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Identifier: s-n-000059-n10

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac will contain all the important proceedings of the national meetings of the Farmers and Laborers Union, to be held in St. Louis Dec. 3rd; also a short outline of the lives of the various prominent men in the Alliance and Wheel work.

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The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS AND LABORERS UNION OF AMERICA.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY. DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

SINGLE COPY FIVE CENTS

VOL. II.

WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 7, 1889.

NO. 12.

THE GOLD WORSHIP SUPERSTITION

The extreme tenacity with which misers and mono-metallists alike cling to the worship of gold proves how difficult it is to eradicate an hereditary superstition from the minds of men. The intense love, the absorbing passion, the grasping greed for gold has been often noted, satirized and denounced by writers, sages and moralists, but few there are who ever consider that the love of gold has had a basis in religious superstition. One of the earliest forms of religion among men was the worship of the sun. Nor is it to be wondered at that primitive man, stronger in imagination than in reason, struck with the grandeur, strength and beneficence of the great orb of day, bowed down and worshiped. The similarity in color between gold and the sun led to the belief among the sun worshippers that gold was in some mysterious manner generated by the sun, or was of solar origin. Hence it was held as not only semi-sacred but symbolic. Round tables, disks and other objects made of gold were placed in the temples symbolizing the sun god. Soon the worship was largely transferred from the sun to his symbolic representative, and gold was sought after with greater eagerness and held in greater regard as the years rolled on. Pindar, five hundred years before Christ, invoking Theia, the mythological mother of the sun god, said: "Through thee it is that mortals esteem mighty gold above all things else," he voiced the general current superstition of his time. In the new world as well as the old the sun was adored as a god and gold worshiped as his symbol. The Peruvians before the advent of the Spaniards were sun worshippers, and believed that the gold found in their mines or on their mountain sides was the sun's tears, and held sacred accordingly. Whenever the sun was worshiped golden ornaments were deemed the most appropriate and golden offerings the most acceptable in the temples. The sun stuff that is gold, was given by the votaries and accepted and treasured by the priests as the greatest and best gift. From the sun worshippers the superstitious regard for gold passed to the devotees of other gods, and in the ceremonial worship thereof ornaments and offerings of gold were always a conspicuous and important feature. When the sneering Persius, profanely yet pertinently asked: "Tell us ye priests what good does gold do in a sacrifice?" his was a leading question, but the satire was in vain. The worship of gold had already gained too

strong a hold upon the human mind to be exorcised by either reasoning or ridicule; and even later and more enlightened religionists seemingly look with greater reverence upon the golden thrones upon which they mentally picture and place their deities than they do upon the heavenly occupants; they gaze upon the golden harps and golden wings of the angels with greater admiration than upon the spiritual perfections of those heavenly ministers; they seem to contemplate more wistfully the golden pavements of the streets of paradise than the opening prospect of a better, purer, nobler life there above. In fact gold has about crowded out all competing deities, and bids fair to soon monopolize the worship of mortals. A recent writer has summarized the systems of worship of the ancients by stating that in substance "the Egyptians worshiped nature; the Greeks, beauty; the Romans, law; the northern nations, courage." But coeval with the oldest of these religious systems sun worship held sway. With them all gold worship has held its own, and now survives them all. This yellow metal first used to symbolize the sun gods of the heavens has now become the god and ruler of earth. It was the philosopher Thomas Hobbes who defined superstition as "religion out of fashion." If this definition be accepted the worship of gold can not be classed as a superstition, because it is not out of fashion. Indeed, it is the most fashionable form of worship at the present time. But the most devoted worshippers of gold are the mono-metallists, who are now seeking to get their god in the Constitution, so to speak, by making gold, and gold alone, the only money, the only ruler of the American republic. Many of the most prominent and zealous of the single standard gold worshippers of the country have lately presented their views to public notice and warned our people that they must have no other god in finance but the gold god, or dire disaster will follow; that gold is mighty and jealous, and will have no rivals in the business, or words to that effect. Gen. F. E. Spinner, ex-United States Treasurer, was lately interviewed in this city upon the silver question, and is reported as saying:

A panic, the worst the country has ever known, will certainly come unless a back track is taken on the silver policy now in favor. The first time a short crop and a balance of trade is against us is a tremendous panic will occur. Two conventions are about to be held, one with a view of having the silver coinage increased to the maximum limit, and the other to urge unlimited coin-

age. For them to succeed in their efforts would only bring disaster upon the country. Silver is no longer a precious metal. My idea is to have all the gold in the Treasury and have the Government issue the currency upon it.

Of all the prophets that ever prophesied in the interests of their fetish the goldites are the most unreliable. Of all the theorists they are the most absurd. That a panic may come is true; even if silver coinage of the present is continued or increased to the maximum, or unlimited silver coinage established. But to stop the coinage of silver would bring a panic certainly and at once. It would be just as sensible to destroy half the food in the country in order to prevent famine among our people as it would be to stop the coinage of silver with a view of preventing a panic—that is a money famine. Were Mr. Spinner restricted as to food to a small piece of meat and a small piece of bread per day and hungry a large part of his time upon the scant allowance, under such circumstances was somebody to advise him to throw away the bread and that then he could live better upon the little piece of meat alone, what would he think of such advice? Yet such a proposition would be on a par with the advice Mr. Spinner gives the American people upon the financial question. Here is a chronic stringency in the money market, with the rate of interest high, with about one thousand recorded business failures and three

times that number of smaller unrecorded failures occurring every month, with the indebtedness of the people constantly increasing and their ability to pay constantly decreasing; on account of falling prices; with the cry for more currency everywhere heard, and yet Mr. Spinner coolly proposes to make money still scarcer, prices lower, and the debt burdens relatively greater in order to make the people prosperous. Supposing the balance of trade does turn against this country and gold goes out to settle that balance, is a panic any more liable to come because there is some silver yet left behind? In other words, does Mr. Spinner hold that it would be liable to have no medium of exchange than to have silver money? The assumption that the coinage of silver or the issuing of paper money drives gold out of a country—the dictum of the goldite political economists—has been proven false and unfounded so often by practical experience that the cry of "wolf" by the monometallists attracts but little attention now. When France, at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, issued 2,800,000 francs of legal-tender paper money the goldites predicted dire disaster

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to the country as a consequence; that gold would flee from France, leaving industrial depression and business desolation behind. Did gold flee the country? On the contrary, it flowed into the country so rapidly that in a few years the Bank of France held far more gold than any other bank in Europe. In 1878, when the United States Congress, awakened to a sense of duty by the imperative demands of the people who were so cruelly wronged and robbed by the demonetization of silver a few years previously, resolved to remonetize that metal the goldists were loud and extravagant in predicting evil to the country from the proposed coinage of silver. Such a policy they assured us would certainly drive all the gold out of the country. It would bring on a panic and general bankruptcy, if not universal chaos. Did the gold go? On the contrary the gold in the country increased more rapidly than it ever did before in the history of the republic. In fact the whole financial theory of the goldite political economists is as false as their superstitious worship of the gold fetish is absurd and unreasoning. Money will flow to that country where money is already plentiful and the people progressive and prosperous in preference to where it is already scarce, business, dull and the people poverty stricken. The proper way to prevent money from flowing out of the country is to provide an ample circulating medium for the country. Now, as to the so-called "unlimited" coinage of silver, every person unswayed by self interest and not blinded by the old time superstition must admit that even the unlimited coinage of both metals would be insufficient to furnish the necessary circulation for the business of our vast territory and growing population, but that this would have to be supplemented with other forms of circulating medium. The coinage value of silver produced in the United States in 1888 is estimated at \$59,783,632. Of this amount about \$8,100,000 was used in the industries and arts and \$33,847,807 coined into standard dollars and subsidiary coins, leaving only \$17,237,193 of the year's product to go to the possible "unlimited" coinage. Yet in professed fear of this small margin for "unlimited" coinage the Government of this country, through the influence of the gold worshipers, have placed the mark of depreciation upon one of our great products. By all means, as long as we have metal worshipers among us, the law should not show any discrimination in favor of the yellow god, and against his pale-faced brother. Give them all the metal possible, until we have become sufficiently civilized to adopt a more scientific medium of exchange.

THE statistics, political, industrial, financial, and miscellaneous furnished in THE ECONOMIST Almanac have been specially collected and compiled therefor at great expense of time and trouble, but in order to insure a wide circulation it will be furnished at the cost of publication.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

No. 37.

Having completed the review of the social and political developments which characterized the rise, progress, and final fall of the Greek states, as recorded by the most authentic historians, it is now in order to analyze, and see how far the experiences of these people go toward sustaining the proposition set out in the opening of these articles, viz: That all social and political oppression can be traced to a very limited field of origin, although the immediate means which have been resorted to at various times and among various nations to subvert governments and enslave their people have been varied and numerous. That the primal danger in popular governments arises from the financial relations of the people to each other, and unjust and undue power derived through these relations by the speculative and unpatriotic few to oppress the many. That, under all forms of popular government, the aggregated power held by this speculative non-producing class, which is especially dangerous to the liberties of the masses, has been gained through a system of financial legislation secured by the shrewd influencing of the law making powers by a class, and the neglect of the masses, caused by ignorance and the carelessness growing out of it, to study closely their interest and protect themselves as they might have done against this securing of legal advantage by the exploiting class. That this evil legislation is based, first upon a vicious, unjust, and impolitic recognition of land as an article of commerce and security, and second, upon a mistaken and unjust system of finance, in that it bases the circulating medium or measure of value upon the results of only one class of labor, and gives the entire control of this to a favored class of citizens. That this system is vicious as it relates to securities and obligations, and was established because of a misunderstanding, or rather lack of understanding on the part of the people as to the extent of their obligation to regard certain existing customs as just and right, because they had been submitted to without question throughout ages of ignorance and oppression. That by establishing an unnatural and forced relation between the citizen and the soil, and by using the power of government to multiply and compel obligations growing out of this false relation, the speculative class builds up for itself an insidious and dangerous power, which extends not only to the comfort and happiness, but practically to the very life of the citizen, and actually builds up a system of slavery really as oppressive as ever existed in the more barbarous periods through which the race has passed.

Upon the false relation of the citizen to the soil is primarily based the domination of their demands, even to the sacrifice of the honor and liberty of the citizen, was the prime cause of all the evils from which Greece suffered.

It must be borne in mind that this system

are riveted. The history of the Greek republics is probably the clearest illustration of this fact which has come down to us, although the story of every other nation is but a repetition of the same experiences under varied forms.

As civilization progresses, the financial systems and other means of securing power become more and more intricate and confusing, until within late years it is quite a difficult task to trace an existing evil through its various and complicated progressions to the ultimate point of its origin. There are, however, two leading characteristics of Greek polity which have come down to us with very little modification. These are the land and money systems, which remain almost identical in their vital features.

The foregoing review has shown clearly that the great and severe oppression from which the Greek people suffered grew from financial causes. True, they suffered at times from armed political power, but this power was the outgrowth of financial conditions which rendered the people helpless for their own defense. It has been clearly shown that before the development of a commercial system the people were free from any oppression except such as the physical conflicts incident to all undeveloped societies; that the origin of this class of oppression was readily recognized, and required merely combined action and like force to resist or overcome it. The serious and complicated evils began to develop only after the commercial system had grown up, and certain usages and customs accompanying it had grown into a common recognition amounting to an unwritten law which afterward became a part of the statutory law. The people were thus gradually educated to these false systems at the very first advance from barbarism, and this teaching being handed down from generation to generation the effect of heredity was to fix it, as it were, in the very nature of the people.

Greece defied successfully for ages all attempts at armed conquest from without; and yet, owing to this false teaching, her people suffered at intervals oppression greater than such conquest might have brought, from the existence of evils in their economic system at home. The gigantic attempt at conquest by the Persians was gloriously repulsed by Greek valor in arms, but that valor which was able to combat successfully the armed power of the world was helpless against equally oppressive power growing out of a system which they admitted and sustained among themselves, the injustice and wrong of which they failed to recognize.

It is now perfectly clear to the student of political philosophy that the undue prominence given to pecuniary interests and obligations, and the vast power vested in the creditor class to compel the satisfaction of their demands, even to the sacrifice of the honor and liberty of the citizen, was the prime cause of all the evils from which

was introduced among a rude and ignorant people, and the power of debt to oppress could not possibly have been realized by them. The growth of this great financial power was gradual and to those people imperceptible, but to the people of the present era, with the experiences of the peoples gone before to teach them, nothing could be plainer.

A convenient mode of exchange being established, the temptation to the people to gratify their desires, regardless of consequences likely to ensue, is, among the ignorant masses, almost irresistible. To gratify a present desire they are ready to make thoughtlessly the most burdensome future obligations; indeed such obligations as it would be impossible for them to meet. These obligations in the hands of an unscrupulous and utterly avaricious speculative class, backed by the power to compel exact compliance, regardless of justice, became a means of oppression the evils of which cannot be overestimated; and having entered into such obligation voluntarily, the unfortunate debtors are likely to feel that they have no right to resist the action to enforce compliance:

As long as an equitable exchange of commodities can be effected and equal value always given and received, there is little danger of apprehension growing out of the system; or in other words, so long as the system is confined to the supplying of a natural demand; but there grew from this simple and necessary requirement of civilized life a series of complications, so intricate and confusing to the masses, that the system became the greatest menace to the liberties of the people. From a simple exchange of commodities in kind, or of labor for an equivalent in its accumulated products, there grew the giving and acceptance of a promise, or obligation to give a return, generally greater in value than what was received at some future time. Upon the arrival of the time for fulfillment of such assumed obligation it became apparent to the debtor that he had promised more than he should, or at least more than he was able to give. Under such circumstances the natural inclination was to avoid making the return. Hence there came from the creditor class a demand upon the ruling power for some means of compelling compliance with such obligations. The hardships growing out of this accession of power on the part of creditors were due as much to the ignorance and thoughtlessness of those who assumed unfair or impossible obligations as to the avarice and greed of the speculative class who took advantage of this ignorance. Laws compelling the making good of these obligations must necessarily have attached to them a penalty sufficiently severe to make them effective.

This penalty, in a crude state of society, would naturally relate to some physical or corporal punishment which was degrading in its effects. In many cases this class of laws was ineffectual as, often the meeting of the

obligation, was on the part of the debtor impossible, and his physical sufferings, while it might gratify the revenge of the creditor, did not make good his pecuniary losses or serve to increase his gain; indeed they rather had a tendency to warn the ignorant to keep clear of obligations which it might prove impossible for them to meet, and thus destroy the opportunity for gain in power and wealth of the commercial class.

The next step devised to secure the creditor class against loss was the giving of pledges or securities. At first these securities were confined to chattel property which fluctuated in value and, besides, was of such a nature as to be easily made away with, leaving the creditor without recourse. Besides the great majority of those who allowed themselves to fall in this way into the power of the speculative or commercial class were poor and ignorant, rarely having any property of sufficient value or consequence to pledge for what they received.

As slavery was at this time a recognized institution, it was but natural that creditors should resort to bonds compelling involuntary service at the will of the creditor to make good such obligations. This pledging of their independence, by a people who were naturally devoted to liberty, and who looked with horror upon the position of a slave, was of course a last and desperate resort, and was probably never resorted to except under the most severe pressure; hence it became necessary to devise some other system of security equally as effective and yet apparently less degrading and oppressive, while it was made as deceptive and enticing as possible. This was the shrewdest move, and the most diabolical design that avarice, greed and selfish ambition ever conceived.

It will be remembered that individual ownership of land was one of the most marked features of Greek civilization, and that in this respect they differed from all the people of their era; that the oriental despots which surrounded them recognized the king alone as the owner of all the lands over which he ruled and the people merely tenants, or creatures of his will; hence in such societies there could be no buying, selling or pledging of lands. The Greeks were the first people who recognized the true relation of the citizen to the soil and the right of every man to a home of his own, to be held in his own right, independent of any superior claim; and the lands were proportionately divided among the people at the very beginning of their existence as a nation. This recognition of the right of the citizen to the soil was the characterizing feature of the Greek civilization, and to it alone must be ascribed that free and independent spirit, that pride of race and unconquerable love of liberty that enabled them to successfully resist the overwhelming military assaults made upon them by the despots of Asia.

An untrammeled access to the soil, which yielded to the labor of the husbandman a rich return, was the source and support of a

lofty cast of character. A people such as these, supreme as they were in their own homes, could not have been otherwise than independent and devoted to the cause of liberty. Their homes were their fortresses; however oppressed from without, that refuge was always left them, and here the altars to liberty were erected.

The mercenary and exploiting class saw, even at this early stage of civilization, that so long as the homes of the people were safe against their invasion no power they might possess could compel unwilling servitude, or the surrender of an undue portion of their earnings. Readily they saw, that could they gain control of the soil and the home which sheltered the helpless family, the most defiant would be compelled to submit to their dictation, or to see their helpless loved ones suffer. Shrewdly the scheme was devised to set a money value on land, and make the pledging of it as security for debt lawful and generally recognized. This one act wrought the downfall of Greece. The rude and ignorant were by the shrewd and unscrupulous induced to pledge their lands for the fulfilment of obligations which it was impossible for them to meet (just as a mortgage at ten per cent is); and the result was that rapidly the homes of the people drifted into the hands of the commercial and speculative class, seemingly by the willing consent of the owners. The country was small, and the entire area was occupied. There remained no other land to be divided, and no recourse was left for the unfortunate debtor but to submit to any demands put upon him by the new owner of his former home, in order to gain a livelihood for his children who had been robbed by his acts and his ignorance. Thus, lands became an article of commerce among the speculative class, their value being fixed by the return that they could be made to yield to the enforced labor of a tenantry, who were allowed a mere existence. Thus the speculation in land was in the end but a speculation in the enforced labor of others.

It has been shown in the review clearly how in a short time after the introduction of this system the lands of the people drifted into the hands of a few of the shrewdest and most unscrupulous, who reveled in wealth while the masses were destitute, miserable and desperate, little better than the serfs of Asiatic princes, the values they created absorbed by the class which had tricked and robbed them.

The recognition of land as an article of commerce and security for debt was the first blow to Greek liberty; the various other evils noted were merely outgrowths from this principal cause. That this is true is shown by the fact that Lycurgus and Solon recognized it as such, and each endeavored to restore the original relation of the citizen to the soil, and the failure of Solon to accomplish this was the cause of the failure of his system, while the stability of the Spartan system was unshaken so long as the

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

lands remained sacred from commercial uses. The truth of this claim was also recognized at later periods which have been noted in our review, both by patriotic leaders and the masses. Without a system of landlordism no people could be reduced to vassalage.

The Greek states being the first illustration we have in history of individual ownership of lands and the universal possession of homesteads by the people, it is but fair that we should look to them for the evidences of the effects produced upon the people, first by the undisturbed ownership of homes and later by the recognition of land as an article of commerce. Under the first condition we find the people free, content, happy and prosperous, although just emerging from barbarism, and we see them continue so in Sparta for centuries, until mercenary speculation ruined the state. What Athens might have achieved had this evil not crept in upon her people, and had education brought its influence to bear upon the masses under their original conditions, we can only infer. But there can be no question that the history already cited proves beyond doubt that the speculation in land monopoly of lands was the fountain-head of all the misfortunes which overwhelmed Greece.

The accompanying evils which assisted land speculation to ruin Greece was her financial system, and the peculiar influence of this in bringing about final results seems to have been overlooked by all writers, not only on Greek history but social and political economy.

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The Lansing (Mich.) Sentinel reports the following:

There has been one mortgage foreclosure for every day in the year in St. Joseph county, Michigan, one of the best counties in the State. How can jack frost beat that?

The Iowa (Des Moines) Tribune says:

Among the heavy purchases made up to this time by English syndicates have been the breweries of the St. Louis Brewing Association, \$12;

be fortified sooner than this one of the press. It

is 1,000,000; Clarendon, New York, \$1,500,000; Hill's Union, Newark, N. J., \$800,000; Detroit breweries, \$1,000,000; Chicago breweries, \$3,000,000; Jones, Portsmouth, N. H., \$5,500,000; Baltimore breweries, \$4,000,000; Washington breweries, \$1,000,000; Cincinnati breweries, \$2,000,000; Toronto and Denver, \$2,000,000 each; Indianapolis and Rochester, \$3,000,000 each; Syracuse breweries, \$5,000,000.

The Commonwealth (Jackson, Mo.) gives the following information:

Very quietly, certainly without attracting any world-wide interest—the first sod of Nicaragua was officially and formally turned one day last month, and a practical start thus given to an enterprise destined to prove either one of the greatest achievements of human effort or merely another gigantic fiasco and fraud, like its recent predecessor, the Panama canal.

The Western Recorder (Louisville, Ky.) comes out strong and plain: That is right, and shows both good sense and a Christian spirit:

"We think the days of 'Trusts' are coming to a close. They would come to an end anyway after awhile with an explosion; for a free people will never consent to be practically owned by corporations. If they could not get rid of the oppressions of artificial monopolies legally, they would do it by an explosion."

The National Advocate (Lewiston, Me.) don't think the following conditions are fair; do you?

Five thousand mill operatives in this city are living from hand to mouth without a foot of land or a hut they can call their own, and are unable to lay by a dollar for a rainy day; while less than one hundred men own all of the ten million dollars worth of mill property and are able to declare a semi-annual dividend of 4 per cent on their investment.

The Pacific Union (San Francisco, Cal.) says:

It would be well, perhaps, if reason held a more commanding sway in elevating humanity to purer and better conditions. But as the objective forms of life are yet so potent in their influence, we would be justified, perhaps, in looking upon trusts and other combinations as destined to teach important lessons in social and governmental philosophy.

The Faulkner County Wheel (Conway, Ark.) says quite pointedly:

Usury and rents are the fruitful causes of all aggregation of wealth. Let us strike at the root of the evil and abolish the causes by furnishing the people a medium to do business with at cost, and by limiting land holdings to actual need. Then let the Government take possession of the railroads, telegraphs and telephones and operate them at cost, and the centralization of wealth would be impossible, involuntary poverty would be unknown and labor would reap the full reward of its toil.

Stephensville (Tex.) Headlight in a few lines tells a great truth:

The only over production we know of doing any injury at present is an over production of rascals, swindlers and thieves.

Southern Alliance Farmer (Atlanta, Ga.) says:

The alliance is not a political organization. It does not interfere with the political affiliations of its members. It raises no question as to whether a man is Republican, a Democrat, or a Prohibitionist. It knows that there are good men in all these parties, and some mean men among leaders of each. The rogues do not all think alike on questions of statesmanship, any more than they do on matters of religion; but they have a happy faculty, nevertheless, of combining against the honest man in a way which is instantaneous and startling.

The Inman (Neb.) Review says in regard to railroads:

When Charles Francis Adams, president of the Union Pacific railroad, declared in a public speech some time ago that the natural tendency of the railroad systems of the country was to consolidate, and that such consolidation was desirable, there were few disposed to doubt his first proposition, although many might question his second.

The American Farmer (Chicago, Ill.) asks a few questions:

This is the matter? You are not getting a cent profit on those cattle you are selling. You are not getting cost for any crop you are sell. You are robbed by trusts. You are taxed to death, while the rich aristocrat is a tax-shirker. You are fleeced by the Shylock who holds the mortgage on your farm. You can not find money enough in the country to buy your products at a profit when you produce them. You are making no money. Probably you are getting poorer every year. But

The Rural Home (Topeka, Kans.) gives the following bit of news. Whole columns of the same kind can be written in any State in the Union:

We understand that much property (real estate) will be sold by the sheriff of Nash county this week to foreclose mortgages. The mortgage continues to eat up the poor man's substance. How much longer must this continue?

The Iowa (Des Moines) Tribune says:

Among the heavy purchases made up to this time by English syndicates have been the breweries of the St. Louis Brewing Association, \$12;

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

is of vital importance that the literature that enters the household should not only be pure, but should be true, and should clearly and honestly voice the aspirations of a people who are determined that a "government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth." Withdraw your aid and comfort from the enemy. Every dollar that you pay to the organ of monopoly is a stick with which to break your own head.

The Springer (N. M.) Banner answers some very pertinent questions:

This is the matter: You are not getting one cent profit on those cattle you are selling. You are not getting cost for any crop you sell. You are

robbed by trusts. You are taxed to death while the rich aristocrat is a tax-shirker. You are fleeced by the Shylock who holds the mortgage on your farm. You can not find money enough in the country to buy your products at a profit when you produce them. You are making no money.

The Advocate (Meriden, Conn.) speaking of the National Cook Book, says:

Our readers will do well to make a note of the "Official Cook Book," mentioned in another column. The government evidently understands the existing condition of the people and this provision for their necessities is very considerate and timely. The book will supply a "long felt want."

