be explored. The newspaper files of the principal cities here gathered have supplied large materials for detailed reports upon strikes and other labor difficulties, epidemics, etc., while the thousands of town and

city and trade directories furnish other classes of information.

The uses made of the law department of the library are of cardinal importance. As the seat of the judicial tribunal of last resort, the Supreme Court of the United States, Washington should furnish the most comprehensive library of jurisprudence which can be assembled, while at the same time its stores in other directions should be rendered more and more complete every year. The judgments of the courts of claims, Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Supreme Court, all located at the National Capital, involve investigation which demands the widest range of authorities. And the bar of Washington and other cities, having causes before the Federal tribunals, find in the extensive collection which is at once the library of Congress and of the Supreme Court, professional aid which it is no misnomer to term invaluable.

As to the general public use and frequentation of the Government Library, it may be said that it increases in a greater ratio than even the rapidly growing treasures of the collection itself. While there may be found persons narrow-minded enough to insist that it is no proper function of our democratic Government to provide a great library for the use of the citizens and visitors at the Capital, the fact remains that the library has been gathered, primarily for the use of the national legislature and the judicial and executive branches of the Government, and in great part (through the copy tax) without expense to the nation. Not to open so rich and extensive a collection to public use and reference just as freely as is consistent with its safety and preservation would be a monstrous perversion of the objects for which national libraries exist. Accordingly the Congressional Library has from the beginning been open to adult readers, without formality or introduction, by an unwritten law which takes the place of statutes and makes the people partakers in its benefits. The government libraries of Europe, in like manner, though with more restriction, are all accessible to students, and form one of the foremost attractions of the capitals in which they are found.

The readers who frequent the library at Washington form a composite class, in which, however, serious students predominate. There will be found, pursuing each his independent theme, readers from nearly all parts of the globe. The industrious compiler of facts and statistics, the searcher after quotations in poetry or prose, the ever-present person who has the genealogical fever in a mild, or acute, or chronic form, the student of history, the lover of art, the devotee of music, the editor who seeks topics or illustrations, the grubber of Greek roots, the naturalist exploring the vast field of the vegetable or animal kingdom, the student of social science, the lawyer comparing authorities and cases, the enthusiast who reads the mystics, the sporting man who follows up the pedigrees of horses, the preacher in search of homilies or commentaries, the investigator of heraldry, the devourer of French novels, the peruser of the daily newspaper or the literary serials, the young lady in quest of costumes, the old soldier renewing his memories of the civil war, the hunter after anecdotes and *bon mots*, the physician studying the history of epidemics, the reader who pursues the military art of naval science, the lover of biography, the youth who is hungry for books of adventure, the explorer who delights in voyages and travels, the absorbed admirer of poetry, the student of metaphysics, the reader of political or economic science, the architect in search of designs or models, the inquirer after the latest application of electricity—all these and many more come daily or hourly before the librarian or his assistants. Every great library must be one of universal range, to answer the multifarious demands upon it for ideas and information.

One of the uses must not be overlooked, namely, the facilities supplied to students in the many colleges and seminaries of learning, public and private at the national capitol. On a Saturday holiday the schools transfer many of their pupils to the library in quest of knowledge not elsewhere found upon the numerous topics of study or of composition which engage their attention. Its narrow and over-crowded halls would be still more thronged by this class of students were room to be found—a want which will be amply met in the new library building at a time not far remote. Frequently are the inquiries received by letter from all parts of the country, to learn whether certain books are to be found in the collection; and it is gratifying to find that in the great majority of cases the authorities sought for can be consulted at Washington.

The legal requirement of two copies of each publication, as a condition of valid copyright, has been sometimes, though rarely, objected to as an exaction which might be dispensed with. A careful consideration of the *rationale* of the case, however, will vindicate the wisdom of the requirement. Obviously it is in the interest both of authors and publishers that every book or other publication should be somewhere preserved by law in a fire-proof accessible repository. It is equally in the interest of the people that the Government Library should possess for reference a complete collection of the products of the American press. It is no unreasonable condition for the Government to stipulate thus with authors and publishers: "Your country gives you the sole privilege of printing and selling your work, at your own price, for forty-two years; give the country, in consideration of this, two copies, one for the use and reference of Congress and the public in the National Library, the other for preservation in the copyright archives, in perpetual evidence of your right." In view of the valuable monopoly conferred by copyright, does not the Government in fact give much more than a full equivalent for the publications required? It is not a case of compulsory taxation; no one need furnish any copies unless he demands exclusive right to multiply them. Obviously, it would not be just to exact even one copy of publications not secured by copyright (the daily journals, for example). In this case the Government gives

nothing and receives nothing; but the requirement of the protected publications, unfelt as it is by publishers, is manifestly in the interest of the public, as well as of authors and publishers themselves. In England five copies of every book published are exacted, for five different libraries, which appears somewhat unreasonable.