The Co-Operator (La Crescent, Minn.) gives the following sensible view of the situation:

The system of foreign capitalists owning the best paying enterprises in this country at this stage of our National existence, is a bad one that is fully equal to the old Roman method of exacting tribute from every nation or province subjugated by them. It will cause a continuous outflow of money from this to foreign lands that would in time bankrupt any nation on the globe. As they invest in only the best paying ones, it can be calculated that it will cause a draught of capital from our shores of not less than the full amount invested decennially, or ten times in century. It will be only a matter of time when the management and all positions worth holding will be in strangers' hands, and it will be as certain to pauperize us as death is to follow birth in due time. Some action should be taken to eventually force the owners to reside here.

You go onto the board of trade, where option dealers meet, and take some little options on January wheat. You watch the little ticker till the hand swings round the ring; then you find your little bundle has gone a glimmering—that's business.

You go into a faro bank and buy a stack of chips, and watch the cards come from the box which the dealer deftly flips. When your head is dull and aching at the breaking of the day you see that fickle fortune has gone the other way—that's gambling.

Our Opinion (McPherson, Kan.)—This is all right, brother, if you can arrange it in that way:

Government should find its sole expression in philanthropy. Created and perpetuated by the people, it can justly know nothing but the people's good. Selfishness is treason. Constituting the government within ourselves selfishness becomes doubly a crime against ourselves and the republic. Private good must ever be subordinated to the public welfare; for, unquestionably, the public welfare conserves all real private good.

The Royston City (Tex.) Alta gives the following sound advice, but it cannot be done with the present volume of money:

Did God create us to speculate upon the necessities and impose upon the ignorance of our fellow man? If not, then how much better is he who does it than the highway robber or midnight burglar?

The Plain Dealer (Rocky Mount, N. C.) says:

The number of failures reported throughout the country is alarming. The short crop has hurt all classes of people. Every day we read of large firms going under, not only in North Carolina, but all over the country.

The Roanoke Patriot (Polecat, N. C.) is rather gloomy. How are the banks in your county?

That there is great distress and even destitution among all classes of our people, and likely to be greater, especially so among the farmers and those directly dependent on them, is sadly evident enough. No corn, no cotton to buy with—man and beast must suffer. Our people in Northampton are, if anything, worse off than our fellow citizens of Halifax. Never have our people been called upon to meet such disastrous results as we are now experiencing from this so disastrous a crop year.

The Climax (Mo.) Advocate asks:

What was the mortgaged indebtedness of this country prior to the inauguration of the best banking system the world ever saw?

The Southern Messenger (Buchanan, Ga.) says:

The law against trusts passed by the Missouri legislature has had the effect of driving the jute bagging trust out of that State. The manipulators of this grasping scheme now propose to establish themselves in New York where they will reorganize under the laws of that State. Let every State in the Union pass laws similar to that of Missouri, and thus drive these soulless corporations, styled as trusts, to the wall.

The Texas Labor Journal (San Antonio) says:

The national debt in 1861 was \$90,582,000; to-day the interest bearing debt is \$908,000,000. The name national debt is to my mind not sufficiently suggestive. What's the matter with calling it the

National Leech? Maybe, if the latter name could be popularized to any extent, people might grow in time to grasp the idea that the "leech" had sucked long enough at the epidemic politic.

The Great West (St. Paul, Minn.) goes for the railroads in this way:

Thirty-nine sheriff sales in one week! That's the trans-Mississippi prosperity evolved by the railroads in this "wonderful West." Get out!

The Weekly Review (Reidsville, N. C.) gets right at the bottom facts when it says:

To benefit labor our laws must look to the distribution of wealth, not to its accumulation. Accumulated wealth is the greatest of all curses to the masses. A happy people is one in which the wealth of the country is in the hands of the people. An unhappy one, where the extremes of great wealth and great poverty go hand in hand.

"Plutocracy, or American White Slavery."

A politico-social novel by T. M. Norwood, ex U. S. Senator from Georgia. Price for cloth, \$1.00; for paper 50 cents. Postage free. Direct, inclosing amount, to T. M. Norwood, Savannah, Ga., or Metropolitan Co., 33 Vesey St., New York.

Of this book, Rev. B. H. Carroll, the distinguished Baptist divine and temperance advocate, of Waco, Texas, in a private letter to Congressman J. D. Sayers, of Texas, writes the following criticism and praise:

The book has touched and thrilled me at more points than any other in modern literature, except Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables" and his "By the King's Command," which two books, and two from Dickens, evidently shaped the style of your ex-Senator. I have not only read, in the short time since its reception, but studied Plutocracy from several standpoints.

As to its literary merit, which involves several interesting questions, e. g., how much it discloses of the author's literary tastes, habits of thought, scope of reading, and by what books he has been most influenced. Some books you know like the touch of Ithuriel's spear, bring out the disguised devil. Others, like the trumpet sound, unmask the woman-garbed Achilles; while others recall to life the sheeted dead as Christ's "Come Forth," at the tomb of Lazarus.

I am afraid to even commence telling what I think of your author's wit, knowing that you are a Congressman issuing orders to your private Secretary to make a bonfire of all bulky documents.

As to its political merit, my own predilections in the same direction possibly disqualify me for impartial judgment. At least, I may say in a most unimpartial way, that in my biased opinion, "it knocks the black out." And, if you will allow, I will venture to add that in its guise of fiction it will touch the "haslets" of more people, and awaken more thought, and induce deeper conviction than a thousand congressional speeches.

To the common mind, the one usually presents facts like Ezekiel's Valley of Dry Bones, which were "very many and very dry." The other, like that same valley when breathed upon by the Spirit, the bones no longer prone and ghastly skeletons, but standing up a great army of living men.

On its social side, with its social problems, the author rises to even grander proportions. Here he outspeeds Juvenal or Horace, crucifying in satire a putrid empire, and makes one think himself standing with Paul overlooking reeking Corinth.

Nor is he less potent in exposing the thin veneering which suggests rather than hides the hollowness and impotency of much modern so-called Christianity.

From any standpoint it is a great book! A great book!

This letter was not intended for the public, but we have obtained consent of the writer to publish it. As will be remembered, "Plutocracy" is a premium to five subscriptions to THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST for one year.

The difference between a farmer and a member of the coal-oil and other trusts is: Where a member of the coal-oil and other trusts finds his association has made a mistake he takes a common sense view of the matter and assists in inaugurating better methods, and sticks the closer. When a farmer joins the Alliance or Wheel and every thing don't pan out to suit his peculiar notions he quits and then brags about it. Keep on quitting and you will enslave yourself and children; stick and put your shoulder to the wheel and your posterity will inherit freedom.—Almanac.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

Farmers Should Keep Books!

BY HARRY TRACY.

Annual balance sheet of a cotton farmer owning 300 acres of land and cultivating 250 acres:

To farm and improvements.....	\$8,000 00
To stock and implements.....	1,500 00
To provisions and provender.....	500 00
To hire of hands sufficient to secure crop at 20 acres to hand at 83 cents per day	3,665 28
To use of implements, land, improvements, and decline in value of stock, etc.....	400 00
To clothing for family of four persons.....	100 00
To doctors bills.....	50 00
To taxes on \$10,000.....	75 00
Total investment.....	\$14,290 28

RECEIPTS.

By produce 250 acres of cotton 169% pounds lint cotton per acre, at 9 cents per pound.....	\$3,806 28
Farm, implements, and provisions.....	10,000 00

13,806 28

Net loss to farmer annually.....

\$484 00

By carefully studying the above table, it will be seen why farming don't pay. The price per day is without board, and is more than the average paid in the United States for farm labor.

The 169 1/6 pounds lint cotton per acre is from the official reports, and the price, 9 cents, is more than the farmers actually received all round for their crop. This estimate is made from prices ruling during 1888 and 1889, which is higher than has been obtained since 1883.

The estimated value of the farm, implements, etc., cuts a very small figure in this calculation, as it is deducted at the figure charged.

The 4 per cent allowed for depreciation of productiveness of the soil, decline of improvements, stock, wear and tear of implements, etc., a little reflection will show, is placed far below the actual facts. Very few soils will stand 20 years constant tillage. Very few improvements will last 25 years; implements have to be replaced every seven years upon the average. The increase in farm stock will not offset this loss, because the price of everything raised upon the farm may safely be averaged with the cotton crop.

There has been nothing allowed for interest upon the capital invested, fertilizer, or many other necessary things. Everybody knows there are many other expenses connected with farming that, in the aggregate, amount to a large sum. When these are considered the losses will appear much greater than shown above.

Nothing has been set aside to educate the farmer's children. He and his hired help must educate and support their families on less than 83 cents per day. If there happen to be a mortgage upon the farm less must suffice.

It is reasonable to suppose that very few farmers or wage-earners will become millionaires in the near future under such conditions.

To escape rapid pauperization the farmers are compelled to drive their children, and in a great many cases their wives, into the cotton fields. Thus, of necessity, they are brutalized and prepared for the perpetual slavery that awaits them.

The Government realizing this future for our laboring people, and to relieve the rich from the constant demands of charity for our paupers, have carefully prepared a cook-book for workingmen's wives. This book tells just how to prepare a meal for six persons for 24 cents.

The farmers and wage-earners have but

two roads to travel; one is, to join the Farmers and Laborers Union, stand square up to its principles and enjoy the fruits of their labor, or procure the cook-book and live on twelve cents a day.

Cotton in Small-Bales.

BY A. BARNWELL, OF MACON, GA.

The great reformation which has been inaugurated by the Southern farmers in wrapping their produce in cotton bagging, must be followed ere a great while by a still more important one; that is, by adopting the systems of small bales. No one can carefully examine into the particulars of this improvement without at once seeing the immense saving to the farmer which it will effect. The only reason why its merits do not force themselves to the point of actual acknowledgment by practical adoption is, because the reformation is considered almost too great for accomplishment, is ignored, so to speak, as a revolution, and one which is beyond the range of those whose interests are most involved. But the signs of the times portend a different order of things. Dire necessity has driven the farmers into a closer investigation into the causes of the enormous leakages in the present systems through which their net gains come into them, and the result must inevitably be that intelligent investigation will be followed by intelligent action, and they will see the urgent demand of rational self-interest, and learn that they should "hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may."

Let us consider first some of the advantages of the small-bale system, and then ask ourselves if the time is not near when the change will come in the manner above alluded to; that is, by the determined effort of intelligent and united farmers to better their condition by marketing their crop to their own advantage.

First, then, a great gain will be made, both in bagging and in ties. Since a very light bagging and small tie will be sufficient to hold a bale of 125 pounds, the saving will be about 8 pounds over the present heavy jute bagging, and say six pounds in weight of ties. Next comes expense in handling, and one scarcely knows how to reckon up this item, it is so scattered. It begins at the gin where two or three men are required to move each large bale in place of a single man, and then in loading on wagons for market the same extra and sometimes inconvenient labor is required. The next item of expense is in the fact that farmers can not with the heavy bales, adjust their load to their requirements; it is always in 500 pound jumps, so that the team which can not take 1,000 pounds must take 500 and so on, and in the wear and tear on stock and wagons and loss of time and labor, this is an important item; the same difficulty in handling pervades the handling of cotton in heavy bales in warehouses, and also on cars and shipboard, also factories; but the worst leakage is in loading ships; and to the farmer, whose labor is valued at 75 cents per day, this is an appalling item. In consequence of the great weight of the present bales, and the confined space in the ship's hold, only men of great strength and endurance can engage in the business of stevedoring; and these men are paid four or five dollars each per day; working also in gangs of five, and very slowly at that. The laborious process can be guessed at when one learns that cotton is stored in a vessel in tiers four deep, and the top bale of each tier is put in before the centre bale by placing it

on posts, and then the centre bales are forced under it by machinery. Now all this is in consequence of irregular heavy-bales; light bales could be handled and piled up like sacks of salt. The saving here alone is about this: To stevedore one bale of cotton as at present 65 cents, and light bales 4 cents.

The next item is the one of pressing, and one must ask here why should the farmer pay twice for pressing the same bale of cotton (because if any one pays it comes out of the cost of raw material, and rests on the farmer). The only answer to this is, because he can not with his present farm presses compress it sufficiently to economise space in shipment. Then surely he should get presses which will, and if the great size of the bale is in the way then the size must give way to the prime necessity of putting goods which must be shipped at once into shipping order. Every one who visits a gin and sees bales put up in an expensive manner to be hauled a few miles and there to be torn up and rebaled will affirm that something is very, very wrong in this matter.

A serious loss on cotton, also, is caused by damage; and it is very surprising that an article of so much value should be treated by all parties with such utter carelessness. A large part of this is directly chargeable to the much vaunted jute bagging, which from its boasted strength has ever tempted the use of hooks, etc., which have nevertheless always torn it to some extent, and also by its rough appearance it has tempted rough handling, both as regards the wasting of contents and the damaging of it by water consequent from exposure, and this exposure, beginning at the gin, seems never to end until the spindle is reached. It is well worth our while to examine into this matter. First, the great weight of the bales prevents their easy removal out of the weather, and then, as it is difficult to see the damage when covered up under the heavy, dark-covered bagging, the custom has prevailed of not signing clean receipts, and hence, no one being responsible for damage, every one is careless. Especially is this the case with transportation companies—railroads having open and uncovered cotton yards and steam vessels being very careless in the handling—and because the custom prevails of calling all or nearly all damage country damage, and the foreign spinner, or indeed all spinners, are accustomed to make reclamations for this damage on the American interior buyers, he, in consequence thereof, is compelled to reduce this buying price, and so the carelessness of the world is charged up to the account of the unsuspecting farmer, who vainly imagines that the cotton once out of his hands is gone, forgetting the fact that he must sell more of it at a later date and in the long run pay for all deficiencies.

About the best remedy for this is small bales. In the first place, there will be no difficulty in piling up these bales in the place from which the seed-cotton was taken; or some where else in the upper story of any house, since a man can take them up on his shoulder; in the next place, they can be put in to barns, hallways, or outhouses, and the ease with which this can be accomplished will be supplemented by the fact that small bales packed in them while bagging, by showing at once all ill usage and damage, will be easy for all parties presenting them in good order to any public carrier or warehouse to demand clear receipt, which, by placing the blame for damage exactly where the damage occurs, will induce careful handling.

The next point is the matter of sampling

and classifying. At present the large size of bales causes often a necessary mixture of grades, and this leads up to the intentional mix packing of cotton with intent to deceive. In order to protect themselves from both of these classes of bales, buyers bore into every bale, removing samples from various parts—an error in price of 1/4 cent on 500 pounds in cotton, makes \$1.25 per bale; also the amount of money involved in the trade makes it incumbent to employ experts to buy and deliver.

Now, in the small-bale system of 125 pounds, all this is obviated, because the chances are that the cotton will be all of one kind, and as the entire outside of the bale will be exposed to view there can be no need

for sampling at all—and just here comes in an enormous saving from middlemen. At present five men are usually employed in classing cotton (experts at \$10 per day), one to sell for the farmer, one to buy for the exporter, one to receive for the Liverpool merchant, another to buy for the spinner, and one at the mills to see that the cotton comes up to grade ordered.

With small bales all of these can be removed except the first one, who could be an officer under the Government, sworn to class, and who could give a certificate of grade to farmer, at the same time plunging into the center of the bale a brass tag also giving grade and weight; these brass tags coming into the hands of the spinners would protect them from fraud, and also be a check on the classifier, and the certificates of grade would be all needed to sell the cotton by, never mind how many hands it should pass through. Of course compressing will be obsolete. A good Dederick or other good press can press bales to average 125 tons so as to weigh 30 pounds to cubic foot, or even less. As these are square and of uniform size they will come in boarding inside of the requirements of the compressed bales, which is 25 pounds to the cubic foot, and so for the cars or for export the small bales will suffice. Of course it is understood that the cotton is wired in oblong blocks, and spun bags are pulled over and tied at mouth; these bags being pulled down will expose the entire bale to view, and when the bale is used the sack can be used over and over again. To recapitulate then, a bale of cotton 12 by 15 by 30, banded lengthwise with very small wire, and put up in a tight sack, will expose to view when the sack is stripped down almost the entire contents; the sack will keep out dust and the size of the bale will keep it out of the mud. It can be packed by ordinary machinery to load in less space than the present compressed bales, and in selling wastage and tare will be of immense advantage to trade and saving to farmers. All that stands in the way of this is "custom."

In its last analysis progress is improvement on customs.

ALIEN LANDLORDISM.

Some time about 1825, at a meeting of representative workingmen from various sections held in the city of New York, certain legislative demands were adopted as expressive of the needs and interests of the workers throughout the Union. The first demand or resolution reads: "The right of man to the soil: vote yourself a farm." It would have been far more sensible for the American workingmen to have voted themselves farms than to have voted corporations, foreign and domestic, millions of farms, as their agents assumed they did, and acted accordingly. Had they limited the amount of

public land voted to any one person to one farm, and voted against giving any public land to a corporation, the evils of land monopoly and alien landlordism would not now overshadow the republic; renters would not be so numerous, and dependent hirelings so plentiful. The State of Texas, which on entering the Union retained control of its own public domain, followed in the footsteps of the General Government in lavish distribution of public lands among private corporations and with the same results. The Galveston News of a recent date says:

"The fathers of Texas saw further than their sons. They forbade the holding of Texas lands by aliens. Otherwise, nearly all the lands in the country might have passed into the hands of foreigners. In less than fifty years citizens of Texas will curse the day that an empire in extent of her territory passed into the hands of men living abroad, and spending money there drawn from Texas renters.

It will not take anything like as half a century to give them ample cause for cursing. But cursing will do them no good. S sometime since, the attorney general of Texas entered suit against a railroad company for the restoration to the State of lands granted that corporation. Last month a delegation from the Panhandle of Texas visited the State capital, and formally requested the attorney general to withdraw the suit, alleging that it was throwing a cloud upon the titles of lands in that section, and thereby injuring the Panhandle and its people.

The attorney general in refusing to comply with the request of the delegation is reported as saying:

Speaking of the greed of the corporation in grabbing Texas lands, he said that to-day they controlled one-fourth of all the lands in Texas, they would control it in perpetuity, and he predicted that in less than twenty years the people of the Panhandle, instead of owning and controlling their own homes, would be vassals of rich English landlords.

It is a startling picture the Texas attorney general presents of the probable future status of the Panhandle people. Yet the picture can not be overdrawn. Can there be a worse condition of servitude imagined than that of those who are compelled to pay foreigners for the right to occupy and make a living upon the land of their birth? Landlordism is bad, but alien landlordism is its worst form. Its nature has not changed since the following terrible satire was written years ago:

The widow is gathering nettles for her children's dinner; a perfumed seignior, delicately lounging in the *Sal-de-Beuf*, hath an alchymy whereby he will extract the third nettle under the name of rent.

When the American renting widow has to give up every third nettle to the alien landlord, and then to pay the regular tributes to the home monopolists and usurers, she will have few nettles or any other weeds left for her children's dinner. But not only has the general Government been guilty of gross folly in transferring vast areas of land directly to corporations, but it has effected and is continually effecting the transfer of large areas to individual and corporate monopolists indirectly through its financial policy. By keeping the circulating medium constantly scarce and dear it has forced farmers to mortgage their farms. The restricted money volume

gives low prices and leaves the borrowers unable to meet their payments. The result is foreclosure and loss of their farms. Thus farming lands are rapidly falling into the control of money-lending syndicates. The Cincinnati Enquirer, lately referring to the condition of the mortgaged farms, says:

"Such has been the constant depreciation in the commercial value of real estate, and especially of farms, that the margin between the amount of incumbrance and the selling price is so small that in many cases it would be wise on the part of the owner to convey to the mortgagee the title, if he will accept it in full satisfaction of the debt."

It matters little to the renter of property whether he has been made such by the Government granting the public lands directly to corporations, domestic and foreign, or indirectly by the financial policy of the Government which takes his home from him after a long struggle on his part to hold it. The result is the same. Either policy is as infamous as the consequences are sad and discouraging.

THE director of the mint says: "The coins of all commercial nations are in part produced from the melting of coins of other nations. It is as bullion only that the nations of the world treat each other's coins." This statement indicates that at least one man connected with the financial matters of government has discovered the fallacy of a "money of the world." Money in its true sense is a creation of law, and as such is purely national in character. This being true, to have foreign money among us is impossible. It is also true that when we send gold or silver abroad, no matter in what shape it may be, whether in bullion or coin, it goes as a commodity and nothing else. It goes under the same conditions and for the same purposes that either wheat or pork. It is sold under the same market rules of quality and weight that governs all other commodities, and is held for consumption and use in exactly the same manner. It never goes from this country with the idea of returning any more than a barrel of flour or a box of bacon. While the wheat and meat go to feed the hungry the gold and silver go to furnish a currency. The idea that our coin goes to England and remains as the coin of America until, through some commercial changes, it is sent back, is not true. American coin is melted and made into foreign coin as soon as possible, and is continued in that form as long as commercial or legislative wisdom or trickery can keep it. The table given in the NATIONAL ECONOMIST of last week shows that, during the fiscal year 1889, nearly \$65,000,000 of gold and silver went abroad to stay, and therefore the currency of the United States was lessened by that amount, and as a consequence failures, low prices, and hard times resulted.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac will contain all the important proceedings of the national meetings of the Farmers and Laborers Union, to be held in St. Louis Dec. 3; also short outlines of the lives of various prominent men in the Alliance and Wheel work.

The National Economist,
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS AND LABORERS
UNION OF AMERICA,
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
BY "THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST" PUBLISHING COMPANY.
Incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia.
SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

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

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

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

Address all remittances or communications to—
THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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

AN EXEMPLAR OF CLASS RULE.

"A state," says Plato, "in which classes exist is not one, but two. The poor constitute one class and the rich the other." It was not intended in the formation of this Government that there should exist classes among its citizens in the invidious sense in which Plato used the term. The Declaration of Independence solemnly proclaimed that "all men are created equal" in order more particularly to emphasize the opposition of the signers of that immortal document to the class distinction, the class privileges and the class rule of all pre-existing governments. The Constitution was formed and adopted by "we the people" to "establish justice" and to "promote the general welfare." Certainly no room for "classes" under such a Constitution strictly carried into effect. Hereditary rule was wiped out, titles of nobility prohibited and special privileges abolished in order to give each individual citizen an equal opportunity to obtain a livelihood by his own labor and enterprise. With labor thus left as the only legitimate method of acquiring wealth it was presumed that no great or dangerous disparity in its possession should ever divide the people into the rich and the poor; should ever divide the state into two states, as Plato expresses it. Not only did the founders of this republic fondly hope that it would bring the blessings of unity, liberty and equality under the law to all the people, but they further believed that it would become an exemplar and stand as an inspiration for all the other nations of earth through coming ages. In this city in 1832, at the centennial celebration of the birth of Washington, Daniel Webster, the orator of the occasion, referring to the great responsibility resting upon the American people in setting a good example to the world of the benefits and blessings of a republican government, said:

Our great, our high duty is to show in our own example that this spirit is a spirit of health as well as a spirit of power; that its benignity is as great as its strength; that its efficacy to secure individual rights, social relations and moral order is equal to the irresistible force with which it prostrates principalities and powers. The world, at this moment, is regarding with a willing, but something of a fearful admiration. Its deep and awful auxiliary is to learn whether free states may be stable

as well as free; whether popular power may be trusted as well as feared. This should not flatter our self-respect, but it should reanimate our patriotic virtues and inspire us with a deeper and more solemn sense both of our privileges and of our duties."

Never was a grander mission open and possible for a people and government upon this earth. How far and how often our people and government have failed to act up to this high standard it is unnecessary to say. Since the recent revolution in Brazil and the adoption of a republic, this question has been raised and the spread-eagle element in the American press has assumed great credit for this government as a leader and light to popular liberty and popular rights. Is this assumption warranted by the facts? What sort of an example has this government been setting?

It is true hereditary rule by individuals was abolished at the beginning, but hereditary rule by corporations has been substituted instead. It is true special privileges to individuals were wiped out when kingly rule was discarded, but special privileges to classes have been since granted, and to a greater extent than ever kings did or could bestow. Is such inconsistency worthy of imitation? As individuals, have the actions of our people been any more consistent with the professed principles of a republican form of government? What sort of an example have they been setting? Titles of nobility are prohibited, and in theory our people are presumed to look upon such silly distinctions with contempt; in practice our millionaires are buying up second-hand European titles at enormous rates for members of their families. In theory we profess to respect labor; in practice here is the wife of a California millionaire who has lately sued the Manchester (Eng.) Examiner for libel because it dared to assert that years ago she worked for a livelihood. Think of it! A citizen of a republic to consider it a disgrace that in early life she honestly earned a sustenance instead of living as a parasite upon others. In theory citizens of a republic are presumed to lead simple, unostentatious lives in contrast with the ostentation and pomp of privileged aristocracy; in practice here is a New York millionaire objecting to the World's Fair being held in Chicago because he says that there "the front doors are opened by housemaids and the occupants sit out on their door-steps."

A CORRESPONDENT writing from Charleston, S. C., gives the following telling facts in relation to a prevalent form of taxation to make dividends for foreign investors:

The report of our State Railroad Commission which was made public a few days ago, shows that the combined railroads of this State are carrying bonded indebtedness to the extent of \$58,000,000. We, the farmers of South Carolina are paying the interest on this sum yearly \$3,480,000; monthly \$290,000. Is it any wonder that we are growing poorer and poorer under this burden? This money is taken from the State to swell the already large rent roll of capitalists. Do not take it for granted that this amount of interest is raised to enable the railroads to pay operating expenses, for such is not the case; it is clear gain, and in turning over this

of propriety. It is more than probable that the immediate ancestors of many New York millionaires were often the occupants of shanties each with a single door, and that held in place by raw hide strings or pieces of wire. But now those snobs with more money than brains must have liveried servants and coats of arms, and try to trace their ancestry back to some distinguished free-booter who never disgraced himself by honest labor. They strive to introduce into this country all the follies, as they will no doubt be soon introducing all the filth of foreign aristocracies. Is this setting a good example for other nations burdened with hereditary rule and privileged classes? A real republic imbued with the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, conducted upon the lines and for purposes marked out in the constitution by a people whose ideas were in harmony with its spirit, and whose lives and actions were consistent with its purpose and principles. Such a republic could not but prove the glorious exemplar, which Webster had in view. But the world is still waiting for such an exemplar for such a republic. It has been said of Washington that "he changed mankind's idea of political greatness." Prior to his time political greatness consisted in grasping all the power possible, and using it for self aggrandizement. He showed his superiority to this vulgar idea of greatness, and proved himself really great by devoting his life to duty and well-doing. What this republic needs is a Washington, to realize this idea of social greatness; that it does not consist in unscrupulous grabbing of wealth, and its expenditure in vulgar, vain, glorious display, but in doing good. That the greatest man is he who is most useful to his fellow-citizens and fellow-men. That no title can add to the dignity of manhood and moral worth. That labor is the only means by which men can become great and good. When this change is effected then our people will not be divided upon the line of wealth into the rich and the poor, but on the line of worth into the worthy and the worthless. Then the republic which the fathers anticipated, and which Webster outlined in his Washington address, shall be a reality—an exemplar for the Nations.

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amount of interest in the last twelve months we have given away 3,480 homes worth \$1,000 each. Our wives and children are the sufferers along with us. Look at the report of this commission for months past, and you will find the net earnings of the roads to be between \$500,000 and \$600,000 per month. After paying expenses, including all the fat offices created for personal friends, we set quietly down, and see \$290,000 per month taken from our commonwealth. Does it not arouse you to action to know that \$58,000,000 have been collected on the roads in South Carolina, and the interest is saddled upon us to pay, while the capitalist takes the \$58,000,000 and employs it in many ways to further throttle us. Our legislature meets within ten days. Will it pass this thing unnoticed and let us have the next twelve months come and go, give away 3,480 more homes? Farmers now is the time for action. Let what you do be done with unanimity. Interview your legislators and set your views before them. Demand that this watered stock be withdrawn, and the earnings limited to a certain per cent on the actual value of the road, or let the charter office given by this same legislature be forfeited. It never was intended when these charters were granted that the privilege should be abused in any such manner.

THE COVERING FOR COTTON BALES.

The suggestion of Col. R. J. Sledge, in his address to the Farmers congress at Montgomery, that cotton bales be reduced in size is supplemented in this week's ECONOMIST with a communication from Rev. A. Barnwell, giving such reasons for its change as occurs to a veteran buyer for account of consumers. The daily papers now report that the jute trust is practically *hors du combat*, and that the farmers have defeated the monster by their determined opposition. While the jute trust is taught a lesson which may be of use to other combines when considering an arbitrary advance in prices with intent on unlawful gains, the farmers have fought under a disadvantage which should not have been presented. They have had the active opposition of several strong commercial bodies, and have been but weakly seconded by many manufacturers of cotton fabrics whose real interest lay in furnishing the best covering possible, but who pursued the short-sighted policy of selling slazy cloth, utterly inadequate to the purpose. The bagging adopted by the Birmingham meeting is better in every respect than any specimen of jute made for the purpose, but few manufacturers put in the inexpensive machinery necessary for its manufacture. Resolutions of the Randolph county (Georgia) Alliance sent to THE ECONOMIST for publication voice a complaint common in those sections where bagging of width, weight and texture entirely regardless of the Birmingham selection were used:

Whereas, considerations of self-protection, as well as a faithful observance of one of the fundamental principles of our order, require unyielding opposition to all trusts and monopolies which have been formed for the purpose of extorting unlawful gain from the farmer and laborer; therefore, be it resolved, by the Randolph County Alliance, That we hereby renew our determination to continue the struggle in favor of cotton cloth as a permanent substitute for jute bagging, and that we pledge our hearty co-operation with Alliances

everywhere who are engaged in the landable effort to secure justice and right.

Resolved further, That in our judgment we cannot successfully prosecute the fight against the jute trust so long as we have to use such inferior cloth as the mills have turned out this season, and that we regard it of the utmost importance that arrangements be made by which we can secure a wider, heavier and stronger cloth—a cloth that will meet all the requirements of a first-class covering for our great staple crop.

While it is better to consider as an ultimate purpose the change to small bales, it is well to make arrangements for a proper covering for the next crop, and the business agents of the Alliance should make their contracts early so as to assure putting in of looms, themselves comparatively inexpensive, and increased manufacture of the standard goods.

SPEAKING at Minister Phelps' thanksgiving dinner, Count Herbert Bismarck is reported to have lauded the United States as a country where "even the poor have homes." Alas!

CONGRESS convenes the day this issue goes to press, and the usual scramble for the offices, from Speaker to floor sweep, is dead on. The hotels are swarming with politicians, and the amount of economic wisdom one meets on the street is simply astonishing. The adroit lobbyist is getting in his work, and a general atmosphere of caution, mystery and uncertainty pervades. So far as the people are concerned, it makes no difference who are selected; their intents have been forgotten ever since election, and will be neglected, as usual, to the end of the session. The real work of the present Congress will be to manufacture political ammunition for the next campaign. This it will at once proceed to do with an energy that will astonish those who expected better things. The banks and railroads will undertake to postpone the day of reckoning, and in vain will the farmer wait for any measures of relief. The usual amount of jobbery, trickery and corruption will be legislated through, and the people after having paid for it all will receive no benefit. It is the practice for newspapers to give advice to Congress at this time, but the NATIONAL ECONOMIST has none to give. Instead of advice it would warn Congress that there is a limit to human endurance, and that the time has come for some man to stand up in the halls of Congress and immortalize himself by championing the rights of the people. Who will be that man?

The railway argument which supports this theory is unique in its character but practically uniform in its representation. It is virtually that because the capital was invested in railroads for the benefit of local shippers, therefore that class must bear the burden of interest upon capital and permit competitive traffic the actual benefit of transportation without a full charge for a return upon the investment in the road. Mr. Fink's statement of this point before the Senate committee in 1883 was the most concise and at the same time one of the most surprising that we have seen. "The road charges very little profit on the New Orleans traffic from Memphis," said he with regard to the discrimination in cotton rates as between Memphis and Winona; "they charge nothing perhaps for the use of the investment in the road; but on the bale of cotton from Winona to New Orleans they must charge for the investment made in the road because the road was built for the Winona and not for the Memphis people." Besides the remarkable issue of fact thus raised as to the original purposes of railroad construction, this statement presents the paradoxical result of justifying the practice which accomplishes exactly the opposite of the alleged purpose. By the plea that the road is built

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses.

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

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

No. 30.

UNEQUAL CHARGES FOR CAPITAL.

Even where the railroad discrimination between different localities is confined to the moderate differences which may be produced by a very low margin of profit upon the competitive rates, and an average or full margin upon the non-competitive traffic, there is still the question whether the practice of assessing the greater portion of compensation for capital upon one class of traffic and emancipating the shippers of another class from that charge is for the best interest of the public at large or tends to establish practical justice in the adjustment of railway rates. We concede the practical necessity under which the railway managers

labor of making the discrimination confined within such natural limits, and we recognize that while present circumstances and influences surround the railway business, the railroad managers who make a discrimination of one-quarter or one-third on through business as compared with the same service upon the local traffic are not to be blamed. But with a full estimate of the value of that concession the vital question still remains: Are the conditions which establish such differences of the character that should be accepted without examination and endorsed as legitimate and natural?

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for the benefit of the local shippers the justification is founded for an adjustment of rates which secures a benefit upon the through traffic of transportation at charges only one-fifth of those which are levied upon the local business, in proportion to the distance over which the freight is transported. The purpose, therefore, of benefiting local traffic by the construction of the road results in the practice of levying all the charges for investment and capital upon that traffic under the plea of such benefit, and of transporting the through traffic at rates which relieve from the necessity of paying any considerable portion of the net profits.

Mr. Alexander's statement of the same principle is more guarded in its form and perhaps more plausible in its application to the subject; but it amounts to very nearly the same method of reasoning. He says:

New York and San Francisco have always enjoyed water transportation for freight from one to the other, slow, but very cheap. No one would ever dream of building a railroad between those cities for the sake of through business it could get in competition with the ocean. But between them lie wide obstacles of land against which nature has discriminated in the matter of transportation. While endowing them with great and varied wealth in agricultural, mineral and other resources, her discriminations were so heavy that only a small margin of this territory could be utilized and developed with ordinary land transportation. To overcome this natural discrimination railroads were built into the interior in every direction. With their gradual improvements in machinery and in methods of work they have pushed into the remotest sections and making connections in each direction. At least, they have through lines from New York to San Francisco."

Upon this statement of the methods in which trans-continental railroads were constructed, Mr. Alexander finds his argument in favor of the practice of imposing upon the interior traffic a full profit for the reward of capital invested in the railroads; while that element of cost in the transportation business is discarded from the rates which the railroad make in competition with other railroads and with the water route.

The first answer to this representation is, that in regard to the very railroads which Mr. Alexander selects for the purpose of illustration, it is not in accordance with the fact. It is a matter of history that the trans-continental railroads were built across the continent for the express purpose of securing the through traffic which otherwise would be carried by the ocean routes, either by the Isthmus of Panama or around Cape Horn. When Mr. Alexander says that no one would ever dream of building a railroad for the sake of the through business, he simply closes his eyes to the gigantic facts with regard to the construction of the four Pacific roads that now traverse the continent. The through business was the only object that they could immediately gain by the construction of the road. There was no local business for them to reach at the time they were planning their routes.

The contention is also belied by railroad projects which have been mooted since the passing of the Interstate Commerce law. It has been proposed in railroad circles to build a railroad solely for the transportation of through business, and which would refuse all local traffic whatsoever, in order that it might not be hampered with the restriction of the long-and-short-clause of that law.

This railroad concession would belie every argument by which the practice of local discrimination is supported; and none of them more completely than the one that railroads are not built for the purpose of reaching the points where they can obtain through or competitive business. That actual contradiction is afforded in its most positive form by the real position of the Canadian Pacific railroad, whose local business throughout the wilds of British Columbia and Assiniboina is so slight, as to be practically of no weight in the consideration of rates. The Canadian Pacific, therefore, so far as a trans-continental traffic is concerned, depends almost exclusively upon the profit to be secured, by transporting the business which is secured in competition with the other Pacific railroads by low competitive rates.

The true statement of the purpose of capital in building railroads, excluding all the illegitimate aims of profit from construction companies and stock speculation, is that the capital is legitimately invested, for the profit that can be obtained by performing transportation at all the points where freight can be secured. The public purpose for which the construction of railroads is aided by the grant of eminent domain, and the governmental creation of the corporation is that this service of transportation shall be performed for the benefit of the public as a whole, and not that one class or section shall be forced to support the capital so invested in the enterprise of carrying loads which fail to yield the profit that will reward the capital for its investment. It is true, therefore, that the theoretical and abstract rules of justice which should be strictly applied so far as practicable, would require that the charges for the reward or profits of the investor, should be drawn from all classes of traffic alike. That it is practicable to draw exactly the same proportion of profit from each class of shippers, may be doubtful. But the practical assertion that one class must pay the charges upon capital, which will enable their rivals and competitors to undersell them in common markets, is very plainly an injustice and a violation of the public purpose for which the governmental powers in favor of railroad construction were exercised. It may, in a short-sighted and narrow sense, be favorable to the private purposes of investment in railways, that a class of shippers can be selected who may be forced to pay the full returns necessary for fixed charges and dividends of the capital, and thus leave the railroad free to compete with rival routes without the necessity of providing that margin; but where the results of the practice are to

bring the shippers thus bearing that burden into direct competition with those who are freed from it, it simply becomes a case where corporate and private interests, come into collision with the principles of public equity and must give way to them, as the lesser consideration should always give way to the greater.

Hardly any better analogy, as showing the errors in principle and the damage in public results, of assessing upon one class of traffic the full charges of the profit of the railway assessment and emancipating another class from the greater share of those charges, can be given than that existing between rates imposed by the railways and taxes imposed by municipal corporations, both of which are creatures of the state. It is a known fact with regard to municipal taxation, that large property-owners and corporations doing an immense business, evade the burden of municipal taxation upon their personal property by locating their residences and business offices outside of the large cities.

This is said to amount to a very considerable share of the taxation imposed by the city of New York. Suppose that the municipal authorities of New York should invite these corporations and millionaires to return to the city with their offices and residences, promising if that is done to assess the personal property thus brought back only one-fifth or one-sixth of the rate which is assessed upon the tax-payers at large. Would not such a proposition raise a storm of opposition to which the complaints against local discrimination of the railway would be a mere zephyr? Would not the theory of thus placing a premium upon the wealth which is enabled to evade taxation and impose the full charges for municipal government upon the less fortunate, small tax-payers, be one at which all just ideas of democratic equality in taxation would revolt?

The public would insist that in taxation rates must be equal; that it would be better to lose much revenue than to establish a class favored by a lower rate of taxation than that assessed on the general public; and that the city must not reward the removal of property to escape taxation by giving it a material reduction from the rate to come back after such removal has been effected.

The circumstances of obligation in the two cases may not be exactly identical, but the railway corporation and the municipal corporation are alike created by the State and derive their powers from legislation. Freight rates are greater in proportion to the profits of business than tax rates are; and a discrimination upon the former is more vital upon those who have to bear it than any ordinary inequality than can be established in taxation. In both the public necessity for practical equality is imperative, and a system which produces vital inequality is destructive of the rule that the effects of legislation must bear upon all the people alike. This rule is at the very foundation of our

system of government, and is therefore fundamental in the railway systems that the legislation under our constitutional rules have created.

It is necessary also in consideration of this subject to insist upon the consideration that the practice of giving those shippers who have the ability to command a competing line an advantage over those who come into competition with them, but are confined to the transportation over the given railway, is in its permanent effect injurious to the railway itself.

The truest and most lasting prosperity to any road is to be secured by building up the industries located along its line and by developing the production of the territory which is tributary to it. Such a policy will, in the end, secure to the railway the traffic which is most reliable and steady in its volume, which yields the largest proportion of profit and relieves the railway in the greatest degree from the fluctuations of business which are so marked in through traffic. By examining the arguments which are advanced in support of the project, and the illustrations of the practice which are notorious and conceded, we can see that the practice of making vital discriminations between charges on local traffic and through traffic produces inequitable and injurious effects in the following respects:

1. The most marked and prominent examples of local discrimination carry with them on their face the proof of the fact that the localities which have to pay the higher charges, either are forced to support the railroads in waging a losing competition on other traffic, or if the other traffic is paying, the local traffic is obliged to pay exorbitant charges.

2. This discrimination burdens the localities subjected to the higher charges, enables the more favored sections to reach the markets or obtain supplies at less cost, and often places more distant sections nearer to the markets than those close at hand.

3. When such practices are maintained with any degree of permanence it must inevitably burden the disfavored sections, and cause those which are favored to grow in population and wealth at the cost of the first. It prevents the even distribution of population and industry at all points most fitted by nature for economical production and distribution.

Two instances can be given of the dwarfing effect upon railway traffic of the high rates upon local business, which is the objectionable feature of local discrimination. While we are told that the purpose of the Pacific railroads is to develop the inland business it is a fact that the full growth and development of the country lying along the line of the Pacific railroads never was reached until competing railroads were built in those sections and relieved the localities from the high and extreme discrimination imposed by the Pacific roads when they had a monopoly of that traffic. In Pittsburg twelve years ago a single corporation held a monopoly on all the iron shipments of the city to and from the Westward. In 1879 a railroad was built which restored that city to its true position as a competing point. The result of the competition which yielded that city an approximation to the benefits of its geographical position was to cause such an enhancement in the shipments that the railroad which had before held a monopoly obtained an increase in its traffic which more than com-

peted for all the traffic that was taken away from it by the new and competing railroads. The increase in the volume of shipments by reason of the competition was over 25 per cent, so that the actual result was that the competition yielded an actual benefit to the railroad which opposed it.

At considerable length we have gone over the subject of discriminations between localities, with reference to their practical justice and for the purpose of determining to what extent they are injurious to a broad and even development of national prosperity. By examining the arguments which are advanced in support of the project, and the illustrations of the practice which are notorious and conceded, we can see that the practice of making vital discriminations between charges on local traffic and through traffic produces inequitable and injurious effects in the following respects:

from each class not in equal and impartial proportion, but just in accordance with the inability of each to escape or resist such burdens.

7. In all this we have recognized and conceded that such discriminations are not a matter of choice with the railroads; but are forced upon them by their methods of doing business. So long as they have two classes of traffic, one of which they can not get except at reduced rates, and the other of which can not be transported except at the railroad rates, these discriminations are inevitable to a greater or less degree. They may be exaggerated by the railroad vice of indulging in senseless and violent rivalry, or by the practice of levying excessive charges on local traffic; but the great fact of higher charges on local than on through traffic arises inevitably so long as the one has no competition in its transportation and the other has.

These points which at once show the injuriousness and inequality of the practice, and to a certain extent relieve railway management from responsibility for it, enable us to close the subject by a short inquiry into the conditions of railway organization which produce the inequality, and a glance in the direction of the reforms by which the injurious influence can be removed. The evil being established, and the point being clear that it is the result of false conditions rather than deliberate wrong-doing, the deduction is clear that we must seek out the false conditions and reform them clear down to the roots.

GENERALLY the impression prevails that the yield per acre of cotton is far in excess of what it really is. The official compilation is here given, showing nearly all that is authoritatively known:

UNITED STATES COTTON CROPS.

Year	Acres planted.	Pounds net.	Net per	Bales-in	Bales-in	Bales-in
				crop.		
1871-72	8,911,000	1,317,000,000	148	2,974,000	413	0 33 1/2
1872-73	9,560,000	1,746,000,000	182 1/2	3,931,000	444	0 34 1/2
1873-74	10,816,000	1,850,000,000	171	4,179,000	444	0 38 1/2
1874-75	10,982,000	1,886,000,000	153 1/2	3,833,000	444	0 35
1875-76	11,935,000	1,972,000,000	144	4,063,000	444	0 39 1/2
1875-77	11,935,000	1,972,000,000	171 1/2	4,474,000	440	0 39
1876-77	11,935,000	2,148,000,000	181 1/2	4,773,865	450	0 45 1/2
1877-79	12,240,000	2,268,000,000	185 1/2	5,761,252	454	0 45 1/2
1878-79	12,690,000	2,615,600,000	206 1/2	5,074,155	447	0 41
1879-80	16,123,000	3,038,645,000	188 1/2	6,695,752	460	0 41
1880-81	16,851,000	3,455,221,600	145 1/2	5,450,048	450	0 39 1/2
1881-82	16,276,000	3,260,073,290	200 1/2	6,949,752	472	0 46 1/2
1882-83	16,780,000	2,639,498,490	157 1/2	5,713,000	452	0 34
1883-84	17,420,000	2,639,498,490	162 1/2	5,675,601	463	0 36
1884-85	18,379,444	3,034,441,933	162 1/2	6,205,687	464	0 35
1885-86	18,581,582	3,015,360,368	162 1/2	6,205,687	464	0 35
1886-87	18,691,897	3,209,871,011	173 1/2	7,046,833	407	0 37
1887-88	19,392,073	3,275,170,240	169 1/2	6,938,920	472	0 35 1/2

The distribution of product by States is disappointing to those who claim large returns in their respective sections.

THIS is now the money season of the year, and friends to the Farmers and Laborers Union should carry a copy of the NATIONAL ECONOMIST in their pocket and induce every friend and neighbor to subscribe if possible. It is a kindness to them and will benefit the cause.

REQUEST your bookseller or merchant to get a supply of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac for sale. Insist upon it.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

THE ENGLISH RACE-HORSE.

Among domestic animals the noblest is the horse; among horses the greatest is the so styled thoroughbred or English race-horse. It is the received opinion that the modern domestic horse had its origin in Central Africa, and that all the breeds of this animal now known have been produced by the conditions of life surrounding them in different countries and climates, and by selection consciously and systematically applied by man. That these causes are sufficient to account for a vast amount of variation is sufficiently evident to any one who is in the smallest degree familiar with the natural history of animals and of man. A great many animals of the equine family have been found fossil, and ingenious paleontologists have constructed morphological series in which it is inferred that each member of the series is a descent with modifications from the member immediately preceding it, and that so at last we arrive at the horse of the present period. We have never been able to see that a morphological series is anything more than an ingenious contrivance based on gradations of form according to more or less obvious resemblances. Dealing with the modern horse as we find him it appears that upon the discovery of the American continents neither of them possessed a horse. South and east of the Mediterranean sea, within the historical period, all horses were of one type, best designated the Oriental horse. When Cæsar fought the German barbarians on the Rhine he found them in possession of horses the like of which had never before been seen or heard of by the Romans, and by their prodigious size they greatly terrified Cæsar's men. It was indeed a strangely appointed cavalry—men of gigantic frames mounted on still more gigantic horses, and each rider accompanied by a foot soldier whose left arm entwined in the huge mane of the horse he thus kept pace with the charge. Cæsar, that marvellously great man, describes in his commentaries upon the war these strange steeds, and his description is a good technical description of a typical premium Percheron Norman stallion of to-day as seen at any county fair. This horse differs as widely now as he then differed from any of the breeds of the Oriental horse, and these two types differ far more widely than many natural genera. It seems clear that down to a recent period these two, viz., the Oriental horse and this big Rhine valley horse were the only distinct types known. Of the Oriental horse there are known several breeds, viz., the Arabian, the Barbary, the Persian, and the Turkish, and of course numerous mixtures of these breeds more or less well known locally. These differ in size and style, but all agree in the main points. All have the broad forehead, dished face, fine muzzle, wide thin nostril, and fine pointed, beautiful ear, constantly in alert motion; wide jowls, clean gullets, long, large, well-developed wind-pipe; high, thin crest; sloping shoulder, deep chest, rising loin, high, level croup and tail set on very high up on a level with the back; long, slender, bony, clean, and powerfully-muscled legs; delicate pasterns, very springy and elastic; small, well-shaped hoofs of the finest texture; very fine short hair, and no long hair on the fetlocks. The following is also a very distinct character of the Oriental horse, viz., a remarkable network of

very superficial veins, which are distended and become very prominent upon the slightest exertion or excitement. If this description could be reversed at every point it would accurately describe the Rhine valley horse, as described by Cæsar, and as may be seen any day at a county horse show anywhere in America. When Cæsar invaded Britain he found there horses clearly of the Oriental type, and possessing no point of the great chargers mounted on which the Germans fought their legions on the Rhine. We think it clear that these are the only two types of the horse from which all modern breeds are derived. The English race-horse is at all points wholly of the Oriental type, and differs no more widely from the Barb, for example, than does the Barb from the Arabian or the Arabian from the Turk. Prior to the introduction of the Oriental stallions, the pillars of the stud-book of English race-horses, the native horses had been in some instances modified by horses of the draught type, imported from the continent—being the same as Cæsar found in possession of the Germans on the Rhine. In some particular cases that the mixed blood of these ponderous beasts and the native English mares may have crept into the racing stock in some small proportion is doubtless very true, but it has been as far as possible bred out, and to-day exercises no sort of influence upon the present form of the thoroughbred horse, which, as above stated, conforms completely to the Oriental type, improved by selection, by breeding, by general management, and by training until it very far surpasses in all great qualities every other mere animal that ever trod the earth. That all English race-horses are descended exclusively from the Oriental horse there is no evidence; that any are so descended is highly improbable. The twelve mares of unknown blood in the short pedigree of English Eclipse outweigh volumes written at a later day. Herod, Matchen, and Eclipse are the three foundations on which the pedigrees of race-horses are built. It is evident that Eclipse was a cross-bred horse descended from the Oriental sires and native English mares, themselves of mixed and miscellaneous breeding, and that race-horses like every other improved breed of domestic animals have been produced by selection, training, and in-breeding the best specimens we believe that any remote crosses of the draught horse which may have existed in the pedigrees of the thoroughbreds, have been practically bred out and no longer exercise any influence upon the former qualities of race horses, unless in rare instances as a mere atavistic phenomenon. The Oriental horse, in the region of the globe where he first appeared, has been modified by the conditions of different climates and soils and by the tastes and habits of his owners in different countries, producing recognizable breeds, as Arabians, Turks, Barbs, Persians, and has we think long existed without admixture in divers other parts of the globe. We think the South Carolina tackie as purely of the Oriental type as the Arabian. The English race horse is equally so, and now distributed to all countries. That our American horses owe their greatness to the English race horse we believe to be unquestionably true; a horse unquestionably superior to every other which has ever existed in courage, intelligence, speed, endurance and power. The American trotting horse of the future will be a race horse taught a new gait. We have never paid the smallest heed to all the rant about "trotting instinct" and "trotting bred," for there has never appeared a great trotter of abode. It is a curse of modern civiliza-

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THE LABOR QUESTION ON THE FARM.