By the act of 1870, providing for the registry of all copyright titles in the office of the Librarian of Congress, the removal of the collection of copyright books from the overcrowded Patent Office to the Congressional Library was provided for. These publications were the accumulation of about eighty years, received from the United States District Clerks' offices all over the country (where copyright entries were made from 1790 to 1870.) These deposits were found to number about 23,000 volumes, a much smaller number than had been anticipated, in view of the length of time during which the law of copyright had been in operation. But the observance of the acts requiring deposits of copyright publications with the clerks of the United States courts had been very defective (no penalty being provided for non-compliance) and, moreover, the Patent Office had failed to receive from the offices of original deposit large numbers of publications which

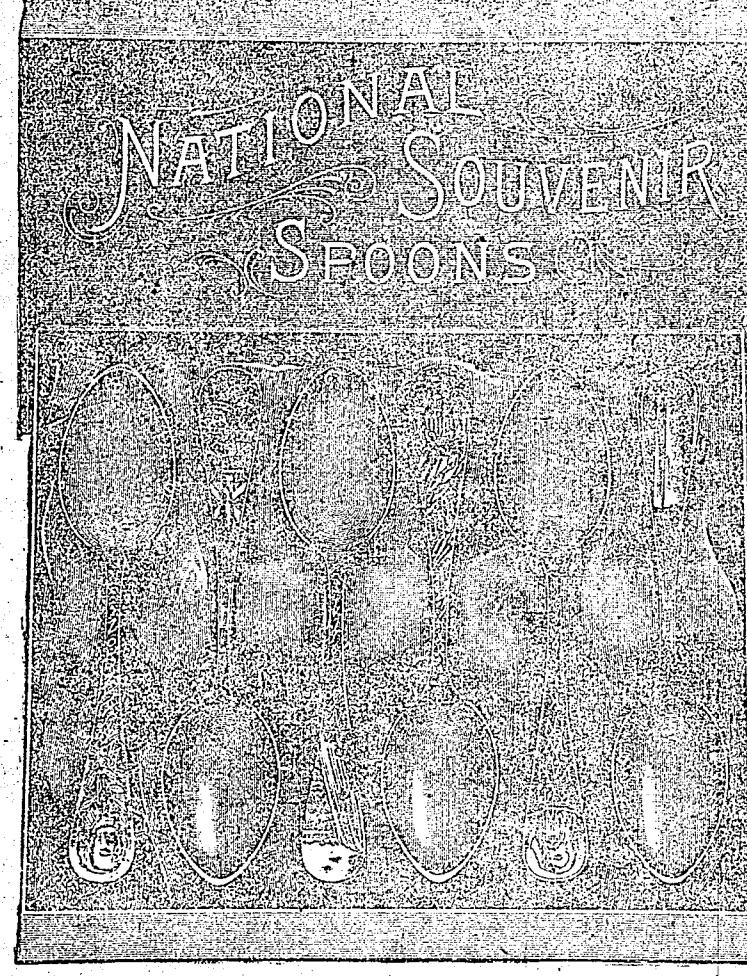
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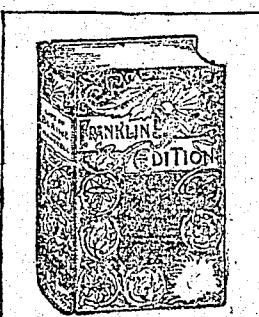
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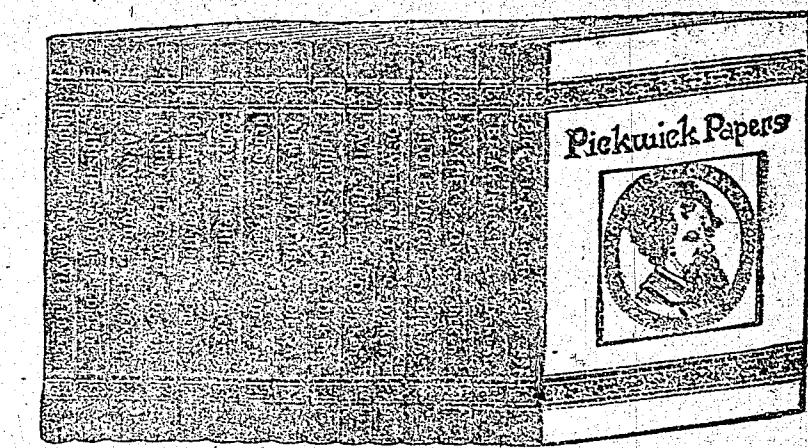
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UNITED STATES LIBRARY.
Continued from page II.