The difficulty of employing reliable farm labor is so great in many parts of the country as to constitute an almost insurmountable obstacle to the pursuit of agriculture, and in manufacturing and mining localities greater than anywhere else. There is a kind of charm in the companionship in the factory, and even in the mine, where numbers are brought together, which is wanting for the most part in the isolation of the farm. Looking at the mere per diem, moreover, the factory and even the public work seems to pay more wages. It is forgotten that whenever work is suspended there ensues a forced idleness for the workmen when they must support themselves and pay rent for their homes. On the farm there are no idle times; the wages include pay for Sunday and for days too inclement to do outdoor work, and what is of far more importance, the possession of a home rent free, with fuel and truck-patch, and rations, often pasture of a cow and privilege of poultry and pig; very generally all the fruit needed is freely supplied. An estimation of the money wage fails completely to exhibit the true comparison between the pay of the artisan or miner or mechanic and that of the farm laborer. The privileges which the latter has, as above enumerated, are the very things for which the money wages of the former must be paid out as fast as earned, and for which the wages are often insufficient. The farm laborer has his wages, as a rule, over and above the cost of his home and his living. He has, moreover, in unstinted supply fuel and vegetables, whereas the laborer of the artisan class, even when on full time

at his best wages, is obliged to stint his family and allowance every member of it. It is as much as anything else a failure to understand the actual facts upon which the comparison is based that causes the greater part of the difficulty about farm labor. A young man of say twenty-one years of age, with no family, working on a farm is found everything and paid twelve dollars per month. This will clothe him handsomely and leave \$100 clear of every necessary expense. How many young clerks are able to show \$100 as clear money at the end of the year? How many of those who occupy the places in the Government service for which the scramble is so desperate are able to show \$100 when the term for which they were appointed expires? How many young professional men in our great cities after from ten to fifteen years of severe, unremitting effort to advance themselves in the teeth of a competition frightfully intense have made as much money as they have spent? Not one per cent of them. How many farmers proprietors of large estates have after every expense \$100 left? Scarcely ten of them in a county. It is the gregarious instinct, the crowd mania, the strange irrepressible frenzy for urban life, that cause men to deceive themselves. It is a huge evil, this crowd mania, this madness for the city as a place of abode. It is a curse of modern civiliza-

tion, not unusually, of Poor Puss wants a corner. A commission is to be raised to look after tree cutting, and Uncle Sam is to look after the commission, the big end of the matter being the commission, and the small end of it the rainfall. That the national domain has been subjected to enormous pillage by timber thieves is true, and it is a sin and a shame, but it has had very little to do with the rain fall. He must be a bold, bad man who will stand up in the face of the vast wickedness of these times and say "We have been a nation of tree cutters, and we are now reaping the reward of our folly in the progressive and alarming dessication of the earth."

PUBLIC ROADS.

Down in Virginia they are said to be incubating an improved road law. We tell them this, that they can reduce their prodigious criminal expense down there and have good roads at the same time one way, and one way only, and that by putting their criminals at work on the highways under competent engineers instead of feeding and clothing them at public cost, idle in jail. There are in Virginia, and in every State, idle jail birds eating at public expense every day enough to make complete several miles a day of permanent road. The State itself with this force at its disposal, can build and maintain trunk lines which would so increase the value of real estate as to more than pay the public charge for criminal parasites in the increased assessments. Let us not fail to reflect that every increase of the comforts and conveniences of modern country life will tend to check the accumulation of population in cities, which all acknowledge to be a serious problem for the ablest statesmen. In this matter of public highways the inconvenience of country life reaches its climax. In the details of household economy we in the country are far in the rear of modern progress, but this is a private concern of each family. The sanitary influence of good roads is perhaps an aspect of the question not often considered, but it is by no means unimportant. Exposure to inclement weather for three hours dragging over a bad road instead of a brisk drive of 45 minutes over a good one may well make all the difference between life and death; no inconvenience in the one case, fatal pneumonia in the other, and this merely a simple illustration.

STOCK BARNs.

At the North and Northwest, in the blizzard region, costly barns substantially built and warm are essential to stock raising, and are almost equally necessary for the protection of the men who attend the stock. Already early in November the range country has been visited by severe blizzards, and numerous cowboys have lost their lives, while an immense number of cattle and sheep have perished. At the South sheds of cheap construction only are required for stock on farms, and for those on wild ranges the protection of hills and wood land, pine thickets and cane breaks are ample to secure them from serious suffering. Sheds of rough boards with clapboard roofs, which may be cheaply erected by ordinary farm laborers, answer every purpose as well as costly barns, and these should always be provided for all sorts of stock in order that they may resort to their protection during the prevalence of storms, especially at night. There may be aid will be entire winters when even this sort of protection will be needless, but there may, and will be, other winters when the need of it will be seriously felt.

FORESTS AND RAINFALLS.

For some years past we had no rest from the scientific man who believed droughts were produced by cutting down forests, and that the rate of destruction of timber was such that presently the annual rainfall would be so lessened as to interfere seriously with the growth of crops. How now? No such rainfall has been seen any year these hundred years or so past as this year. The truth is the great source of rain is not continental but oceanic evaporation, as everybody ought to know. Winds which blow across continents are dry; those which come up from the sea bring rain. Matters of this sort were arranged a great while ago, and doubtless the wood-chopping propensities of this universal Yankee nation were discounted at that time. If two or three more wet years come, a school of wise men are likely to arise, who will show that cutting down the trees has produced these floods. Post hoc, propter hoc, prophets who foretell what happens after it comes to pass, reasoning up hill from effects to causes, we have always with us. It is a

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

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numerous thoroughbred crosses, and very generally to the great celebrities of the running turf. The grand dam of the present fastest trotting mare ever produced was by a thoroughbred sire; and Axtell, Sunoil, Palo Alto, Stamboul, are all distinguished by thoroughbred crosses. We have long held that inbred trotting sires possessing back crosses of the best thoroughbred blood would produce from the daughters and grand daughters of thoroughbred two-minute trotters. From a thoroughbred sire we never expected trotters, but the dams of trotters.

THE LABOR QUESTION ON THE FARM.

The difficulty of employing reliable farm labor is so great in many parts of the country as to constitute an almost insurmountable obstacle to the pursuit of agriculture, and in manufacturing and mining localities greater than anywhere else. There is a kind of charm in the companionship in the factory, and even in the mine, where numbers are brought together, which is wanting for the most part in the isolation of the farm. Looking at the mere per diem, moreover, the factory and even the public work seems to pay more wages. It is forgotten that whenever work is suspended there ensues a forced idleness for the workmen when they must support themselves and pay rent for their homes. On the farm there are no idle times; the wages include pay for Sunday and for days too inclement to do outdoor work, and what is of far more importance, the possession of a home rent free, with fuel and truck-patch, and rations, often pasture of a cow and privilege of poultry and pig; very generally all the fruit needed is freely supplied. An estimation of the money wage, fails completely to exhibit the true comparison between the pay of the artisan or miner or mechanic and that of the farm laborer. The privileges which the latter has, as above enumerated, are the very things for which the money wages of the former must be paid out as fast as earned, and for which the wages are often insufficient. The farm laborer has his wages, as a rule, over and above the cost of his home and his living. He has, moreover, in unstinted supply fuel and vegetables, whereas the laborer of the artisan class, even when on full time

at his best wages, is obliged to stint his family and allowance every member of it.

It is as much as anything else a failure to understand the actual facts upon which the comparison is based that causes the greater part of the difficulty about farm labor. A young man of say twenty-one years of age, with no family, working on a farm is found everything and paid twelve dollars per month. This will clothe him handsomely and leave \$100 clear of every necessary expense. How many young clerks are able to show \$100 as clear money at the end of the year? How many of those who occupy the places in the Government service for which the scramble is so desperate are able to show \$100 when the term for which they were appointed expires?

How many young professional men in our great cities after from ten to fifteen years of severe, unremitting effort to advance themselves in the teeth of a competition frightfully intense have made as much money as they have spent? Not one per cent of them. How many farmers proprietors of large estates have after every expense \$100 left? Scarcely ten of them in a county. It is the gregarious instinct, the crowd mania, the strange irrepressible frenzy for urban life, that cause men to deceive themselves. It is a huge evil, this crowd mania, this madness for the city as a place of abode. It is a curse of modern civilization.

It is the women more than the men who are to blame for it. It is as true now as ever it was that country life is purer and better than urban life. It produces a higher type of the human race than town life; a race more robust and healthy morally, mentally, physically. Yet men and women shun it and teach their children to shun it as a banishment from real life. The outcome is a scarcity of capable farm labor so great in many localities as well nigh to paralyze agriculture. Some little advance has been made in the substitution of machines for manual laborers on the farm, and we think the success of American agriculture of the future lies very largely in that direction. There is probably not at this time a wheat-growing county in the United States in which one-tenth of the harvest could be saved by hand; that is to say, with scythe and hand-rake as of old, if by any chance all the harvesting machines should be destroyed or rendered useless. It is a reproach to the inventive genius of America that a machine is lacking for harvesting Indian corn, tied in bundles ready for the shock. One of the best farm hands the writer ever knew, some years ago cultured thirty-five acres of corn himself by using a sulky or riding cultivator. If he had possessed also a harvesting machine for the crop he could have handled, without help, a crop of three hundred and fifty barrels, or seven hundred and fifty bushels. A crop which, including the feeding value of the fodder, is worth any good agricultural year \$1,000. To shuck the corn crop now costs an average of 25 cents a barrel, or 5 cents a bushel. A machine fit for this work ought to do it, including all handling, for less than 1 cent per bushel. Will it be said that such a substitution of machine work for manual labor on the farm will be followed inevitably by a prodigious over-production of agricultural staples? There never was a greater lie than that same stale old chestnut, over-production. The calamity under which the poor of all classes are suffering is under-consumption; lack of ability to consume, brought about by a dearth of money; an insufficient circulating medium; a contraction of the currency in the interests of privileged classes, a condition of things which enforces idleness upon labor, and a lack of ability to consume even the necessities of life; to wit, the great staples of agriculture. "Know thy work and do it, for this is the whole duty of man, and there is one monster in the world that is the idle man." This is an hard saying when the Government of the people puts it in the power of monopoly to deny the privilege of toil-to-starving men.

THE ABUSE OF TOBACCO.

The writer believes that he is not a fanatic or crank; he is at the same time an abstainer from alcohol and tobacco. At one time in his life he was a smoker of tobacco with results disagreeable and hurtful. Thus much is said that the personal element as influencing the views here expressed may be estimated by each reader for himself. Every person has seen aged men of sound constitution and remarkable mental vigor who have chewed, smoked, and taken snuff "all their lives," as the phrase goes. In such cases no infirmity can be discovered by the closest medical examination, and it is not to be inferred that any injury has resulted from the tobacco habit. The inference in these cases that great as are the bodily powers and mental vigor they would have been still greater without the use of the tobacco, is far fetched and unjustifiable. The fair conclu-

sion is, that in some constitutions the inherent vigor is so great as to be able to resist influences detrimental to weaker subjects. Among the deleterious contents of tobacco smoke are fine particles of carbon, soot, vapor of ammonia, carbonic oxide, carbonic acid, and nicotine. Of these the carbonic oxide and nicotine are, when much of either is inhaled, very active and destructive poisons, to which certain persons are abnormally and excessively sensitive. The effects of carbonic oxide, even in very minute proportions, are a sense of fullness in the head, drowsiness and inability to exert the faculties effectually, nausea, palpitation and intermittent pulse, and especially muscular tremors. Nicotine produces also tremors and palpitation and intermittent pulse, and in the novice extreme nausea. That certain subjects are able to resist the action of the minute proportion of these powerful poisons received in the ordinary uses of tobacco, even when carried to excess, is evident. It is evident that in other subjects even very small indulgence in tobacco is followed by very disagreeable and dangerous results. There is nothing remarkable in this; it is only what is observed in the case of other stimulants and narcotics and poisons, and even ordinary medicines. A teaspoonful of brandy will make some men dead drunk, others will drink a pint and not feel it. In two or three subjects the writer has seen an ordinary "dose of salts" (sulphate of magnesia) produce an alarming condition resembling the collapse of Asiatic cholera. Some persons cannot pass near a vine of ordinary "poison oak" (*rhus toxicodendron*) without being severely poisoned; others handle and even chew the vine without effect. In some few subjects excessive minute doses of *nux vomica* produce tetanic spasms; others take without apparent effect remarkably large doses of pure strychnine. So with tobacco; in some subjects it clearly does no harm even when largely used for many years. A large majority of tobacco users receive no serious harm, but would do better without it. A considerable number of persons are seriously and some of them fatally harmed even by moderate use of it. If a young adult has an intermittent pulse and no organic disease of the heart, generally tobacco is the cause of it. Let such be warned that later on they will find that functional disturbance productive of organic disease. The heart bears no foolish tampering with; mark that.

FORESTS AND RAINFALLS.

For some years past we had no rest from the scientific man who believed droughts were produced by cutting down forests, and that the rate of destruction of timber was such that presently the annual rainfall would be so lessened as to interfere seriously with the growth of crops. How now? No such rainfall has been seen any year these hundred years or so past as this year. The truth is the great source of rain is not continental but oceanic evaporation, as everybody ought to know. Winds which blow across continents are dry; those which come up from the sea bring rain. Matters of this sort were arranged a great while ago, and doubtless the wood-chopping propensities of this universal Yankee nation were discounted at that time. If two or three more wet years come, a school of wise men are likely to arise, who will show that cutting down the trees has produced these floods. Post hoc, propter hoc, prophets who foretell what happens after it comes to pass, reasoning up hill from effects to causes, we have always with us. It is a game, not unusually, of Poor Puss wants a corner. A commission is to be raised to look after tree cutting, and Uncle Sam is to look after the commission, the big end of the matter being the commission, and the small end of it the rainfall. That the national domain has been subjected to enormous pillage by timber thieves is true, and it is a sin and a shame, but it has had very little to do with the rain fall. He must be a bold, bad man who will stand up in the face of the vast witness of these times and say "We have been a nation of tree cutters, and we are now reaping the reward of our folly in the progressive and alarming dessication of the earth."

PUBLIC ROADS.

Down in Virginia they are said to be incubating an improved road law. We tell them this, that they can reduce their prodigious criminal expense down there and have good roads at the same time one way, and one way only, and that by putting their criminals at work on the highways under competent engineers instead of feeding and clothing them at public cost, idle in jail. There are in Virginia, and in every State, idle jail birds eating at public expense every day enough to make complete several miles a day of permanent road. The State itself with this force at its disposal, can build and maintain trunk lines which would so increase the value of real estate as to more than pay the public charge for criminal parasites in the increased assessments. Let us not fail to reflect that every increase of the comforts and conveniences of modern country life will tend to check the accumulation of population in cities, which all acknowledge to be a serious problem for the ablest statesmen. In this matter of public highways the inconvenience of country life reaches its climax. In the details of household economy we in the country are far in the rear of modern progress, but this is a private concern of each family. The sanitary influence of good roads is perhaps an aspect of the question not often considered, but it is by no means unimportant. Exposure to inclement weather for three hours dragging over a bad road instead of a brisk drive of 45 minutes over a good one may well make all the difference between life and death; no inconvenience in the one case, fatal pneumonia in the other, and this merely a simple illustration.

STOCK BARNs.

At the North and Northwest, in the blizzard region, costly barns substantially built and warm are essential to stock raising, and are almost equally necessary for the protection of the men who attend the stock. Already early in November the range country has been visited by severe blizzards, and numerous cowboys have lost their lives, while an immense number of cattle and sheep have perished. At the South sheds of cheap construction only are required for stock on farms, and for those on wild ranges the protection of hills and wood land, pine thickets and cane breaks are ample to secure them from serious suffering. Sheds of rough boards with clapboard roofs, which may be cheaply erected by ordinary farm laborers, answer every purpose as well as costly barns, and these should always be provided for all sorts of stock in order that they may resort to their protection during the prevalence of storms, especially at night. There may be and will be entire winters when even this sort of protection will be needless, but there may, and will be, other winters when the need of it will be seriously felt.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

WASHINGTON.

Its Public Buildings and Monuments.

No. 30.

The Department of Justice is the law division of the Government machinery. It is situated opposite the Treasury building in a large brick edifice of no architectural pretensions. The Attorney-General is the head of this department, and the chief law officer of the Government. He represents the United States in matters involving legal questions; he gives advice and opinions on questions of law when they are required by the President, or by the heads of the other Executive departments on questions of law arising upon the administration of their respective departments; he exercises a general superintendence and direction over United States attorneys and marshals in all judicial districts in the States and territories; and he provides special counsel for the United States whenever required by any department of the Government. The Solicitor General assists the Attorney-General in the performance of his ordinary duties and by special provision of law in case of a vacancy in the office of Attorney-General, or in his absence, exercises all these duties, except when the Attorney-General in particular cases otherwise directs. The Attorney-General and Solicitor-General conduct and argue all cases in the Supreme Court and the Court of Claims, in which the United States are interested; and when the Attorney-General directs, any such case in any court of the United States may be conducted and argued by the Solicitor-General; and in the same way the Solicitor-General may be sent by the Attorney-General to attend to the interests of the United States in any State court or elsewhere.

Two Assistant Attorneys-General assist the Attorney-General and Solicitor General in the performance of their duties. One assists the argument of causes in the Supreme Court, and the preparation of legal opinions; the other is charged with the conduct of defense of the United States in the Court of Claims. Under the act of 1870 the different law officers of the Executive departments exercise their functions under the supervision and control of the Attorney-General. They are the Assistant Attorney-General for the Department of the Interior; the Assistant Attorney-General for the Post-Office Department; the Solicitor of the Treasury; and the Solicitor of Internal Revenue, Treasury Department; the Naval Solicitor, Navy Department; and the Examiner of Claims, State Department. The total number of employees in the Department of Justice is 79, and the aggregate of their salaries is \$152,570. The temporary and occasional patronage of this department consists chiefly in the employment of special counsel to aid in prosecuting or defending suits by or against the United States, and of special agents to investigate and report upon the business by

clerks, marshals, and attorneys of the Federal courts throughout the country. These special employees are well paid, and the employment, in some cases, is equivalent to a permanent office.

The Judicial Department located at Washington includes the Supreme Court of the United States, Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, Court of Claims, 14 justices of the peace, 200 or more notaries public, 30 commissioners of deeds and the officials in charge of the U. S. jail. The justices of the peace, notaries public and commissioners of deeds receive their pay from fees. The number employed in the Judicial Department is 63, and the aggregate of their salaries is \$201,780.

The Department of Agriculture is under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture, who is a cabinet officer. This department is located on the Government reservation which extends from the Capitol to the Monument, and includes a thousand acres. The grounds of this department are very beautiful, and supplied with conservatories, propagating houses, and indeed all the requirements for testing seeds and plants and producing them in the greatest perfection. In summer the grounds are brilliant with beds of the most beautiful flowers, and in winter the conservatories are very tropic in their luxuriance of verdure. This department is required to collect and diffuse useful information on subjects connected with agriculture. It is required to secure and preserve all information that can be obtained concerning agriculture by means of books and correspondence, and by practical and scientific experiments, the collection of statistics and other appropriate means; to collect new and valuable seeds and plants; to learn by actual cultivation such of them as may require such tests; to propagate such as may be worthy of propagation, and to distribute them among agriculturists.

The statistician has the duty of collecting information as to the condition, prospects and harvests of the principal crops, and of the numbers and status of farm animals, through a corps of county correspondents and the aid of a supplementary organization under the direction of State agents, and obtains similar information from European countries monthly through the deputy consul-general at London, assisted by consular, agricultural and commercial authorities. He records, tabulates and co-ordinates statistics of agricultural production, distribution and consumption, the authorized data of governments, institutes, societies, boards of trade and individual experts; and writes, edits and publishes a monthly bulletin for the use of editors and writers, and for the information of producers and consumers, and for their protection against combination and extortion in the handling of the products of agriculture.

The entomologist obtains and disseminates information regarding insects injurious to vegetation; investigates insects sent to him

in order to give appropriate remedies; conducts investigations of this character in different parts of the country; mounts and arranges specimens for illustrative museum purposes. The silk branch of this division distributes silk-worm eggs and pamphlets giving instructions in silk culture, and furnishes general information relating to the industry. It also operates an experimental silk filature, where silk cocoons are purchased at the current market price.

The botanist investigates plants and grasses of agricultural value or of injurious character, and answers inquiries relating to them; he also has charge of the herbarium, receives botanical contributions and purchases for its improvement, and distributes duplicate specimens to agricultural colleges and educational institutions.

The chemist makes analysis of natural fertilizers, vegetable products, and other materials which pertain to the interests of agriculture. Applications are constantly made from all portions of the country for analysis of soils, minerals, liquids and manures.

The microscopist makes original investigations, mostly relating to the habits of parasitic fungoid plants, which are frequently found on living plants and animals, producing sickly growth, and in many cases premature death.

The propagating gardens are given especial attention. Here large numbers of exotic, utilizable, and economic plants are propagated and distributed. The orange family is particularly valuable, and the best commercial varieties are propagated and distributed to the greatest practicable extent.

The Seed Division.—Seeds are purchased in this and foreign countries of reliable firms, whose guarantee of good quality and genuineness can not be questioned; they are packed at the Department, and distributed to applicants in all parts of the country.

The Library.—Exchanges are made by which the library receives reports of the leading agricultural, pomological, and meteorological societies of the world.

The Bureau of Animal Industry makes investigations as to the existence of contagious pleuro-pneumonia and other dangerous communicable diseases of live stock, supervises the measures for their extirpation, and makes original investigations as to the nature and prevention of such diseases; has charge of the quarantine stations for imported neat cattle; also reports on the condition and means of improving the animal industries of the country.

The Forestry Division experiments, investigates and reports upon the subject of forestry, and distributes valuable economic trees, seeds and plants, and answers inquiries in regard to desirable kinds for forest planting, their modes of propagation and other forestry matters.

The Ornithological Division investigates the economic relations of birds and mammals, and recommends measures for the pre-

servation of beneficial and destruction of injurious species.

Office of Experiment Stations.—This office represents the department in its relations to the agricultural experiment stations in the several States and Territories. Its object is to secure uniformity of methods and results in the work of the stations, and more generally to furnish such advice and assistance to them as will best promote the purposes of the act of Congress by which they are established. To this end its duty is to furnish forms for the tabulation of investigations or experiments, to indicate from time to time such lines of inquiry as may seem most important; to bring to the stations the fruits of scientific research; to facilitate intercommunication between them, and to compare, edit and publish such of the results of their experiments as may be deemed necessary.

The total number of employees in this department in Washington is 112, and the aggregate of their salaries is \$151,140. Besides these there are statistical agents and investigators, whose salaries range from \$500 to \$2,000. These vary in number and are scattered over the country.

The Department of Agriculture is of the greatest importance, and yet its organization is the most imperfect of all. There is great room for improvement and development, and it should receive the attention of the people as well as the Government.

THE ALLIANCE AND POLITICS.

Resolved, That it is our judgment that the next census of the United States should show what proportion of the people of the country occupy their own homes and farms; what proportion have their property free from debt, and of the homes and farms under mortgage, what percentage of the value is so mortgaged.

Resolved, That the secretary-treasurer be, and he is hereby, instructed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States and the Hon. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

Resolved, That all local assemblies be urged to adopt resolutions requesting Congressmen from their respective districts to use their influence to have these facts collected and published.

The above resolutions were passed at the recent General Assembly of the Knights of Labor. They show quite conclusively that the idea is becoming general throughout the country that Superintendent Porter will not include mortgage indebtedness in the next census report. Mr. Porter is quoted as having said that the collection of this information would require a sum equal to the entire amount appropriated for census purposes.

That amount was \$6,000,000. Carroll D. Wright estimated the expense at \$250,000. It may cost a trifle more than Mr. Wright's estimate, but it certainly can not cost the amount given by Mr. Porter. The fact is the money power has notified the administration not to include this information in the census, and the chances are a million to one that it will not be done. They dare not place before the people of this country a true statement of their condition. They dare not let the truth be known, for the moment it is trouble will begin for a large number of our supposed statesmen. As it is nothing can be done but to petition and pass resolutions asking Congress to have this indebtedness taken; if not done, remember the fact when called upon to vote the next time.

The temporary and occasional patronage of this department consists chiefly in the employment of special counsel to aid in prosecuting or defending suits by or against the United States, and of special agents to investigate and report upon the business by

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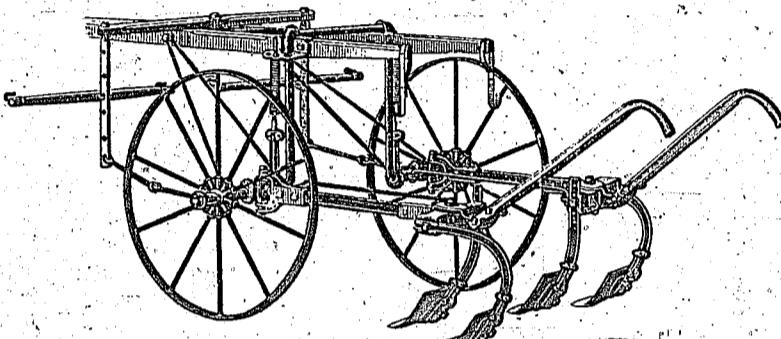
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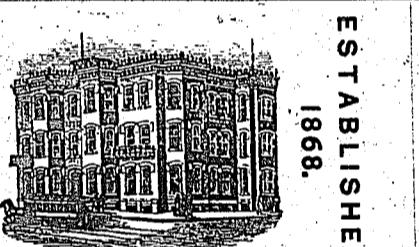


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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

No. 38.

The financial system of the Greek states is a subject of most absorbing interest when we consider that from it has grown our system; and that in its crude form, as conceived and adopted by the Greek people, relieved of the intricate complications which have developed in later eras, the evils arising from it are much more readily traced and easily understood than at present. The reason for the adoption of gold and silver as the only medium of exchange is readily recognized, as well as the immense advantage such adoption gave the commercial class and the great disadvantage it imposed upon the industrial masses.

Writers upon the subject of finance have never referred to this particular point, either because it has been entirely overlooked or because a full knowledge of the truth would unquestionably bring the whole system into disgrace as a relic of ignorance and aristocratic tyranny, originating in despotism, subservient of the ends of chicanery and class supremacy, and utterly without any support of reason or justice; a blot of primeval barbarism upon the enlightenment of the nineteenth century.

Lycurgus recognized gold and silver as the arch enemies of Spartan liberty, and Solon attributed the grievous evils which afflicted Athens to the same cause. The sequel proved that both were right, and that the oppression originating from them, wrought the overthrow of Athenian glory, while Spartan ascendancy did not long survive their introduction into that land of heroes.

Spartan valor and patriotism made Thermopylae the most glorious name in history; and yet, before the insidious influence of gold, even this phenomenal people were undone, and all they had achieved brought to ruin.

There is something with regard to the adoption of gold and silver as a medium of exchange which is startling, when we come to think of it, and causes one to wonder that such a system could be retained so long among a progressive and enlightened people, and even still command the support of intelligent and philanthropic men. The origin of the use of these metals for this purpose, it is reasonable to believe, was as follows:

It will be remembered that in the earlier stages of civilization absolute despotism was the prevailing system of government among the Asiatic peoples. The lands were the property of the king, and the people only held them at his pleasure, there being no individual ownership. There was no commercial value fixed on them, nor could any but the king give a right of occupancy. The only merchandise a subject could dispose of was the creation of his labor; the king could demand the possession of his land or transfer it to another at will.

After commercial intercourse had developed to a certain extent, and exchange in

kind became inconvenient and often impossible, the idea of a measure of value presented itself. Various materials were used at various times, but all that were tried failed to meet the requirements of the ruling and commercial classes, because they were too easily accessible by the people, and it was impossible for these classes to gain the exclusive control of such mediums. Gold and silver being most scarce were considered royal metals, and were used for purposes of ornament and adornment of kings and nobles, as well as having attached to them a religious sanctity conferred by the superstitions of the age. The yield of these royal metals was reserved as the exclusive property of royalty. The mines were held by the crown, and the people were not allowed access to them.

Having thus the exclusive control of these metals the despot or his favorites readily saw that by making them the medium of exchange and the measure of all values royalty would actually control the products of all labor, and fix prices at its will through this control of the circulating medium. The people, having none of these metals, and the despot and his favored class having all, they could by this means command at will the entire products of labor, while they apparently gave an equivalent in return. Thus gold and silver became the only material used as a circulating medium among the Asiatic nations.

The use of these metals in Asia and Asia Minor had continued without thought or question by the masses probably for ages prior to the dawn of civilization in Eastern Europe, and had come to be looked upon as a natural condition.

From this existing condition in Asia Minor it is readily seen how gold and silver money were introduced into Greece and other early European countries. The Phoenicians were especially a commercial and maritime people, who had established themselves upon the coast of Asia Minor before the time of Abraham, and used gold and silver money in his time, nearly a thousand years before the Trojan war, and when the primitive Greeks were in a state of barbarism. The Phoenicians were the first foreign people with whom the Greeks had intercourse, and this intercourse was of a commercial nature; the Phoenicians visiting the coast and islands of Greece in their trading expeditions.

Through this intercourse with the Phoenicians the Greeks learned the use of money. The native traders secured their supplies by barter and sold to the Phoenicians for coin and, gradually, in this way coin became the medium of exchange in Greece. The commercial class, alone coming in direct contact with the source of supply, of course controlled entirely the volume of the currency, and it was but natural that they should readily see the great advantage they thus enjoyed. This gave them great influence with the ruling powers, and it was but a step to secure the control of whatever

mines were developed in Greece, and thus

the commercial class developed into the rich, and finally the aristocratic class, which, continuing to control the royal metals and the volume of the currency, absolutely controlled the products of labor and the prices of all commodities.

It being impossible for the people to secure any of this currency except through the class which controlled it, it is easily seen how, by making money dear, they could compel the sacrifice on the part of the people of their productions, and could induce them, ignorant as they were, to assume impossible obligations.

The pledging of the lands to make good these obligations has been referred to, and thus it is seen how the speculative class, by controlling the currency and through this power gaining finally the control of the lands, actually enslaved the people.

Now, had no such arbitrary measure of value been established, but a currency been issued based on the products of labor and equally accessible to all citizens who could produce such evidences of value, it would have been impossible for one class to have absorbed all values, because labor would have continued to create the means of supplying its requirements, and labor alone would have been recognized as the basis of all value. Had land never been recognized as an article of commerce, and the homes of the people remained sacred to them, they would have always possessed the means of applying the labor that would always have commanded what was necessary.

But these people were densely ignorant of commercial affairs. They accepted conditions as they developed without question and as natural growths, without ever a thought as to the fact that they might control them. The result was that custom grew into second nature, and it has been already shown that fixed custom is the greatest enemy to progress. There was never a thought of any other medium of exchange than coin, never a thought of a change in the financial or land systems as a means of relief from the oppressions which afflicted them, but it is evident that the people recognized the wrong that had been done them by the monopolization of the lands, because whenever these crises arrived they demanded a redistribution of the lands and a release from their debts, never seeming to realize that so long as the existing financial system continued it would be but a question of time as to when the same results would again be brought about.

The result of Solon's system showed how useless, as a means of relief, was the release from debt, so long as land remained an article of commerce; while the stability of the Spartan system proved that so long as the currency and the lands are equally free from monopoly the people will remain free and devoted to the State, and the success of Cleomenes in re-establishing the original spirit and enthusiasm of the Spartans after ages of demoralization proved that it was

the monopoly of these two primary and vital necessities that was the source of all their troubles, and that to it must be traced that loss of national spirit and high sense of independence, so necessary to the development and progress of any people as well as to their happiness and prosperity.

These two monopolies were the curse of Greece, as they were of all the nations which succeeded them, until within recent years another dangerous companion has been added to them—the monopoly of transportation.

Although the ruin of the Greek states may be traced primarily to these two fundamental causes, yet there were many accompanying evils which were the immediate source of great calamities, and at the first glance appear to have been the real causes.

The impulsiveness and hasty judgment of the people, their neglect to look deep enough into the structure of their institutions in search of original causes, their readiness to be influenced by the advice or specious reasoning of demagogic leaders, their liability to be led astray by impulsive and thoughtless enthusiasm, excited merely to distract their minds from the real issues involved and turn their thoughts upon irrelevant subjects, all operated to occupy the attention for a moment. These evils corrected and replaced by wise, progressive and just systems, there will then be time for the people to consider minor subjects.

A volume could be written illustrating and impressing the lessons taught by this era of history, but space will not allow. It would also be of absorbing interest to follow this subject through the rise and fall of Roman civilization, of medieval darkness and the continuation of primal mistakes into modern systems, and this was the intention at the outset of this work, but space compels at least a halt at this point.

POSTMASTER GENERAL'S REPORT.

The growth of the postoffice department business justifies the assertion of the Postmaster General in his report that it is the largest business concern in the world. There are now 59,000 post-offices, and including branches almost 60,000. At the close of the fiscal year there were 8,585 money-order offices and 401 free delivery offices. There were 8,257 letter carriers, an increase of 1,991 carriers during the year. The carriers handled 3,085,805,540 pieces of mail matter—an increase of 455,000,000 pieces compared with last year. Total expenditures for the department during the year, including unsettled liabilities, \$53,116,673, making a deficiency over receipts of \$4,255,497. The knights of the "jimmy" appear to take an active interest in the growing business of the department. There were 499 burglaries of postoffices during the fiscal year, or an increase of about 25 per cent. over those of last year. In his recommendations the Postmaster General urges the creation of the office of fourth assistant postmaster general, to take charge of the railway mail service, the foreign mail, the money-order, the registry and supply division and the dead letter office. The Washington City postoffice is a reproach to the capital and a disgrace to the country, he asserts, and asks that a better building be provided. Upon the sub-

ject of postal telegraph he expresses his disappointment that negotiations with the Western Union Telegraph Company did not lead to results which he had hoped to submit in his report with the outlines of a plan for telegraphic service at popular rates.

In his opinion the great propriety and advantage of a united mail and telegraph service cannot be questioned from a point of convenience and economy. "There is no reason why the night messages of the telegraph companies should not be delivered as postal matter by the carriers next morning. This is proper post-office business and would add to the profits of the department." In reply to the argument often made against a postal telegraph system being a public necessity, that merchants, bankers and newspapers are the principal customers of the telegraph system, he cites the statistics of the English telegraphic system to show that one-half the business of the telegraph there consists of family and social messages. He asks that authority be granted the Postmaster-General to make an experiment in a limited post and telegraph system. The practice of retaining superannuated clerks through motives of humanity has grown to such a degree as to embarrass the service, and while he does not favor a civil pension list, he asks that some action be taken on the matter. One cent postage he believes will come in the near future, but at present it is impracticable. He refers to the growing public opinion in favor of postal savings banks, but makes no recommendation in that direction. The parcels post extension he deems impracticable on account of lack of room in present post-offices and railway post-office cars, although he admits such an extension desirable. He asks for further and more explicit legislation for the exclusion of letters to and from lottery concerns from the mails. A double postal card for return answers he deems feasible, and the establishment of a postal museum desirable, the latter to contain ancient mail equipments, implements and articles in use during the century as a matter of historical interest and to show the advance and growth of the postal system.

THIS year forty-two daughters sat down with Uncle Sam to help eat his Thanksgiving dinner—an increase of four since last year. Their families were also present. The first tables were well supplied, but the later comers and the weaker ones were left with light rations. They did not even find out where the kitchen was located, and seemed to feel that they had little to be thankful for.

THE people have celebrated the anniversary of that first day in this country when the farmers were called together in gratitude for good crops. The crops are ample this year also, but the homes of those first farmers are being abandoned because their descendants cannot make a living on them. The farms have lost nothing in fertility.

What then is the lesson taught by this

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ANNUAL ADDRESS

By President C. W. Macune, of the F. A.,
and C. U. of A.

DELIVERED AT ST. LOUIS DECEMBER 4, 1889.
Brethren of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America:

It is the custom when legislative bodies of this character convene for the President to deliver an address setting forth the exact condition of the order, telling what has been accomplished during his administration, and making such suggestions for consideration, as the necessities of the order demanded. This has already been done by our worthy President. But this organization, and consequently our President's active administration, is only about two months old, and prior to its formation the same interests were represented by two national organizations. As I had the honor to be President of one of those organizations, the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, not only during the five-sixths of the past year but from the very first organization of that order in January, 1887, it seems to me appropriate that I too deliver you an address. In fact, so very important do I deem the message that I have to impart to you that I offer no apology for its presentation, believing that my familiarity with all the past methods of the National Alliance will enable me to point out to you the lessons taught by the critical periods in its history, to give a clear and full conception of the writing between the lines in its present strength and condition, and to suggest certain necessary lines of action worthy of a careful consideration. A further reason for the delivery of this address is that I have up to this time been filling a responsible position as editor of your national official organ, the *NATIONAL ECONOMIST*, and this position has brought me in direct weekly communication with the whole order, which has forcibly impressed me with many of the necessities of the order and shown the great importance of the consideration by this body of several questions which will be the means of outlining a policy for said official organ to be guided by during the coming year. This body, while discussing the situation and deliberating upon the policy to be pursued, should be thoroughly conversant with the history of the past efforts and the present condition of the order, and possibly suggestions as to the future by those who have filled executive offices may be of service. They are at least offered for consideration.

In 1886 the Alliance movement of the South was confined principally to the State of Texas. The State Alliance of that State had chartered a few sub-Alliances in Indian Territory and a small number in the State of Alabama. The report of the State secretary at the regular annual meeting of that year showed that the order had grown from about six hundred to over twenty-seven hundred sub Alliances during the year that ended in August, 1886. As a natural and unavoidable consequence of such rapid organization the principles, objects, and methods of the Alliance were very imperfectly understood by the majority of the membership. It was an election year in that State, and partisan feeling ran high. Dissensions within the order were so great that a dissatisfied minority met and organized themselves into an opposition State Alliance, secured a charter from the State of Texas, and elected a corps of State officers. The outlook for the order at that time was indeed unpromising, and utter dissolution seemed imminent and almost certain. I was at the time chairman of the executive committee, and by direction of the President

succeeded in securing a conference between the officers of the State Alliance and the officers of the element that had seceded, the result of which was that the seceders agreed to take no further steps but hold their charter in abeyance till the next regular meeting of the State Alliance. Immediately after the conference the President and vice-president resigned, and by virtue of my office I called a meeting of the State Alliance to convene in January, 1887, for the purpose of filling the vacancies and taking such other action as the necessities of the order demanded. I immediately wrote to Hon. A. J. Streeter, of Illinois, who was then President of the National Farmers Alliance, and Hon. J. Burrows, of Nebraska, who was vice-president of that order, for information in regard to the origin, history, methods, and purposes of the National Alliance; also to Bro. J. A. Tets, of Louisiana, who was prominent in the work of the Louisiana Farmers Union, asking like information in regard to the Union. The Western Rural was at that time published as the official organ of the National Alliance, and its editor, Mr. Milton George, was the national secretary. I received the Western Rural regularly and preserved the published rulings of the national secretary as to qualifications for membership and the rules prevailing in the National Alliance governing charters, etc. The Louisiana Union showed by its constitution that it was practically the same organization then existing in Texas as the Farmers Alliance, and that it differed only in name, and as I had notice that Louisiana would have a called meeting just prior to the called meeting in Texas I appointed Bro. Evan Jones a delegate to visit the Louisiana Union and make overtures in behalf of unity. He was well received and a committee of one from the Union was elected to visit the called meeting of the Texas State Alliance and empowered to act in behalf of the Union in taking steps for the extension of the work into new fields. All this may seem like dry detail, but it is necessary in order to properly understand the exact conditions that surrounded and controlled the formation of the National Farmers Alliance and Co-Operative Union of America when there was already in existence a National Farmers Alliance in the States farther North. It is unquestionably very necessary to show that the second National Alliance was not instituted in opposition to or as a rival of the National Alliance then in existence, if such be the case, and I believe it was.

The called meeting of the State Alliance of Texas, held in the city of Waco in January, 1887, is a noted land-mark in the history of the Alliance. At that meeting provision was made for the organization of the National, and after it was organized its constitution was ratified. There were over four hundred delegates assembled at the meeting, and a more discordant and dissatisfied assemblage of equal size probably never convened; and yet, after a four days session, a more harmonious and completely unified body of equal size was perhaps never seen.

In my address at the opening of the meeting I called attention to the dissensions and dissatisfaction within the order, much of it the result of misunderstanding, and some the result of personal ambition and local prejudices. I took the position that if the order was a good thing, it was our duty to spread the light; that we must be aggressive; that if we considered Texas well enough organized, and concluded to fold our hands and enjoy the expected benefits of the Alliance we would be doomed to disappointment, because dissensions and contentions would soon

prove to be effective causes for disintegration and rupture.

The very existence and perpetuation of the order demanded that it must take an aggressive position in favor of an overshadowing effort for good in behalf of the membership, that would act as a nucleus and rallying cry, and be of so general a character that it would receive the endorsement of the entire membership. Without this the local issues developed by local conditions and successfully met by the order would assume undue proportions, and frequently produce confusion by being mistaken for the chief objects of the order. To prevent a great order that is scattered over a large extent of territory, and embraces people whose habits and occupations have developed a great many different local issues, from breaking up into detachments to each combat a local and fleeting issue, thereby placing it at the mercy of a better organized foe that would decoy each detachment into an ambush where it could be destroyed with ease; to prevent such dire but certain consequences, there must be a general issue to which each detachment will return after having sallied out to demolish a local issue, and in support of which all are agreed and united into a solid phalanx, thereby being able to meet either the detached or combined forces of the opposition. The general aggressive issue decided upon at the called meeting was "ORGANIZATION OF THE COTTON BELT OF AMERICA," and under the purifying and inspiring effects of that philanthropic object local issues and personal prejudices were crowded to the background, and every man took his place in the ranks of the *aggressive*, shoulder to shoulder, determined to succeed, and to-day we may note the grand result. Less than three years have elapsed since that day, and yet the entire cotton belt is well organized.

When the question of electing delegates from the Texas State Alliance to meet with delegates from the Louisiana Union for the purpose of organizing a National order was pending, I presented to the body all the information in regard to the National Farmers Alliance that I had received from the columns of the Western Rural and the correspondence with Presidents Streeter and Burrows; a careful consideration of which

fore they organized their own National in their own territory.

From the date of the organization of the National, the order grew very rapidly, as the reports from the different State organizations at this meeting show. This rapid growth was largely due to the zeal of a membership united in an effort thoroughly understood and endorsed by all, exerted at a time when the masses were ripe for the movement. The lines of argument that induced people to join the order are important and should be carefully considered, because they indicate in some degree what they expect the order to accomplish in their behalf and by their assistance.

After a very careful survey of the work, I find myself unable to avoid the conclusion that the leading and principal arguments used, and especially those that have been to any extent effective, have all had for their object, either directly or indirectly, conditions that would render farming more profitable from a financial standpoint. The methods offered for acquiring this desirable state of affairs have been numerous, and often very ingenious, sometimes wild and impracticable. Some have held that organization would render farming profitable and prosperous by the benefits that would naturally flow from the more intimate social exchange of ideas and courtesies at the meeting, where each could learn the methods pursued in the detail of farm work by all the others, and that the dissemination of such practical data would render all more productive; and that as a consequence, they would be stepping into the ranks of those who have been eulogized for having been able to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. It seems to me that more importance and value has been attached to this sentiment than its merits entitle it to receive. A proof of this is found in the fact that the cereal crops of the United States in 1887 aggregated about a billion and a quarter bushels and brought about a billion and a quarter dollars, and from that time the crop increased till in 1885 it reached the enormous sum of over three billion bushels, and the whole crop sold for less than a billion and a quarter dollars. Others have held that organization could render farming profitable by the introduction of better business methods in which all would unite and co-operate for the purpose of selling our products higher and purchasing such commodities as we are compelled to buy, cheaper. Those who have made a special study of this feature of the effort realize that the purely technical effort of improving our methods of farming, by which we may possibly increase the amount of products we make in return for a given amount of labor and expense, although it be praiseworthy, desirable and worthy of encouragement, is not a force or remedy near equal to the emergency, and that the influences that tend to depress agriculture and render the pursuit of that occupation unprofitable have rapidly gained the ascendancy over and neutralized the beneficent effects that should have followed the introduction of wise methods and new and improved machinery in the past, whereby the result of productive effort have been increased most wonderfully. It is deemed unwise to depend entirely on a remedy that has proved ineffectual on every occasion. They contend for something more efficient, by advocating a better system of handling and disposing of what we produce, and a more careful and economical method of purchasing supplies. This they expect to accomplish by securing as near as possi-

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ble a direct sale of our products to those who consume them, thereby gaining the commissions now paid to middlemen that do not appear to be necessary and increasing the price of the produce sold. They will reduce the price of commodities purchased by encouraging cash transactions on a large scale, thereby eliminating the loss and risk that attend the credit business and getting the benefit of wholesale prices. The hope of ultimate success from this line of effort depends upon the ability to enhance the price of what we have to sell and diminish the price of what we have to buy, thereby increasing the gains. The ability to do this, it is usually argued, depends upon the amount of devotion each member will exercise in favor of the object. This line of argument also holds that if each would be willing to make enough sacrifices of prejudice and time and money they would be certain to succeed. And yet if we admit all that is claimed in this direction we must still realize that there is a limit to the power that can be enforced by these methods. For example, we cannot reduce the price of the commodities we purchase any below what it costs to manufacture them, neither can we raise the price of the produce we have to sell above a certain limit without a tendency to have the demand supplied from other sources or by substitutes. The probabilities of success, therefore, by the business methods alone will depend upon the power thus wielded being equal to or greater than the tendency to depression that has proved so powerful in the past.

Still another method of advocating organization as a means of increasing the profits of farming is, that by organization a united effort can be brought to bear upon the authorities, that will secure such changes in the regulations that govern the relations between different classes of citizens as are necessary to secure equal rights, equal privileges and equal chances. Those mentioned as advocating the second or business line of teaching as the remedy seem to have drunk a little deeper at the fountain of thought and wisdom than the first class of teachers mentioned, and those of the third class, now under consideration, seem to have pursued the investigation even further than the second class. They recognize the generally known and universally acknowledged maxim of political economists, that a general rise in prices always attends an increase in the volume of the circulating medium of the country, and a general fall in prices always attends a decrease in its volume, and that the regulations governing the relations between the different classes of citizens in this country empowers a certain specified class to issue over one-half of the circulating medium, and permits them to withdraw from circulation any or all of such money at their own pleasure, thereby allowing said class to regulate as they may choose the volume of circulating medium in the country, subject to a limit of about forty per cent; that is to say, should they choose to retire all their circulation they would reduce the volume of the circulating medium of the country to forty per cent of its present volume, and as a necessary and unavoidable consequence reduce the price of everything in nearly the same proportion. There is then absolutely no way of avoiding the conclusion that such class possesses the power to produce a general rise or fall of fifty per cent in prices at pleasure. Those who realize this state of affairs contend that it is a waste of energy for all the farmers in this great land to combine and co-operate to raise the prices of a

given product when, if their most sanguine hopes were realized, they would not augment the price over twenty-five per cent, while at the same time representatives of another class of citizens of this country could receive instructions from one office in a single hour which would depress prices fifty per cent. In fact, owing to the inflexible rigidity of such a system, the fluctuation in general prices is very great between the different seasons of the same year, and for the following reasons: Agriculture presents during the last four months of every year an actual tangible addition to the wealth of the nation equal to five times the gross volume of all the money in actual circulation in the country, and all this agricultural product comes on the market to purchase money for the use of the agriculturist. Now it stands to reason that such an increase in the demand for money when there is no increase in the supply must augment its price, which is its purchasing power, and which means diminished prices for everything else. Now if, in addition to this powerful tendency, a certain class possesses the power to diminish the supply at that season in the face of the augmented demand, the tendency to a rise in the purchasing power of money becomes certain and irresistible. The experience of every man in the agricultural districts of the West and South has no doubt often shown him a difference of fifty per cent or more in the price of an article during the fall season and the spring. And it is universally known that in pursuance of the above phenomena general prices are much lower in the fall than in the spring season. Great respect is due to the teachings of those who contend that the greatest power being exercised to depress agriculture to-day emanates from unjust regulations governing the relations between the different classes of citizens, and if by a united effort we can secure the correction of the evils they point out, we will pave a way for the certain triumph of our business efforts and the enjoyment of more satisfactory and prosperous social relations. It seems to me that there is much good in the teachings of all three of these methods, and that it will be found a duty of this body to encourage the effort to improve in farming from a technical standpoint as a result of the pleasant social reunions enjoyed in the subordinate organization. Also, to sustain and assist in every possible manner the efforts made to co-operate for business purposes by the different county and State organizations, and to provide a plain, simple and specific demand on the part of the national organization for the proper just and equitable regulation of the relations between the different classes of citizens.