should have been sent to Washington. From one of the oldest of the Eastern States not a single book had ever been sent in evidence of copyright. The books, however, which were thus added to the library, although consisting largely of school-books and the minor literature of the last half-century, comprised many valuable additions to the collection of American books.

The whole number of entries of copyright in the United States since we became a nation considerably exceeds 750,000. It may be of interest to exhibit the progress of American enterprise as shown in the aggregate number of publications registered for copyright in each year since the removal of the entire records to Washington in July, 1870.

1870	5,600	1882	22,018
1871	12,688	1883	25,273
1872	14,164	1884	26,593
1873	15,532	1885	28,410
1874	16,983	1886	35,083
1875	14,582	1887	38,225
1876	15,758	1888	40,777
1877	15,798	1889	42,758
1878	15,125	1890	45,908
1879	20,080	Total	545,601
1880	21,075		

The reduced number of entries from 1875 to 1878 was owing to a removal, by act of 1874, of the registration of all prints and labels (previously copyrighted) to the patent office.

The records of copyright had been encumbered with a great mass of so-called publications having no relation whatever to literature, but belonging to the merchant arts, as illustrating articles of manufacture. The number of these was about 5000 annually, and notwithstanding their withdrawal, the increase in the aggregate of other publications has been so extensive as to exhibit a marked advance in the publishing activities of the country.

Of course this large exhibit of copyrights (now annually more than double the average registry of patents) is far from representing books alone. Many thousands of entries are periodicals, claiming copyright protection and required by law to register every separate issue just as the volumes of books are entered. These embrace a great variety of weekly journals, literary, scientific, religious, pictorial, technical, commercial, educational, agricultural, sporting, humorous, musical, dramatic, etc., including a number in foreign languages. The registry of serials also includes nearly all the largely circulated monthly and quarterly magazines and reviews, with many devoted to specialties, e.g., sociology, law, finance, education, art, fashion, mechanics, theology, metaphysics, trade, manufactures, stock-raising, and the arts and sciences generally. The next largest class of copyrights, embracing some 8000 a year, consists of musical compositions, many of which are held as valuable property. There are also accumulated, under the law of copyright, a great number and variety of works of graphic art—engravings, lithographs, photographs, photogravures, etchings, chromos, prints, and drawings. Many of these are of great beauty and value, and representing, as they do, many years of the progress of the arts of design, they will form in the new library building, where a gallery of ample proportions is to be devoted to their arrangement, an art exhibition both interesting and instructive.

Through the enactment in 1891 of the law of international copyright, the receipts of new publications of all kinds at the Congressional Library will be largely increased. The foreign accessions have hitherto been most extensive in musical compositions and fine-art publications; but with the growth in literary production which an extension of the area of copyright may in time induce, many books will flow into the collection from Great Britain and from some of the continental nations. This experimental act is yet to be fully tried, and the conflicting opinions upon its merits await the results of actual experience. In any event, a literature which has exhibited such evidences of growth and vigor as that of America is in no danger of arrested development. And as the various libraries of the departments and bureaus of the Government are steadily enriching the most extensive collection which the country possesses by such of their accumulations as are not needed for their special uses, it will grow continually more worthy of the title first bestowed upon it by Mr. Jefferson, "The Library of the United States."

Another People's Champion Elected
By E. H., Los Angeles, Cal.