These three classes of teachings and modifications of them have been the principal inducements offered people as reasons why they should join our ranks, and the fact that they have joined in such vast numbers indicates the necessity for action in the directions pointed out, and is a pledge that they will assist in carrying out such methods. Of the three different methods, that of relief from the business effort has received the most attention and been by far the most prominent. This is due probably to the fact that the technical and social co-operation seems best adapted to the workings of the subordinate body, while the business efforts have demonstrated the necessity of the wider range of co-operation to be secured in the county and State organizations, and the co-operation necessary to secure the proper adjustment of economic relations seems peculiarly within the province of the national organization, as

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it is the very foundation upon which the whole class in all the States must depend. The prominence given to the business effort by the different State organizations has not been without important results, the full detail of which I suppose will be reported to you by the different State delegations. They have in nearly all the States organized their business with a strong capital stock, ranging from fifty to five hundred thousand dollars. Texas has a capital stock of five hundred thousand dollars, divided into individual shares of five dollars each. Several States have their capital stock divided into shares of one hundred dollars each, and issue them to subordinate bodies only. I think this last method has many advantages, and would particularly recommend the plan of the Exchange of Georgia as one that seems to me wisely prepared.

In my message to the last regular session of the N. F. A. and C. U. of A., at Meridian, I pointed out the necessity for great caution in the formation of any national plan of co-operation for business purposes. I now desire to reiterate that caution, and say to those who wish to inaugurate a National Farmers' Exchange that there is danger of such an enterprise being so placed that it can not accomplish much, and still, when in existence, the people will expect much of it. There may, perhaps, be some plan formulated by which the different State exchanges can co-operate, but I doubt the wisdom of going any further than that, by organizing a national exchange or of incurring much expense on the part of the national for business purposes. It seems that the co-operation for business purposes in order to be effective and reach its highest development should be more extensive than can be obtained in the subordinate bodies alone, and that it absolutely requires co-operation between the subordinates in the counties and co-operation between the counties in the State; but beyond the State organization there does not seem to be any prominent and conclusive reason for extending so strong and close an organization, in which it would be necessary to lodge so much power and responsibility. Each State is a complete jurisdiction within itself, and usually has different and distinct conditions, customs, usages and issues. It always comprises territory and business enough to develop all the branches of business, as manufacturers, jobbers, wholesalers, retailers, brokers, commission men, etc. From all these reasons, I conclude that while co-operation between the different State business efforts will probably be necessary and beneficial, stronger reasons than I have yet been able to discover should exist before a national exchange organization will be able to do much good.

From these considerations it must now be plain to you that the order has by means of the consolidation here to be consummated reached a period of full development that places a responsibility upon it for efficient and aggressive action. The three effective lines of effort above specified that have induced this vast army of brethren to espouse the cause and place their shoulders to the wheel have each a proper field in which to operate. The National organization, by securing a better adjustment of the economic policy of the Government, will insure that the regulations governing the relations between the different classes of citizens shall be just, fair, and equitable, and thereby lay a foundation on which the States in their business efforts will find it possible to reach complete success, but without which they would as now be contending with inevitable defeat,

and the success of the business effort rendered certain by the exercise of the great power possessed by the State Alliances when they can be exercised under the just conditions, which it is the province of the National to secure, will augment the social benefits and enjoyments that should result from the subordinate organizations. Each has its special field, and the success of the National renders success in the State effort possible, and the success of these two contribute to the true benefits which must finally flow to the subordinate body.

As we have seen, the order has made a most prodigious growth, and its business efforts have reached a high stage of development and usefulness. Your attention is now called to the genius of the government of the order. It will be found in the highest sense interesting and peculiar. We have had a written law and an unwritten law. Two sets of laws and systems of government have been in force at one and the same time. Every individual member has sustained a dual relation to the order, and yet all have harmonized perfectly, and there has been no conflict or clash. The written law is comprised of the charter from the United States Government, the constitution and legislative enactments of the national order; the charters, constitutions and legislative enactments of the various State organizations; and the charters, constitutions and legislative enactments of the various county and subordinate bodies. The form of government under the written law was democratic, the subordinate bodies each being a simple democracy in which the individual is the sovereign and all members vote on all questions. The State and national bodies were each a confederated form of republican government, and every step from the people, who are the supreme power, lessened the power of the delegated body. The national only had such powers as were expressly delegated to it by the States, and the States only had such powers as were bestowed upon it by delegates from the subordinate bodies. Its form of government under the written law was modeled after and was very similar to the form of political government under which we live. The unwritten law is the secret work, and like all other secret orders, it has necessitated and depended upon a form of government closely analogous to a limited monarchy. According to it, all power and authority must emanate from the recognized head and permeate through the various branches to the individual membership. Under this system of law, this is a supreme body, and under the written law the membership of the subordinate were supreme, because, under the written law the membership could, by the exercise of their constitutional privileges, abolish the national body entirely, and under the unwritten law the national could, by the exercise of its power, abolish a subordinate body by revoking its charter. This system of dual sources of power and forms of government, that originate at opposite extremities of the order and encompass it as two parallel bands throughout its entire extent, is wonderfully calculated to add to its strength and efficiency, and furnishes a complete safeguard against any weak point in either system by always having the strength of the other system present and ready to assist and maintain it. The necessity for this full and complete statement of the genius of the government of the order is twofold. First, an imperfect conception of these principles has often been the cause of considerable hesitation and embarrassment on the part of

State Presidents when called upon to rule on questions upon which the constitutional law was not very explicit, and second, delegates to the national frequently seem to think that the only way they have of offering new and necessary regulations to the order is by modifying the constitution or offering a resolution. Now the facts are that resolutions should be offered for nothing but as expressions of sentiment or advisory measures recommended to the order or others; that the constitution should contain nothing but the declaration of purposes of the order, an outline of the different branches of government, an expressed limitation of the powers of each branch and each officer, and such general provisions governing the laws and usages as are of universal application and will be permanent and require no modification and change. Then to provide rules for the conduct of the officers and the carrying out of the provisions of the constitution and render the workings of the order effective and satisfactory, not resolutions, but laws should be passed, the difference being that laws would prescribe certain things while resolutions simply recommend them. Every bill should be refused consideration unless it commence according to an established form, as, "Be it hereby enacted by the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, etc., each bill should have a caption and be numbered. If the laws of the legislative body were expressed in this way they would soon make a valuable code of statutory laws for the order that would save much of the time now wasted in discussing resolutions that are simply a repetition of what may have been passed many times before, but is not in a shape to be of record. This will also obviate the necessity for making any changes or additions to the national constitution, which is very desirable, as every possible means should be resorted to that will tend to make the national organic law fixed and permanent; let it be too sacred to be modified except in cases of the plainest necessity.

Observation of the workings of the order in the past leads me to make the following suggestions:

1. There should be an efficient and uniform method of securing reports as to the strength, financial condition, etc., from the entire order. The National Secretary cannot now send out a blank asking for information and get a response that is satisfactory from half of the States because the blanks used by one State Secretary are entirely different from those used by another, and consequently the information they have is of a different character. To make statistics of the order valuable they should all be gathered in response to the same question, and it seems to me that the best way to secure that end would be for this body to provide for a small but competent committee who should call upon each State Secretary to send them a copy of what he finds to be the best blank for subs to report to county organizations, and what for county to report to State organizations upon, and give this committee authority to consider all these forms, adopt the best as the standard for all, and get up the reports to the National, State, and county bodies in a complete system. They can then be printed from plates in large numbers, and thereby reduce the expense.
2. Independent of the Secretaries' reports a system of crop reports should be inaugurated that will be more prompt, accurate, and reliable than the estimates made and published every year by the speculators who are interested in depressing prices of our pro-

duce. This is of the utmost importance, and yet all efforts made up to this time have been signal failures. I would therefore suggest that the National, State, county, and subordinate bodies each elect a crop statistician, to be paid by the body electing him, and who shall be held responsible to make regular reports as required by the officers to whom he is to report, and that the National statistician report monthly to the President of the national body.

3. The National committee on secret work should alone be authorized to print the ritual, and all sub and county charters should emanate from the National, and be issued by the various States.

4. The regular annual meetings of the State bodies should be timed so as to come in rotation, thereby allowing National officers to visit them.

5. All written official documents of the National should bear the impress of the seal, and all printed official documents should have printed on them a *fac simile* of the seal.

6. The Secretary should be required on the first of every month to pay the Treasurer all the money he has received, and the Treasurer prohibited from paying out any money, except on a warrant drawn by the Secretary and approved by the President, and the Secretary should be prohibited from drawing a warrant on the Treasurer, except upon a voucher or account that is audited and approved by such auditing officer as this body may provide.

7. There seems at present a necessity for a National lecturer; and as that necessity may only exist for a year or two, it might be provided for temporarily; and if it be, the lecturer should be an efficient officer, with probably a larger salary than any other national officer, and be required to do active work during his term.

8. Since education is one of the most potent agents at our command, the National should impress upon the membership the importance of every member reading his State and National organ.

9. The President should be authorized at any time to appoint committees to confer with any or all other labor organizations on questions relating to the objects and methods of organized producers, always reserving to this body the right to ratify or reject their action.

With these recommendations as to matters within the order, I will leave that feature of the work and call your attention to the relations of the National order to the Government and people of this country at large. Our relations as an organized force with the people of the United States and with the Government have been wonderfully improved during the last year, by the establishment and publication of your National organ, THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, at the National headquarters. It has been the means of presenting the true, just and equitable side of the movement to a class of readers who before never saw anything but misrepresentations of the objects of the order. It has fought for our rights from a high, dignified and indisputable standpoint of right, and as a result we now see leading papers and periodicals in the large cities publishing articles in the interest of the masses that a few years ago they would not have allowed to come inside their doors. In fact, our National organ has been so conducted that the entire order has shown unmistakable evidences of the fact that they are proud of it, and that it has been a wonderful educator and benefit to the membership. Nevertheless, the National organ

will never reach its highest development for good until it goes hand in hand with a good, efficient State organ in every State, and the State organs of the various States will not reach their highest development for good without a harmony of effort and concentration of forces. I, therefore, submit for your consideration the propriety of authorizing the national and State organs to organize themselves into a newspaper alliance for the purpose of, first, lessening their expenses; second, guaranteeing a uniformity of sentiment, officially endorsed by a national supervising committee; and third, increasing their usefulness and efficiency; and that this body make its President ex-officio chairman of a committee of three, who shall pass upon and, if approved, place their stamp upon every article expressing editorial opinion as to doctrine which emanates from a central editorial bureau for publication in the various papers of such newspaper alliance. A thoroughly reliable and uniform expression of sentiment can in this way be secured in all parts of the country at the same time. Our State organs are at present doing a great work, and accomplishing much more for the order than is generally supposed. In nearly every State in which the order has a State organ it will be found on comparison to be the best farmers' paper in that State, and members who read their State and National organs are always too well posted to waver in their allegiance to the order on account of any of the arguments or false reports of the opposition.

With such an alliance as an auxiliary, when the conflict of the National deepens, the full force and influence of twenty or twenty-five of the best papers in the country could be manipulated with great advantage to the true interests of our cause. This will be by far the most potent agent at our command in the impending struggle, since by it we can keep our own ranks thoroughly posted and unified, and at the same time we can meet the opposition at no disadvantage in an effort to secure the influence of the great class that now stands comparatively neutral but will sympathize with and assist us when convinced that our objects are right and our methods fair.

In considering our relations to the world at

large I believe it well to call your attention to what, after a long and careful investigation, I believe to be a fact, and that is, that all the evils which afflict agriculture today, and especially all which contribute to the present universal depression, arise either directly or indirectly from unjust regulations or privileges enjoyed by other classes under our financial system, or our system of laws in regard to transportation corporations, or our land system. In the consideration of these prime causes of the many abuses that afflict our class we as an national organization of farmers occupy a peculiar but not unsatisfactory position. It has been the custom for changes in any important feature of governmental regulations to be inserted in partisan platforms, and in this way brought before the masses. We compose at least 50 per cent of the strength of each of the political parties. The two oldest political parties have each had their turn at the administration of affairs, and neither has made a single move toward these questions that are now of more importance to our class than all others. Evidently we have been derelict in our duty to ourselves, because we have not made our influence felt in the party to which we belong. We have from time to time at our meetings passed resolutions making various and sundry demands of our law makers, but up to the present time there are little or no

visible results. I believe we have scattered too much and tried to cover too much ground and that we should now concentrate upon the one most essential thing and force it through as an entering wedge to secure our rights. A political party is one thing, and we in our organized capacity are entirely different from it. In fact we are the exact opposite. Partisanship is the life of party, and the more bitter it can be made the more solid the party. We of economic government set free the strongest influence for neutralizing partisanship, because if all thoroughly understood perfect political economy, and all were honest, all would agree, and therefore there would be no partisanship or party.

We are a complete opposite to a political party. We dissolve prejudices, neutralize partisanship, and appeal to reason and justice for our rights, and are willing to grant to all other classes the same. Party appeals to prejudice and depends on partisan hatred for power to perpetuate itself. The strength of a political party is its platform, which, when constructed with the highest modern art, seeks to pander to the prejudices of every section. It must contain a plank for every question that is agitated or discussed, and be expressed in such equivocal terms as to mean one thing to one man and the opposite to another. Now, since we are the very opposite of a political party, and have for our object, not to get control of the chief offices of the Government with all their power and responsibility and do nothing except perpetuate ourselves, but to accomplish some needed reforms in the regulation of the relations between the different classes of citizens, no matter which party furnishes us the servants that may occupy the offices, it must be plain that we would only weaken our cause were we to attempt to construct a platform after the custom of political parties. Our strength lies in an entirely different and opposite direction. We should unite every effort on the accomplishment of the one reform first necessary, and the most important, and rest assured that the accomplishment of that will insure us a development of strength sufficient to then carry other necessary reforms in their turn. With these thoughts as to the policy by the dissemination of the true principles to pursue, let us carefully consider which is the most urgent, most important and necessary reform to be dignified as the battle-cry of the order temporarily till accomplished.

A New York daily paper doubts the wisdom of the recent change of government in Brazil. It says: "Men must be fit for freedom before it is possible for them, and a republic means liberty only to those who are fit for it." But it is liberty that will fit them for liberty. It is only by practicing self government that they can become capable of self government. As well to keep persons out of the water until they learn to swim as to keep a people out of self government until they are capable of self government. It is only by practice that they may become proficient in conducting a republic. It was Lincoln who said that "no man is good enough to govern another without another's consent." If the Brazilians make blunders they only will have to suffer the consequences, and try to do better the next time.

The leaning tower of Pisa and King Kalakaua's throne are both for sale. So far no American millionaire has offered to buy either of these valuable articles.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

The National Economist,
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE FARMERS AND LABORERS
UNION OF AMERICA,
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
BY "THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST" PUBLISHING COMPANY.
Incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia.
SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

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

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

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

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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SECOND-CLASS MAIL MATTER.

UNION IT IS.

The St. Louis meeting has passed into history; the proposed consolidation of the agricultural organizations has been effected, and a plan of co-operation with the Knights of Labor in matters of mutual interest has been agreed upon. The result is not only encouraging in itself, but it marks the beginning of a new era in the history of industrial reform. It was the simple, and hitherto silly, giant Labor taking a lesson from the follies of the past. It voiced to the world the recognition of the identity of interests of all classes of honest workers, and gave promise of their future solidarity in every effort to relieve the producers and elevate labor. Previous to the meeting many had dreaded, many others openly predicted failure. The history of the past afforded little ground for hope. Folly and faction had hitherto kept the workers divided into warring fragments, and left them the easy prey of every cunning, scheming combination, financial, political or industrial. Moreover, it was feared that intolerance of opinions, sectional prejudice, or imaginary diversity of interests might intrude and block the path to union and progress. "Will it be union and strength of disunion and weakness?" was the expressed or unexpressed thought of every earnest mind, whose hopes were centered in the new movement. But the men who met at St. Louis rose equal to the emergency; they rose superior to every other consideration but the supreme question of consolidation. The majority of those present were determined that a union should be effected, fully believing that without this there was no hope for economic reform. In the deliberations of the united body there was not the slightest evidence of sectional prejudice shown, not even the least trace of it felt. No such spirit will be tolerated in the ranks of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, and it is the duty of every member to discountenance that selfish, cowardly, and unmanly feeling wherever or in whatever form expressed. Now that this consolidation is effected and co-operation agreed upon, it should be remembered by every officer and member that it was not done for mere show, but for active, useful work. That work must be done.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Starting out with the admission that the state of the Union is at present as well known to the people as to the President, he congratulates the country upon being at peace with all the rest of the world. He refers to the Pan-American Congress, now in session, from which he hopes for great results; also to the Maritime Congress, and the vast possibilities for good in its power. The American diplomatic representatives to each of the American governments should be of the uniform rank of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. He reviews at length the chronic and transient disputes between the United States and the various countries of the world; the Chinese question, the Samoan affair, the Canadian fisheries, the extradition treaty with Great Britain, Spanish claims, American railroad interests in Peru, the Delagoa Bay railway in Africa, constructed by an American and seized by Portugal. After completing the circuit of the globe, giving a glance by the way at the Nicaraguan Canal, the African slave trade and the revolution in Brazil, he comes to home affairs and declares we have a condition of general prosperity. This is one thing at least the people did not know until the President told them. The surplus in the Treasury should be reduced he opines, and loaning it to national banks he regards as unauthorized and dangerous, but what they have now on deposit should be taken from them very slowly. The tariff should be revised, the free-list increased, the internal revenue on tobacco repealed, also, that upon spirits used in the arts. He reviews the financial question and concludes that we have a large circulation. To increase the silver coinage would be dangerous he thinks, but promises to throw more light upon the subject later on. The Chinese are coming in via Canada, and that should be stopped. We need coast defences, and Congress should provide them. The work on river and harbor improvement should be concentrated on few points and those completed. Cites the Terry killing by Nagle, and asks Congress to consider the questions involved. Intermediate courts to relieve the crowded condition of the Supreme Court should be established, and the salaries of district judges raised to \$5,000. Legislation against trusts is necessary; they are dangerous conspiracies against the public good and should be prohibited. A national bankrupt law, simple and inexpensive, is desirable. On postal matters he approves of several suggestions in the Postmaster-General's report. Upon the subject of naval affairs after stopping to drop a tear to the memory of the seamen drowned at Samoa, he rejoices that the navy is being improved. He devotes considerable space to the Indian and the negotiations with the various tribes for the cession of some of their lands for pale-face settlement. Some sort of a government should be provided for Alaska, and the titles to alleged Spanish grant lands in New Mexico

and Arizona settled. He urges a liberal pension policy and tells why. There is need for better protection of brakemen on interstate railroads, as the loss of life and limb at present is appalling. The Agricultural Department needs a law officer, and other improved fixtures. The weather service should be transferred to it and kept under proper control. The District of Columbia, being a political minor should be carefully provided for by Congress. Civil service reform law is unsatisfactory, but he hopes for better things in future. Federal aid to education he recommends as an experiment for a year or so in order to see how it would work. The colored man is in some sections deprived of his political and civil rights by certain devices, and this should not be; he should be protected by all the powers at the control of the Federal government. Subsidies should be granted to steamships between our ports and those of Central and South America, China, Japan, and other points. Provision also should be made for a naval reserve. Such legislation will, he believes, promote the honor and peace of our country.

COLORED FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

The Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Co-operative Union met in convention last week. There are Colored State Alliances in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky; and a territorial alliance in Indian Territory. Col. R. M. Humphrey, of Texas, is the general superintendent of the order, and in his address before the national body last week gave a summary of the benefits which organization has brought the colored farmers, of the early struggle and present prosperous condition of the Colored Farmers' Alliances. Co-operative exchanges have been started in Charleston, S. C., Mobile, Ala., New Orleans, La., and Houston, Texas. There are several other organizations among the colored farmers, and he expresses the hope that they will all unite in one organization. Referring to the subject of politics he says:

In politics the Alliance does not claim neutrality; it only claims that since we have men of all political parties in our membership we ought therefore to exclude all parties and issues from our meetings, so that our members should be asked no questions as to whether they belong to the Union, Labor, the Republican or the Democratic parties. We hold that each member is a free man, a citizen of the United States and of that State in which he makes his home, and that it is his right freely to exercise his own judgment in all political matters and vote according to his convictions. Yet it must not be forgotten that the Alliance has for its principal the cleansing and regenerating all of the political parties of this country. All of us know that at the present time there is too much of class legislation, so that the money of the country is turned over to the national bankers, and the farmers and laborers must pay heavy interest for a money for which they and their labor stand as the only proper securities, and which therefore belongs to them and costs others nothing.

Such a system of iniquity and robbery can not much longer be perpetrated upon a free people. We say nothing of those laws and enactments that render trusts, combines and monopolies the reigning evil of our time. You will consider carefully the political conditions of your country. Remember that you are citizens; that on you rests the duty as well as the privilege of leaving to your children, and your children's children, the glorious fabric of free American institutions. I can

see clearly that many of you to-day think that I ought to suggest some political party through whose means the country might be regenerated, and with whom you ought to associate and vote. Any such effort on my part would be an effort to place the Alliance in political harness, which thing would be most repugnant to me as well as to every true man.

Referring to the agricultural organizations among the whites he says:

Our relations with the Farmers' National Alliance (white) should have your special attention. A year ago that organization bestowed an honorable recognition upon you, and arranged a plan of inter-race co-operation. They have since that date united with the National Wheel, and it can not be doubted but that they will in their present session extend to you the utmost comity and good will. It is hoped that in this your day of success your wisdom and discretion will incline you to the heartiest co-operation and good will toward your white brethren.

He refers to the necessity of the colored people securing homes of their own; that about seven-eighths of them now live in rented houses and rented farms. In his opinion, "renting is slavery."

COTTON BAGGING.

One of the matters upon which light was admitted at the St. Louis meeting was the covering for the next year's cotton crop. Representatives from the jute factories outside the trust were there, and offers were made of contracts for two-pound bagging at seven cents a yard. Manufacturers of cotton bagging were also there, and offered the standard covering of the Alliance, forty-four inches wide, weighing three-quarters of a pound to the yard, at eight cents. The farmers generally favored a continuation of the use of cotton covering, the standard having fully come up to the tests and been found safer, lighter, and cleaner, besides making a market for inferior grades of their own staple. It is intimated among the returned brethren that when the president gets home he will meet a rousing welcome from his neighbors and fellow citizens.

THE officers elected by the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union are as follows:

GENERAL OFFICERS.
L. L. Polk, President, North Carolina.
B. H. Clover, Vice-President, Kansas.
J. H. Turner, Secretary, Georgia.
W. H. Hickman, Treasurer, Missouri.
Ben Terrell, Lecturer, Texas.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
C. W. Macune, Washington, D. C.
A. Wardall, South Dakota.
J. F. Tillman, Tennessee.

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE.
R. C. Patty, Chairman, Mississippi.
Isaac McCracken, Arkansas.
Evan Jones, Texas.

The State Business Agents effected a National organization, to be known as the State Business Agents' Association:
J. B. Diues, President, St. Louis.
W. H. Holland, Vice-President, Kentucky.
Oswald Wilson, Secretary, New York.