One of the greatest, if not the greatest, demonstrations of popular feeling that ever occurred in our city took place November 4. There was a torchlight procession and several bands of music, brigades of horsemen, farm wagons, the Coast Seamen's Union from San Pedro in uniform, transparencies, banners, etc., and some very fine tableaux floats. The mortgaged home, the poor old farmer's wife and family with their

one sorry horse, while the bondholders followed in gorgeous attire with their high stepping horses, the blue and the gray, Fort Carnegie and many others.

The great pavilion was soon densely filled, and there was an overflow meeting outside. Dr. H. P. Peebles, nominee for State senator, opened with a ringing speech. Then Mr. Batchelor, chairman of county convention, spoke, and then our nominee for Congress, Marion Cannon, was received with the wild enthusiasm. He portrayed the wrongs done to this people by railroads and corporations, and warned the people of a repetition of the same, by the contemplated steal of the Nicaragua Canal Company. He insisted that the 178,000,000 due to this Government by the railroads must be paid up without further extension of time, and that the Government should take charge of the transportation, so that instead of taking from the people all that the traffic can bear, the farmers would not be drained so dry as not to have seed for next year's crops, nor be able to tide over a bad year.

"FUTURES" AND "OPTIONS."

Such Dealings Do Not Constitute a Legitimate Business Transaction.

Hon. W. D. Washburne, in the American Journal of Politics for November.

The line between fictitious sales and sales of actual property should be clearly drawn. There has been a persistent effort on the part of those who are opposed to any legislation on this subject to convey the impression that the effect of any such legislation would be to cripple and interfere with legitimate trade. Most of the arguments, in fact, that have been made, have been on the basis that sales of actual property even could not be made for future delivery, under a law prohibiting dealing in options. And in this way very many have been greatly misled and deceived. Dealing in options is nothing more than gambling, pure, simple and absolutely cold-blooded. Its devotees do not contemplate the delivery or receiving of property, and I do not suppose that there is an instance on record where any property passed, but it is simply a bet on what the value of that property may be at a given time in the future. I think that even those who are opposed to legislation against it do not claim that there is anything in "dealing in options" except gambling.

For example, A sells a million bushels of wheat, if you please, to B, to be delivered next December. A does not own a bushel of wheat, never has had a bushel and does not expect to have, and B, who has made the purchase, never expects that A will deliver the wheat to him at the time specified in the contract, but on the expiration of the contract, the two gentlemen make a settlement on the basis of the price that wheat may bear at the time specified. There is no ownership of property; there is no legitimate transaction. It is simply a bet on the part of the two operators as to what the price of wheat will be at the time designated. So that this, as the case of "options," simply becomes a wager as to the price of property at a given time in the future and finally resolves itself into a bet and nothing more. All assumed sales of property where there is no ownership, where operators on boards of trade assume to sell property, wheat, pork, or cotton on exchanges where there is no ownership, where no delivery of the property is expected to be made or is made, should be placed under the ban of law. I cannot see how any merchant doing a legitimate business, or banker, is to be affected in the slightest degree by the passage of a law making such sales illegal. It would not touch commerce, excepting, perhaps, the bank which acts in many cases rather as a holder of stakes. These transactions, as we all know, are carried on exclusively on margins. These margins amount to enormous sums of money, and, of course, are deposited in different banks. I can see how banks with such deposits would be affected unfavorably, because deposits of this kind are very large.

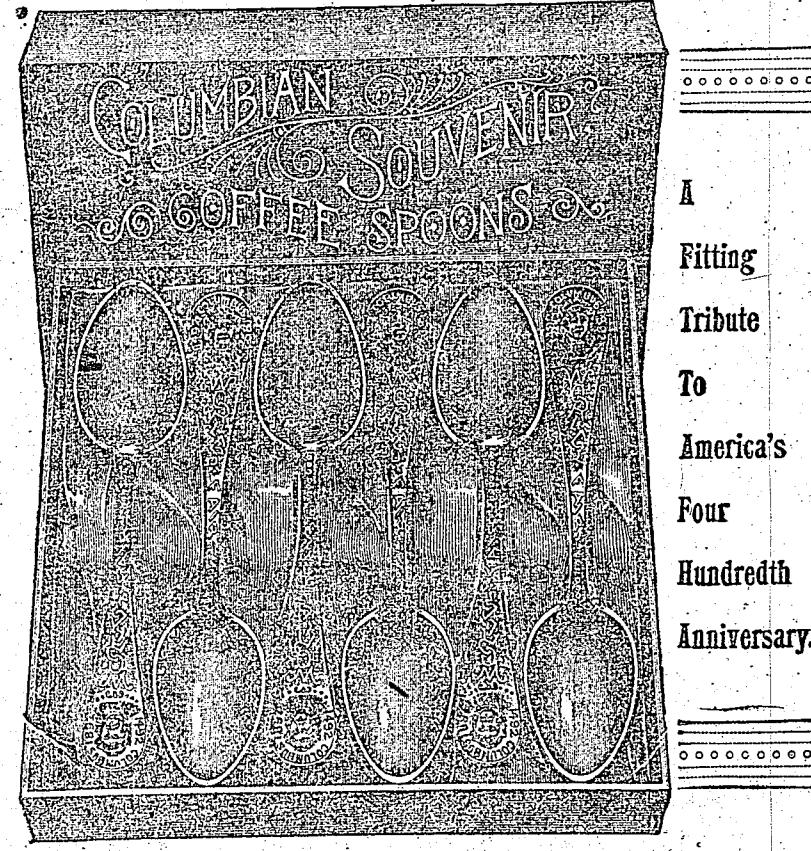
These people talk about "fettering commerce." Let me ask how commerce can be fettered, obstructed, restricted, or in any way interfered with under the provisions of such a law? It would only suppress gambling and nothing more, and gambling of the most vicious character that has ever existed, compared with which the Louisiana Lottery is but a Sunday school. How can commerce, how can trade, how can any dealings of the merchant be affected by the fact that the gambler or operator cannot sell for future delivery millions of bushels of wheat and thousands of bales of cotton that do not exist?

What is the commercial feature of such a transaction, and in what possible way can it affect trade, except by creating a condition of uncertainty? From the best information I have been able to obtain, at least 95 per cent of the sales on the Chicago Board of Trade are of this fictitious character, where no property is actually owned, no property sold or delivered, or expected to be delivered, but simply wagers or bets as to what property may be worth at a designated time in the future. It has finally come to this, that the operators on boards of trade fix prices of different articles without regard to the law of "supply and demand," or any natural conditions whatever. So that the business of the country has reached a crisis that is absolutely unbearable; so that the boards of trade, which are a necessity in conducting the commerce of the country, have been subverted from the uses and purposes for which they were created, and have been turned into gaming resorts where the great products of this country are made the basis and foot-ball of gambling transactions; so that wheat and cotton have become as much gambling tools as chips on the faro bank table. The property of the wheat-grower and the cotton-grower is treated as though it were a "stake" put on the gambling table at Monte Carlo. The producer of wheat is compelled to see the stacks in his barn dealt with like the peas of a thimble rigger, or the cards of a three-card monte man. Between the grain-producer and the loaf-eater, there has stepped in a "parasite" saying at what price one shall sell and the other buy—a "parasite" between them, robbing them both.

THERE is considerable talk just now of an extra session of Congress to follow immediately after the adjournment of the Fifty-second Congress, March 3, 1893, but no definite conclusion is yet reported, though it is probable that the Democrats will be anxious to organize the Government under their control, as soon as possible, and see "where they are at."

THE Republicans are looking for a Moses to lead them, and have about settled upon Senator Allison, of Iowa, who is now attending the international monetary conference as a delegate from the United States. Better wait and see if he wants to deliver his country to the Rothschilds before you attempt to follow him to the promised land.

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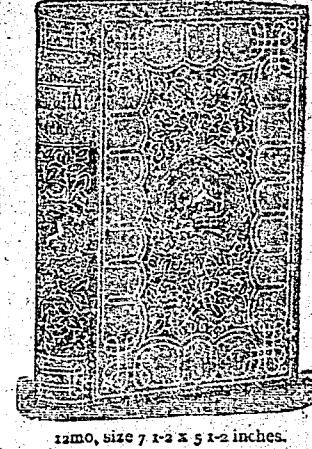
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Gardeners,	Oil Burners,	Wool-dealers,	Wool-dealers,	Gum-sellers,	Gunsmiths,
Bakers,	White-washers,	Scrap-makers,	Engravers,	Hucksters,	Hucksters,
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