DOM PEDRO, late emperor of Brazil, who is now at Lisbon, says he will issue no manifesto to the Brazilian people, but that if he is asked to return to that country he will do so. He announces that he will not accept the money offered him by the provisional government, but that he will accept whatever the laws of the country allow.

BRO. W. H. Sims writes that the Northwestern Wheel of Gibson county, Tenn., has erected a large roller flouring mill at Yorkville, costing \$7,000.

CONGRESSMEN and State legislators should remember that there are already too many laws upon the statute books, and that therefore no more should be added unless they are really necessary. Quality and not quantity should be the prime consideration in future legislation.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

witness an increase in membership and interest all along the line. The day has passed for isolated spasmodic effort among the workers to effect reforms and better their conditions. They are becoming thoroughly in earnest. They are coming to see that, aside from the material disadvantages and evil consequences arising from false and unjust economic systems, it is disgraceful in them to permit such systems to remain in operation while the power rests in their own hands to establish just systems. Like the farmer and his sons in the fable, they have been long waiting upon others to effect those reforms, but in vain. They are now determined to attend to it themselves, and hence there is hope that it will be done.

THE staff of THE ECONOMIST were pleased to see President L. L. Polk on his way home from St. Louis. The colonel is buoyant over the prospects of the Alliance, and will make his arrangements to conduct his office in Washington, the domicile of the national order. While tarrying here he received congratulations from a granddaughter at home in Raleigh, this new member of his family having arrived during his absence. It is intimated among the returned brethren that when the president gets home he will meet a rousing welcome from his neighbors and fellow citizens.

THE officers elected by the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union are as follows:

RAILWAYS;

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

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

NO. 31.

THE LONG AND SHORT HAUL REMEDY.

As far as legislation on the subject of railroad abuses has gone the sole protection for shippers who are subjected unfavorably to discriminations between competitive and non-competitive traffic, lies in measures such as are typified by the third and fourth sections of the interstate commerce law. The third section forbids unreasonable and unjust advantages as between localities, in common with other classes, interests, firms or companies, and places the burden of proof in showing that any adjustment of rates inflicts an unjust or unreasonable disadvantage upon the plaintiff. The fourth section adopts the presumption that the excess of the rate upon a short or intermediate haul over the longer haul which includes the less, is *prima facie* an unreasonable and unjust discrimination. It recognizes that there may be special cases in which such discriminations are justified, and, putting the burden of proof on the railroad that the especial and exceptional cases are of the kind that makes such an excess of the rate on the shorter haul a permissible one, permits the Interstate Commerce Commission to suspend the action of the law in such cases.

The third section, by its prohibition of unjust and undue advantages or disadvantages, as between either classes or localities, enacts an indisputable principle in the abstract; but its theory opens such a field of discussion as to what advantages are just and what are unjust, that its practical application has never yet succeeded in bringing out a formal rule by which the justice or injustice of rates between localities can be fixed. The fourth section, with its adoption of a limit to the extent of which local discrimination can be carried, in the enactment that the rate for the shorter haul shall never exceed that of the larger except in special cases and by express permission, is the one to which railroad opinion has most widely objected, and which, under the general term of "the long-and-short-haul clause," is the subject of the widest animadversion on the part of railroad writers and managers.

Mr. Alexander in his pamphlet upon "Railroad Practice" has charged this rule to the theoretical reformers, with whom he is obliged to differ. He says "the limit set by the theorists is the local rate charged to intermediate local point. If the through or competitive rate is reduced below that point, it becomes a case of the longer haul being done for the lower rate. No railroad practice has ever brought out more violent or indignat protest than this." As one of the

theorists, with whom Mr. Alexander differs, and whom he has especially criticized, it is permissible for me to state that Mr. Alexander, unintentionally of course, misrepresents both the paternity of the long-and-short-haul rule, and the violence of the criticism which I have felt to be adequate to this class of the subject. In "The Railways and the Republic" I endeavored to epitomize the material difference between the public character of discrimination between localities and that of discrimination between individuals, or preferential rates, as follows:

"Discriminations between localities are burdensome and dangerous; discriminations between individuals are corrupt and criminal." I have never felt that discriminations between localities warranted half the severity in their characterization that is called for where the deliberate operation of the railroad rates is to build up the wealth of the shipper, and to assign to others, as industrious and deserving, a struggling and hazardous business existence. In the preceding articles I have fully recognized the force of the influences which produce the discriminations that exist between localities. I have tried, at the same time, to set forth the dangers which that practice involves, both in producing an erroneous disposition of industry, a false location of production, and a waste of effort in the discharge of commercial services, and also in the ease with which discriminations between localities are made to work the same effects as those between individuals. But that the evil produced by the division of railroad traffic into non-competitive and competitive business calls forth the most violent or indignant protests, as Mr. Alexander avers, is not true with regard to any class which intelligently appreciate the criminality and demoralization that attend upon vital and persistent favoritism between individual shippers.

As to the fact that the long-and-short-haul rule is the limit fixed by the theorists, that may, of course, be correct or not, according to whom Mr. Alexander includes in that class; but it happens to be the fact that the theorists to whom Mr. Alexander devotes the greater share of his criticisms are not in any way responsible for the long-and-short-haul clause. Mr. Chas. Francis Adams, who from his original position as a theorist has developed into a full-fledged railroad president, in an address before the Commercial Club of Boston, a little more than a year ago, avowed the authorship of the measure which fixes the limit of reduction of through rates, at the highest local rates conceded within the line. Professor Hadley, who is one of the theorists whom Mr. Alexander quotes approvingly, says: "The short-haul principle is right enough in most cases. As a statement of what is generally best for the community, or as a general line of railroad policy, it is undeniably right. Apart from the temporary disturbance of business there would be no great objection to enforcing it by law, provided that law can be made to

reach the rival routes. If it can not you cripple one set of routes to the advantage of another."

The fact is that the long-and-short-haul provision of the inter-State commerce law, together with the prohibition of unreasonable advantages and disadvantages in the preceding section, was, like all other measures of legislation affecting conflicting interests, a compromise. It was the middle ground between the enactment of progressive rates in accordance with distance, which was rejected as extreme and impracticable, and the abandonment of the subject with a simple prohibition of unjust and unreasonable advantages, which was no less clearly recognized to be inadequate and perfunctory.

Whether the adoption of such a compromise was chargeable to the theorists or to the practical men may be open to discussion; but, as one of the latter class who has been especially referred to by Mr. Alexander, I may be permitted to say, that while I regard the compromise as the best that can be made, so long as the system of regulation confines itself to even prohibition of the abuses which grow out of a system that is left untouched in the methods of organization. But while defending the inter-State commerce law as the vital assertion of a legal determination to reform the railroad abuses it is necessary to state the objections to this section, both as presenting hardships to the railroad management, and as failing to afford that complete and permanent relief to the public which should be sought by legal reform.

The inter-State commerce law was an attempt to prohibit, or at least diminish, the abuses of the railroad system by adding the restraint of a statute to the constitutional and common law limitations that already existed without reforming the sources of the abuses themselves. So long as this policy is adhered to, and the attempt at statutory regulation is maintained, I believe that the long-and-short-haul provision is the best that can be done. It certainly has been incumbent upon all intelligent students of the railway question to defend that provision against the interested and not very truthful assaults upon it which have been made in all parts of the country. For instance, the assertion referred to in a previous article, to the effect that if the Pacific railroads of the United States reduced their through rates to compete with the Canadian Pacific they must reduce their local rates to the same rate per ton per mile, is one of the deliberate misrepresentations which has been industriously spread concerning that enactment.

In the same connection, the assertion of the commercial bodies of the Pacific coast that the long-and-short-haul clause had never operated to reduce the local rates, but always prevented the reduction of the through rates, involves an equal disregard of the facts. Ever since there has been any manifest determination on the part of the body entrusted with the enforcement of the law to require obedience to this clause, every reduction of through rates in the contest between the rival railroads in the Northwest has been

accompanied with a similar reduction of local rates. The fact is that experience proves, as Mr. Adams and Professor Hadley say, that this law is just as regards its application to general railway practice, and, so far as it has been observed since its enactment, its effect has been to lessen the extremities of railroad competition at the competitive points, and to afford to local traffic some measure of relief from the grotesque differences in rates which are presented by the examples of local discrimination that have been under discussion.

The legal plan of prohibiting such unreasonable and unjust advantages and disadvantages between localities, and placing the burden of proof as to the existence of such discrimination upon the complainant, and then adding the rule that to make the intermediate rates greater than the through is a presumption of unjust and undue discrimination, with the burden of proof that it is not so placed upon the railroad, is probably the best that can be done so long as the law confines itself to the policy of placing purely legal restraint upon abuses which grow out of and are inherent in the organization of the railroad system. But while defending the inter-State commerce law as the vital assertion of a legal determination to reform the railroad abuses it is necessary to state the objections to this section, both as presenting hardships to the railroad management, and as failing to afford that complete and permanent relief to the public which should be sought by legal reform.

First, in regard to the railroads, it is a hardship that in the exceptional cases where the cost of performing the service on the longer haul is actually less than on the shorter, they must first obtain the consent of the legal authorities before they can, if they desire, adjust their rates in due relation to the differences in the cost of service. Suppose that at Minneapolis, for instance, where the terminal expenses in the handling and loading of grain are reduced to a minimum, the actual cost of taking the grain from that city to New York is less than that of taking the same car of grain from a local point a hundred miles east of Minneapolis. A perfect system of regulation would enable the railroad to promptly recognize that difference in its rates; but if the present provision is enforced according to its letter and spirit, it requires the railroad to make a formal presentation of the case to the Interstate Commerce Commission, to obtain a hearing and finally a decision exempting that portion of its traffic from the operation of the long and short haul clause. The cases in which this may be the actual state of affairs are probably exceptional and in proportion to the vast aggregate of traffic, extremely rare; nevertheless the fact that they may, and in rare cases do, exist, brings the provision within the operation of the adage that "hard cases make bad laws."

Beyond that it is a hardship that the railroad managers, subjected as they are to al-

most irresistible influences in favor of radical reductions upon their competitive traffic, and of the maintenance of higher rates upon the non-competitive, should be forced to make the unpleasant choice between the disobedience to the law and the loss of business and revenue that threatens them if they observe it. In the discussion of this question I have tried to make clear the recognition that the great mass of local discriminations arise out of conditions which are such that the railroad officials discriminate in favor of competitive traffic, simply because they cannot help themselves. If they could maintain their rates at the competitive points to an even relation with those upon the non-competitive, they would be glad to do so; but the business is there, which they can obtain if they make a reduction, and cannot get otherwise. They may have the cars there ready to perform the service, and which must be hauled away empty, unless they take the traffic at the low rates. In their opinion, at least, whether it is well founded or not, the revenue from the business at the reduced rates, represents an addition to their net earnings. And the almost resistless force which impels the reduction must outweigh in the mind of an official who is devoted to the duty of obtaining all the net earnings possible for his corporation, the possible and, perhaps to him, unapparent injury to the local shippers who are subject to the discriminations they propose. So long as the system is left as it is, the choice which the law has, is either to subject the railroad officials to the dilemma between obeying the law, or rejecting, to give free course to the influences in favor of local discriminations; while on the other hand, there is the question whether the local shippers shall be left subject to these discriminations and their inevitable burdens. The law chooses the former branch of the dilemma, on the ground that the hardships produced by the nature of the system can be more justly borne by the representatives of the system than by the people who are subject to it. Nevertheless, it is only fair to recognize that the present remedy as formulated in the long-and-short-haul clause of the interstate commerce law leaves the railroad subjected to a certain degree of hardship, which ought not to arise under a perfectly constituted and regulated system.

With regard to the interests of the people it is also to be said that the mere prohibition of a greater rate upon the intermediate haul than upon the through business fails to reach a thorough prevention of local discriminations which is necessary for the full protection of the popular interest. It does so in respect to circumstances which may be divided under three heads, as follows:

First. The setting of a limit for a local rate, which is only the rate which may be made upon through traffic, fails to place any restraint upon the great mass of local discrimination which may fall below that line. To charge the farmers of Eastern Pennsyl-

vania as high rates, say from Lancaster to Philadelphia, for the transportation of their agricultural product as is charged from Kansas City to Philadelphia would be a local discrimination as extreme and unjust as to charge a higher rate than is made on the Kansas City freight from a point one hundred miles east of that city. A rate of twenty cents for a haul of one hundred miles as compared with one of twenty cents for a haul of fifteen hundred miles, involves a greater discrimination than a rate of twenty-five cents for fourteen hundred miles as compared to twenty for the fifteen hundred. Yet the law prohibits the latter and leaves the former without any redress.

Second. The provision which can only direct its prohibition against discrimination in favor of the longer haul and for the protection of the shorter one entirely fails to take into consideration the fact that discriminations of exactly as unjust character, though less radical in their superficial appearance, can be made in favor of the shorter haul and against the longer one. This is illustrated in the Pittsburgh cases, already referred to, where the competition was in favor of the intermediate point. This discrimination can play exactly the same part as one in favor of the longer haul in the work of befuddling the distribution of industry, taking away production from the point where it would find its best location, and burdening with unnecessary labor in transportation industries that, in the natural and legitimate distribution of industry, should be prosperous and expanded. The protection of the shorter haul naturally suggests itself from the example of discrimination in favor of through traffic which are the most frequent; but the necessity of protecting the longer haul against unjust discrimination is just as inherent in the nature of the question, and the neglect of the fourth section of the inter-State commerce to provide an enactment which will work that protection is one of its vitally weak points.

Third. The necessity of a merely legal regulation of the evil to place the decision as to what are legitimate discriminations and what are unjust and illegal exactions, within the jurisdiction of a human and therefore fallible tribunal. In every question that arises under the jurisdiction of the inter-State law it must be determined by some one, whether the local rates are imposing an unreasonable and excessive profit or whether the through rate yields a profit of some sort to the railroad that could not otherwise be obtained. In the decision a large number of conflicting and interested influences may have an effect. There is first the influence and desire of the railroad corporation that it shall be permitted to conduct its business without regard to the disfavored locality. There might be the influence and representations of the locality which obtains the benefit of the discrimination on the low through rate; and, finally, there is the influence and representation of the complainants against the

rate which may or may not inflict an unjust disadvantage on them. All these influences must be more or less felt. It may be that such questions will generally be settled by natural and legitimate motives, but it may also be the fact that the interested parties will be enabled to use some influence upon the tribunal that decides the matter, so as to interfere with or prevent a thoroughly impartial and independent decision. No better illustration of the imperfection of human tribunals in dealing with the operation of natural laws can exist than is presented by the fact that, although the present inter-State commerce commission is as carefully selected a body as could be expected under political influence, it was a year after the passage of the inter-State commerce law before that body went to the length of declaring that the long-and-short-haul clause must be enforced. It is now over two years and a half that the law has been legally in force, while during nearly every month of that period some railroad in some part of the country has been violating this provision, without any attempt on the part of the body charged to the enforcement to bring it to severer punishment than the formal declaration of that body that the law must be enforced. The trouble with the enactment in the first place is that the establishment of rates is subject to the decision of railway magnates. It may be an improvement to transfer that decision in the premises from the railway managers to a body representing the Government and the people. Nevertheless it falls short of that perfect adjustment of influences which will regulate rates in accordance with natural conditions and the necessities of production to have the decision rest anywhere in a body of human and political origin, which should be subject only to the operation of great and infallible forces.

How those forces shall be brought to bear and in what way their operation shall be made perfect and impartial is a subject which will require the widest examination and the most thorough discussion. It is only the first step that has been taken when we recognize the evil, and seek to place on it the simple restraint of such legislation as the long-and-short-haul clause. To arrive at a complete

solution of the problem we must seek the causes which give rise to such inequalities and study the methods of organization in order to see how the injustice may be dug up by the roots. While seeking such a solution we must recognize the good that this provision of the inter-State commerce law yields in operation, somewhat restricted it is true, but still exerting its influence. The causes which produce local discriminations are still at work; but we have commenced the effort to restrain their injurious effects, and that beginning will lead to their final abolition.

As a step in the direction of a remedy and a declaration of the legislative intention to do all within the power of government to remedy the evil, the popular interest can support the provision of the inter-State commerce law against discrimination as the best that can be done at present and still look forward with hope and determination to the development of a complete reform which will make partial and half-way measures unnecessary, and will find in the complete restoration of normal influences the perfect solution of the entire problem.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

THE SANITARY VALUE OF LIGHT.

Some people go to extremes about everything; they are extremes or they are nothing. With such people the fashion's now on, to write against porches to country houses, on the ground that they exclude light and thereby impair the vigor and health of the occupants. These same persons would have only a few trees near the house, or better they say, none. This is mere folly for there is no difficulty in having the comfort and protection of both shade trees and porches about a country home without excluding the light to any injurious extent. There are no two things which add more to the comfort and the beauty of a country home than shade and ornamental trees and porches. It requires only very small skill to so arrange them as to temper the fierce heat of the midsummer sun and the not less fierce light at high noon of a long summer's day, and thereby to contribute no little to the comfort and health of the occupants and the beauty and attractiveness of the home. We hold that the hygienic value of such elevating pleasure as the contemplation of beauty itself affords is not small. It is undeniable that the sanitary value of the direct rays of the sun is important, but it is not necessary that even a living room should be constantly exposed to the full glare of the sun. Strong light is unfavorable to the whole class of low organisms to which all disease producing germs belong; a strong light and a full supply of oxygen will be fatal to the greater number of them. A place to which sunlight has free access is almost of necessity a place capable of free circulation of fresh air. Hence, a house well lighted is generally well ventilated, and a house well lighted and ventilated is apt to be clean and dry, all of which means a healthy house. The prime conditions of the propagation of disease are not to be found there, to wit: dampness, darkness, and dirt; three D's, and the fourth D is death. In these three D's pestilence in every form revels and rejoices. It is an old saying, and true as old, that pestilence walketh in darkness while famine wasteth at noon-day. Porches, and ample porches; porches all around; porches to both stories, in the country we mean, have a tendency to bring the members of the family out into the light and air when otherwise they would be shut within doors; this is especially true of the ladies and children of the household, for whom there is necessity of special arrangements to get them out of doors for exercise and fresh air and a sun bath, not under glass, but out of doors. It is not in the country but in town that the modern style of building is on the ground of the exclusion of light and air thoroughly objectionable. This architectural craze, called the Queen Anne style, is more properly an architectural idiocy than an architectural craze. An agony of ludicrous outside display, run mad without method or meaning, is piled on. The low, narrow little apertures for windows are overshadowed by huge outre mouldings and cornice, and hidden behind dismal towers and under vast eaves are yet further darkened, and made still more useless and ridiculous by stained glass of more colors and louder colors than Joseph's coat. Ugly without, cheerless within is your Queen Anne house. In the caddies and cellars and closets and attics are

choice dark corners for hiding dirt. All the air that gets into them comes through dark, damp mouldy cellars, and there copiously fed by ground air is pulled into the house through furnaces and stoves in which, in contact with incandescent stoves, a large part of the moisture is burnt out and it is charged with unwholesome gases of combustion; and is then driven by a sort of stuffing-box arrangement into sleeping rooms. It is wonderful what human beings can bear and not perish. People living in such abodes under such conditions are some of the writers who would have us cut down our grand old shade and ornamental trees from about our country homes and tear away the porches, the most comfortable part of our houses during a large part of the year. In such a suggestion there is an abundant lack of good sense. A well-designed and constructed porch to a country house does not, we repeat it, exclude the light, but does keep the house dry and cool in summer and dry and warm and clean in winter, and does get the ladies and children, and even the invalids of the family, out of doors, when otherwise they would be shut up within. The point against shade trees and porches for country homes is not well taken; but let us hear whether anything can be said in favor of your Queen Anne houses with their exuberant ornamentation and their intestine gloom, their stained glass and their bad air. It is not to be denied that there are country places about which there are greatly too many trees, and too near the house, and porches the eaves of which come down so low as to obscure half the windows, all of which is the fault of injudicious planning and building and planting. If one has not the information, nor the skill, nor the taste to do these things as they should be done, he can consult some one who has, and he ought to do it.

PROTECTION FOR FARM PRODUCTS.

Many campaigners, both speakers and writers, have urged that the principles of protection be applied for the benefit of agriculture to the fullest extent. No one thinks of holding a stump speaker responsible for his say-so. But now we have the same thing recommended in the same vague way by the Secretary of Agriculture, and lastly by the President. It is high time that some of these distinguished gentlemen should leave off their glittering generalities and tell us plainly which are the products of agriculture capable of "protection." Not hog products. We export one hundred million worth of them, over and above what the home market can take "unprotected." Not dairy products. We have to send abroad to find sale for twenty millions' worth of dairy products. Not wheat, for a similar reason. Not corn. Corn is now being used for fuel in parts of this country whence comes the commercial supply. Not cotton nor tobacco. We call upon these distinguished gentlemen to specify their meaning. Our situation is much too serious for meaningless words. We call upon the Secretary of Agriculture to say how we are to get the benefit of protection. Do you say wool and sugar? Everybody wears wool and everybody eats sugar, and it is certainly much more than doubtful whether it is practicable to increase the value of the home product in the home market by a high tariff. It need not be supposed that we are going to be fed with words nor satisfied with vague generalities. Gentlemen who ask our political support must learn to deal plainly and squarely with us. Those claiming to be statesmen and expecting us to rely on their leadership must lead. Don't

Job's possessions are named by Moses; cattle, camels, asses and sheep, but no horses. Nor was the rich country of South Arabia, where the Queen of Sheba had her domain, the home at any time, certainly not the aboriginal home of the Arabian horse. Solomon had four thousand stables and forty thousand horses, mostly imported from Egypt direct; some of them indirectly through Syria and North Arabia. At this day the nomadic princes of the desert country, who mainly possess the celebrated breed of Arabian horses, trace their pedigrees to the stables of Solomon, and not to the war-horse of Job, the man of Uz, who never had a horse among his possessions, and so far as the narrative goes was perhaps never in battle.

The Arabian horse is merely a pony, certainly a most beautiful creature, but apparently less enduring than our southern mustangs and far less valuable than other oriental breeds, especially the Barbs and Turks, which enter almost to the exclusion of the Arabians into the composition of the English race-horse, the only horse of history which seems fully worthy of the magnificent apostrophe of Moses, in the book of Job; for it is remembered the famous Godolphin Arabian of the English stud books, was not an Arabian, but unquestionably a Barb.

The writer looks upon the book of Job as a grand and inspired poem containing many of the noblest, the most eloquent and moving passages in the Old Testament scriptures, but he is not able to identify "Job's war horse," "an Arabian doubtless from Sheba, and whose progenitors were not improbably in the Queen's stables."

At the present day the pure Arabian horse would not do at all for cavalry, nor for any modern purposes of general utility. For a small gentleman, or more especially for a lady, no saddle horse bears any comparison with the pure Arabian. Some years ago the writer examined the famous Arabian stallion Icopard, then the property of the late General Grant, and thought him at that time the most perfectly and beautifully formed animal he had ever seen. A handsome lady appropriately habited and mounted on a gelding or filly of such a form would be to a certain limited extent capable of replacing each other. A similar fact appears to be true of the diadic alkali metals, magnesium and calcium. Monads and diads do not appear capable of virtual replacement. The effect of this principle is that crops grown on a soil rich in soda and poor in potash will rise above the normal in potash and sink below it in soda, especially in their early life and as to their vegetative parts. The final effect therefore of an application of salt, say to a wheat or corn or grass crop, is an economy of potash. Agricultural salt may, in this view of the case, be expected to pay, if anywhere, on soils naturally somewhat deficient in potash. We think practice tends to the confirmation of this theoretical conclusion. We have not seen much effect from agricultural salt on granitic soils or clayey loams.

THE WEATHER BUREAU.

It is not our purpose to discuss the political aspects of the annual message of the President. In that he recommends the transfer of the Weather Bureau to the Department of Agriculture we endorse him. The creation of a Department of Agriculture and the transfer of the Weather Bureau to that Department are matters in favor of which the present writer has written and spoken much, being one of the original advocates of those measures, believing always that measures having so much to recommend them would finally prevail. In the full equipment of the new Department for effective work not only the agriculturists but all the people of the country are greatly interested, and we think the agricultural press ought to exert all its influence in this behalf irrespective of party. It is not merely the transfer of the Weather Bureau to a civil department, necessary as

we have in former articles shown that to be for the sake of efficiency, but more especially in the prompt and far-reaching distribution of the forecasts among rural populations. The States ought now to organize subsidiary methods of distribution. It will be worth while for organized farmers to watch the course of Congress in this matter, and let their Representatives understand that they are on the watch. This irrespective of party. We the people have suffered and borne enough from partisan rage in the transaction of public business.

The Missouri Labor Commissioner has found in his investigation where many employers in that State pay their men in checks maturing in ten years after date. Of course the workingmen can not wait for their money until the checks mature, because, if for no other reason, according to our present rapid rate of national progress many of them will long before that time quietly and comfortably occupy paupers' graves. They must have the checks cashed no matter how heavy the discount. Here is where the profit and loss account comes in—the profit for the employer and the loss for the laborer. A pay day every ten years is a long and brilliant advance, beyond all precedent in this direction. No doubt the Missouri employers were only in their crude fashion attempting to provide a substitute for the circulating medium which the Government fails to provide. The Government, however, as a manufacturer of money is only interested in furnishing wholesale money dealers with a sufficient stock; with the needs of the daily users it is not concerned. When the demands of the wholesale dealers in money are supplied it is fully satisfied that its whole duty is done. When the safes of the wholesale dealers are well filled the Government knows that there is plenty of money in the country, even though pay day comes but once in a quarter of a century in the mines and woods of Missouri; even though checks, due-bills, store orders, notes, and other devices have to be resorted to in order that some business may be carried out; even though recording mortgages keeps the county clerks continually at work and foreclosing them keeps the sheriff constantly on duty.

At the last session of the Missouri legislature an anti-trust law was passed providing, among other things, that all incorporated companies created or authorized under the laws of the State must file with the department of state an affidavit showing non-connection with any trust, pool or combination. In consequence of their failure to comply with the law the Secretary of State has declared the charters of over 600 Missouri corporations revoked, and notified over 200 of the foreign corporations doing business in the State and failing to comply with the law that at the expiration of 30 days suits will be entered against them in the courts. Some of the corporations propose to resist the law and take their case to the United States courts.

Hast thou given mettle to the horse,
And clothed his neck with fire?
Dost thou command him to spring like a grass-hopper?

The grandeur of his neighing is terror;
With his feet he beats the ground
Rejoicing in his strength,
And goes forth to meet the embattled foe.
The fearful sight he scorns and trembles not,
Nor from the sword doth he draw back.

Above him rattle the quiver, the glittering spear,
and the arrow;

Under him trembles the earth, yet scarcely he touches it;

He doubts if it be the sound of a trumpet he heareth,

But when it becomes more distinct then he exults,
And from afar pants for the battle;

The word of command, and the war cry.

How does anybody call this a description of Job's war horse, and infer that his progenitors were in the stables of the Queen of Sheba? There is no reason to think that Moses had ever seen a cavalry combat with the cabbeans, or a soldier or troop of that nation mounted. It is by no means certain that the Queen of Sheba of that date had a cavalry; more likely they had a camelry. Egypt, says Mr. Skinner, was a great horse market even before horses were known in Arabia, and before the days of Solomon they were rare among the Hebrews, when their honors, the judges and Princes of Israel, were accustomed to ride on mules and asses. It is far more likely that Moses was made familiar with the horse in Egypt, where they were in great numbers when as yet by all accounts there were none in Arabia.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

THE REFORM PRESS.

The Discussion of Current Topics in the Organized States.

The Corn Hill (Tex.) Chronicle says:

It is said to be a settled fact that the Farmers Alliance and Knights of Labor will unite and work together. Now look out for music in the air.

The Alabama (Montgomery) Baptist contributes the following gem:

Knowledge alone is not sufficient. It is, indeed, power; but if unsanctified, power for evil. Knowledge did not teach Charlemagne to sacrifice his own desires to the happiness of any living creature. It did not make Augustus respect the life of Cicero, nor the pupil of Aristotle to restrain his passions. If undirected by virtue, knowledge is but the servant of vice, and tends only to evil.

This compiler of comment always thought those other fellows knew better but were controlled in their conduct by a spirit of cussedness.

The St. Louis Journal of Agriculture gives the following as the status of the barbed-wire trust:

The fact is just made public that the barbed-wire trust has just completed its organization. It is incorporated under the laws of Illinois, with a capital of twelve million dollars. This new corporation is composed of all the barbed-wire manufacturers, and though it does not call itself a trust, will smell as bad as it possibly can under that name. In other words it is still a trust, with all the functions of a trust, and is only more powerful because it has a legal corporate existence. It is evident that the suggestion of the Journal will have to be adopted, put a limit to the capital stock of incorporated companies and put on a graded income tax.

The Economist (Mt. Pleasant, Iowa) notes the following swindling scheme which is being practiced on farmers:

Another swindling scheme is being worked on the farmer in this way: A sharper gives the farmer a machine for tying shocks, for which the farmer signs a receipt, the large letter of which shows one machine free, and the small letters beneath prove to be an order for one gross and a promise to pay \$235. The agreement is discounted at the first bank, and nothing remains for the victim to do but pay it.

The Wheel (Batesville, Ark.) says:

When the general people see and appreciate the necessity for action we have no fear but that they will act. It is only the uninformed who refuse to act only as they are acted upon.

The Tabette County (Kan.) Statesman has this:

There were four hundred and fourteen more business failures this year than at this time last year. This does not include farmers who sold out under foreclosure by thousands every month. But there have been no failures of national banks. The change of drivers which the people voted for does not seem to keep the old wagon out of the mud.

The State Alliance Tocsin (Locksburg, Ark.) states an important truth:

There should be no quibbling between labor interests. There must be unity of action all along the line if good is accomplished. Monopoly stands together, and allows nothing to divide its ranks when it seeks to concoct schemes of oppression. So it must be with labor. Liberty, justice and equality is what we seek, and unity only can bring it.

Labor's Tribune—(Carthage, Mo.) is becoming bellicose:

While Brazil has been drifting toward a republic, the United States has been drifting toward a monarchy. However, we hope we have not, as yet, reached the point where the plutocratic conspirators emboldened by the example in Brazil, will, by a *coup d'état*, declare this government is a monarchy. * * * However, if it must come let it be soon, as we desire taking a hand in whipping hell out of the traitorous scoundrels who are deliberately conspiring for the overthrow of this republic, and if it is too long delayed we may be too old to go out with the boys again.

This from the Quitman (Ga.) Press is well worthy of consideration:

The sub-Alliances all over the State are adopting cotton bagging for 1890. Now insist on corn, oats, guano and salt being put in the same cloth.

The Des Moines (Iowa) Tribune says:

Drown with the money trusts, and then will follow the railroad, sugar, beef, oil, and other trusts. Abundant money will open the door of prosperity,

and liberty, and yet neither old party in Iowa has one word to say against the national bank act, the useless hoard in the United States Treasury, the free loans to the banks, etc., and why? Because both parties are equally guilty of these crimes against humanity. Since the Cleveland administration has demonstrated that Democracy and Republicanism mean the same thing financially, not word can be smuggled into the Democratic platforms in favor of financial justice.

The National Democrat suggests the following remedy for the trust affliction; but would not a more heroic treatment be much better?

The proper way to treat "Trusts" is to compel them by law to reveal their action, just as managers of banks, insurance companies and other financial organizations, are forced to make public statements of the amount of money received and disbursed.

The Labor Review (Gladebrook, Iowa) is not afraid to state facts:

The selection of one hundred and sixty towns New Hampshire report 868 deserted farms with good buildings upon them. Maine, Connecticut, and Massachusetts each have large tracts of abandoned land. Who ever heard of such a state of affairs until the Government of the United States was converted to the national banking system—a system of legalized robbery—a system which reduces the price of products below the cost of production and the price of farms so low that they are deserted with all of their valuable improvements?

The Detroit (Mich.) Journal has this:

The silver mine owners are holding a convention in Denver in favor of the unlimited coinage of silver. Now let the wheat producers meet and demand that the Government shall take all their wheat and store it for them in Washington. Let the coal mine owners demand that the Government shall build enormous bins in Washington and take and pay for all the coal they can mine.

The Western Farm and Home (Port Huron, Mich.) asks the following question:

While middlemen are making fortunes handling the products of the farms, and manufacturers are encouraged by the continuation of war tariffs to exact large profits from the consumer either by reason of trusts or other combinations, the wealth producing class of the country, and by the way the majority of the whole, is compelled to dispose of the results of their labor at less than cost and as a result are growing poorer, while the country at large is growing richer. What are you going to do about it?

HERE is a contrast truly. Read it carefully. Think of it conscientiously. Are you in any way responsible for that awful contrast? Here is one picture. A New York paper, detailing the rules of a livery stable in that city where the horses of many wealthy men are kept, says:

There is a general uprising through the Western and Southern States demanding free coinage of silver. There is no good reason why the coinage of silver should not be free and coequal with gold; but if accomplished the benefits will be very slight so long as the gold basis conspiracy continues to make silver redeemable in gold. Thisfeat of financial jugglery has been carried on by a contraction of the volume of money in circulation.

Here is another picture. A Kansas City paper, referring to the investigation of the State Labor Commissioner Merriwether into the condition of labor in that State, says:

The demand of the silver-producing States is the revelation of the same selfish class interest that creates protection sentiment. They simply want silver protected, enhanced by the action of the Government. So far as it is to the interest of the people to use silver as the basis of commercial transactions the Government should be in sympathy with their demands and no further. The stability of our monetary system should not be imperiled merely to enhance the product of two or three Western States, as the general prosperity of the country is being endangered by legislation in the interest of manufacturers.

When horses are housed in luxury, and human beings hounded to death by overwork and starvation, it is time to stop the procession for a few moment's serious reflection.

One of the great curses our town has to endure is the local political boss. His stock in trade consists in bunning the town, swilling free whisky, and abusing the Farmers and Laborers Union. His nose is his flag; its color denotes his politics. *Almanac.*

cumulation by legitimate means, or, in fact, by any means short of a system of plunder that would shame a brigand. Buying, selling, transporting, storing and grading wheat have been so many channels upon which pirates have floated their schemes of plunder; and the aggregated distress and deprivations of thousands of wheat growers is represented in the enormous fortunes possessed by scores of wheat handlers. If the story is ever truthfully told it will make angels weep, and will go far toward making devils of some men. This is no idle talk, but the solemn truth, which impartial history will some day coldly record.

The Times (Concord, N. C.) gives the following, which is but an outline sketch of the picture we will be compelled to look upon in the near future unless systems and conditions are materially changed. The fate of these thirty-five farmers is but an illustration of what is in store for the entire mass of farmers unless they demand and receive prompt and effective relief:

Thirty-five white farmers left Johnston county last week for Arkansas. The failure of their crops causes their departure from this State. They have owned farms, but go to the Southwest as laborers. This is a pitiful state of affairs.

The earnestness of the Alliance brethren of Georgia is evidenced in the following item from the *Oktibbeha (Miss.) Citizen:*

The Alliance men of Franklin, Habersham and Rabun counties, Ga., have formed a joint stock company for the purpose of buying goods and selling produce for the members of the Alliance. Shares are placed at \$5 each, and the capital stock is to be at least \$15,000. Only members of the Alliance can be shareholders. This stock company is to be worked through the Alliance exchange of Georgia.

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No man shall speak loud to any of these horses, or in the stable where they are. Horses of good blood are nervous, and loud, excited conversation is felt by every horse who hears it, and keeps them all nervous and uneasy. No man shall use profane language in the hearing of the horses.

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AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN.

The St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer-Press, referring to the proceedings of the recent silver convention, or congress, held at St. Louis, says:

Thus the silver congress opens, as usual, with the familiar old talk of the "crime of demonetizing silver" when every honest and intelligent man knows that the retirement of the silver coinage was accomplished deliberately and without injury to any human being or the impairment of any contract.

Why of course every honest man in the penitentiary and every intelligent inmate of the idiot asylum knows that: Every one of them also knows, or at least has just as much grounds for knowing, that Benedict Arnold was the first President of the United States and that Boulanger is now at the head of the French republic. Why, of course. Who could not be a historian if the privilege of furnishing the facts to order be permitted.

"The retirement of the silver coinage was accomplished deliberately," says the historian of the Pioneer-Press. So it was. So was the panic of Black Friday brought about deliberately. But the promoters of the Black Friday panic did not go around and notify the public of their deliberations. They made no announcements in the press in regard to their little plot; they preferred to give the business world a surprise. The plot to have silver demonetized was no doubt deliberately considered in the same secret manner.

But it was not deliberated in Congress. The people did not ask nor desire its demonetization. There was no such proposition introduced or considered in Congress, and the great majority of the Congressmen and Senators who voted upon the mint bill, as it was called, were utterly ignorant of the fact that by a fraudulent trick the bill was so worded as to demonetize the silver dollar.

Senator Stewart was in the Senate at the time, and he says in reference to the transaction:

I did not know that any such scheme was contemplated. There was no discussion in the Senate; not a word, not a suggestion in the Senate that the silver dollar was to be demonetized. There is nothing in the records of the Senate to show how that dollar got out.

James A. Garfield, afterward President, was a member of the House of Representatives when silver was demonetized. In a speech delivered in 1877 he declared that he did not know that the bill would demonetize silver. Of its passage he said:

Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to say so, but it is the truth that I never read the bill. I took it upon the faith of a prominent Democrat and a prominent Republican. There was no call for the yeas and nays, and nobody opposed the bill that I know of.

Such is the deliberate manner in which silver was demonetized; a manner on a moral level with the methods of the street "fakir." That it was done "without injury to any human being or the impairment of any contract" is just as truthful. Perhaps the Pioneer-Press believes that the panic of 1873 injured no human being; the hundreds of thousands reduced to poverty and thrown upon the world homeless and helpless by that law-created commercial crisis did not think so. It impaired all contracts, and to the loss

of the debtors. It took from debtors the option of paying in silver or gold; it made gold the unit of value and all debts practically payable in that dear and scarce metal; in effect it increased the burden of every debtor and the wealth of every creditor.

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

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The History of

The Agricultural Wheel and Farmers Alliance,
AND

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The great necessity of the times is education. It is our only hope. It is the beacon light of success. We must not only educate but we must educate properly. The people fight the bagging trust and the twin trust because they see plainly the iniquity of the system. There are other trusts in existence more insidious in their nature, and a thousand times more dangerous to the Republic, that are causing but little alarm. Why is this? It is want of education. The money trust is the giant of trusts. From its abundant resources all other trusts draw their sustenance. The machinations of this giant of giants are scarcely known. If you would know the diabolical schemes which this combination, more powerful than Congress, have practiced to rob the people, read Morgan's new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and The Impending Revolution." No book of this character ever written has treated of as many subjects in so masterly a manner. It covers the entire ground of the struggle between labor and corporate capital, and discusses fully the great issues that must determine our destiny as a people and as a nation. It has met the hearty approval and endorsement of the principal officers of the Wheel and Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union. The following testimonials are evidence of the high character of the work:

DUBLIN, TEX., September 3, 1889.
BRO. MORGAN: After critical examination of your new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and The Impending Revolution," I find it to be a work of vital importance to every reformer, and one that should be read by every American citizen. The subjects on which it treats are the questions which affect the industries of the nation and cause the depressed condition of labor. It is a wonderful compilation of facts, sustained by the most eminent authorities. It is one of the best educators within the reach of the people; and it has my hearty approval.

Yours fraternally, EVAN JONES, Pres. Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

OZONE, ARK., September

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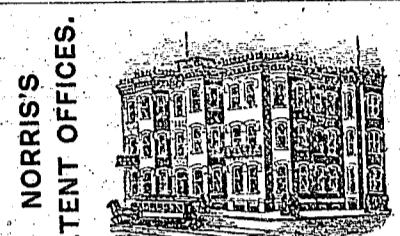
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The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

{ SINGLE COPY
FIVE CENTS

NO. 14.

WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 21, 1889.

SILVER COINAGE.

"We demand the free, unlimited coinage of silver" said the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union at the St. Louis convention. It is upon that line we propose to make the fight so far as the silver question is concerned. The people demand it, and in the end the people will have it. We enter this contest as a plain matter of duty, neither knowing nor caring who are the silver or anti-silver parties. There is a principle involved in this controversy which we propose to champion to the best of our ability. Silver was demonetized in 1873 by a legislative trick, for the purpose of reducing the volume of money, and thereby increasing the value of gold and cheapening the price of wheat, cotton and all other products of labor. Various other excuses are given, but that is the true reason. We claim the unit of money is silver, made so by the law of 1792, and was never changed by fair, open-handed legislation. The same fraudulent measure that demonetized silver changed the unit of money from 37 1/4 grains of silver to 23.22 grains of gold. Men have stood up in the halls of Congress and denounced it as a fraud and pointed out the man who stands sponsor for the act, and yet so far nothing has been done. This act was passed upon the word of one single Senator, and without being printed or debated. President Grant, who signed the bill, did not know it demonetized the silver dollar. If this act continues in force until the bonds are paid it will take the enormous amount of 33,463,541 pounds of silver more to pay our national debt than it would had the act never been passed.

These hopes have been more than realized. Not only has a practical consolidation been effected between the great grain-growing States of the North and the cotton-growing States of the South, but a safe, conservative and efficient plan of confederation with the Knights of Labor has been agreed upon, thus making the order the most powerful in the world to-day. But the accession to the mere numerical strength of the membership is not the only result of the St. Louis session upon which the order is to be congratulated. The formulation of plans and the enunciation of principles leave nothing to be desired by those who have been anxious for weapons with which to fight. The ECONOMIST has from its first number been devoted to the discussion of the principles involved in the reforms necessary, but has never offered a single remedy, believing it best to await the action of this important meeting, and then inspect and analyze the remedy there offered by the combined wisdom of the chosen delegates of the great order. The remedy has been agreed upon and grandly offered. It is a true remedy, fully adequate to destroy the root of the noxious tree that is shading agricultural and labor interests until they have lost the hue of health. It is a practical remedy, and one that is safe and conservative. It is a remedy calculated to relieve suffering humanity, and is therefore worthy of an important place in the petition of Christian people to the throne of grace. It is a remedy so grand, so sublime, so broad, so deep, and so far reaching, that it will take years of newspaper discussion to begin to show the benefits and beauties that belong to it. The ECONOMIST steps squarely on the platform, and is ready to defend every

principle expressed, but does not expect to be able to develop a conception of all the beneficent effects of this meeting in less than two years of constant weekly editorials, and the readers may rest assured that they will be in no sense of the word dry or uninteresting. The different addresses, committee reports, and laws enacted will each in turn be taken up and reviewed carefully. There are three prominent and important features of the session that are now the most visible:

1. The consolidation.
2. The confederation.
3. The declarations of principles.

Consolidation between the National Farmers Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union of America was confidently expected by nearly all the delegates when the body convened, but it proved, after a very careful and prolonged consideration of the subject by a joint committee from both bodies, to be impossible to entirely complete such consolidation without referring back the constitution for ratification to some of the States, as neither Minnesota nor Iowa had authority to act. The disposition and sentiment expressed on the part of all the delegates in both bodies, without a single exception, were heartily in favor of consolidation into an organic union, and a basis was agreed upon by the adoption of the constitution by both bodies, after which Kansas, Dakota, Illinois, and Wisconsin, having full authority, came into the union, and Nebraska, Iowa and Minnesota simply wait for ratification by their respective State bodies, some of which convene early in the coming year.

Confederation with the Knights of Labor seemed to be a spontaneous solution of the question as to the relations between the two orders, and was readily acceded to by both. Provision was made for two of the executive board to act as the legislative committee, and the line of demands to be made upon Congress is to be agreed upon by the joint legislative committee of both orders.

The declarations of principles expressed in the various addresses and the different committee reports will be found, upon a careful perusal, to confirm the oft-repeated statement that farmers are waking up to a realization of the situation. The hope of the perpetuation of American liberty lies in the ability of the American people to carry out the doctrine enunciated in one of the committee reports, "By emancipating the producer from the power of money to oppress." Let the watchword again be LIBERTY.

FARMERS don't go into bankruptcy; they just lose their homes and become tenants of those who make farming pay by not farming on the platform, and is ready to defend every

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Annual Session of the Farmers and Laborers Union.

FIRST DAY.

St. Louis, Mo., December 3, 1889.

Delegates assembled at Entertainment Hall, Exposition building at 10 o'clock, a. m., and listened to speeches of welcome made by Mayor Noonan and Governor Francis of Missouri, and responses by J. H. McDowell of Tennessee and A. J. Streeter of Illinois. Convention then adjourned to 1:30 P. M. The Farmers and Laborers Union of America met at 1:30 P. M., President Evan Jones presiding. Prayer by chaplain J. D. Satterwhite of Missouri. The following officers were appointed: Chaplain, J. D. Satterwhite, of Missouri; Steward, R. W. Tucker, of Tennessee; Assistant Stewards, C. J. Higgins, Alabama; W. J. Talbert, South Carolina, and D. Ried Parker, North Carolina; Doorkeeper, J. H. Turner, Georgia; Assistant Doorkeepers, J. M. Ramsey, Kentucky; Sergeant-at-arms, G. A. Gowen, Tennessee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The following are the delegates with their post office address:

ALABAMA.
J. H. Harris, Oakbowery, R. F. Kolb, Montgomery;
C. J. Higgins, Logan, S. M. Adams, Randolph,
T. J. Carlisle, Brundidge, H. D. Lane, Athens.

ARKANSAS.
L. H. Moore, Alston, E. F. Stackhouse, Little Rock;
John W. Lybrand, Grapevine, Pres. State Alliance;
N. E. Chambers, Van Buren, I. P. Langley, Bee Bee;
Daniel Morgan, Magnolia, W. S. Morgan, Hardy;
John A. Ansley, Prescott, Isaac McCracken, Ozone, V.
Pres. F. & L. Union.

GEORGIA.
L. F. Livingston, Cora, J. W. Hogan, Valdosta,
Felix Corpur, Atlanta, J. H. Turner, Lagrange;
W. J. Northen, Sparta.

FLORIDA.
Robt F. Rogers, Live Oak, Oswald Wilson, New York,
Pres. State Alliance, State Bus. Agent;
A. S. Mann, Jacksonville, H. C. Randall, Purcell.

INDIAN TERRITORY.
R. C. Betty, Dougherty.

KANSAS.
R. F. Peck, Shoals.

KENTUCKY.
A. E. Dickinson, Meriden, S. J. Atkins, Ruston,
B. H. Clover, Cainbridge, John S. McKinley, Wichita;
Van B. Prather, Columbus.

Louisiana.
H. C. Brown, Clinton, S. B. Penn, Slater,
S. B. Erwin, Clinton, J. E. Quicksall, Ezell,
W. T. Winn, Fulton, B. F. Davis, Ezell,
W. W. Gill, Olmstead, G. W. Comer, Peach Orchard,
W. R. Browder, Olmstead.

MISSOURI.
J. A. Tets, Ruston, J. D. Hammoud, Bastrop,
Daniel Morgan, T. A. Clayton, New Orleans, State Business Agent,
T. J. Guice, J. D. Hammoud.

NEBRASKA.
H. W. Hickman, Puxico, D. F. Eskew,
J. W. Rodgers, St. Louis, 713 Marcus W. Wood, Chairman
Olive street, State Sec., Trade Committee,
Thomas Day, Geo. A. Handley, Belton,
S. F. Boyden, Neosho, W. A. Taylor, Versailles, Box
Geo. W. Register, Poplar Bluff, F. L. Hogard, Belton.

MARYLAND.
N. A. Dunning, Washington, Harry Tracy, Washington, D. C.

MISSISSIPPI.
R. C. Patty, Macon, Frank Burkett, Okolona,
H. F. Simfall, Vicksburg, F. M. Blount, Highland,
J. H. Beeman, Ely, A. M. Street, Boonville.

NORTH CAROLINA.
Elias Carr, Old Sparta, Pres. A. J. Dalby, Oxford, Agent
State Alliance, A. B. Alexander, Charlotte, W. A. Graham, Macpelah,
L. L. Polk, Raleigh, State Sec., A. H. Worth, Raleigh, Bus.
E. A. Moye, Greenville, Mem. Agent. North Carolina.
Jury Com.

NEBRASKA.
J. D. Hatfield, Clinton.

OKLAHOMA.
W. H. Barton, Guthrie.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
W. J. Talbert, Holmes, Sec. J. W. Reid, Reidville, Sec.
turer, D. K. Norris, Hickory Flat, State Alliance and member
T. P. Mitchell, Mem. State Ex. Nat'l Com. on Secret Work.

TEXAS.
President Jones delivered his annual address:

TENNESSEE.
J. B. Buchanan, Murfreesboro, J. F. Tillman, Palmetto,
R. W. Tucker, Nashville, B. H. Hord, Nashville,
J. R. Miles, Rafton Station, E. B. Wade, Murfreesboro,
J. H. McDowell, Nashville, A. E. Gardner, Dresden,
Editor Toiler.

TEXAS.
B. J. Kendrick, Waco, H. S. P. Ashby, Smithfield,
C. M. Wilcox, Waco, T. J. Anderson, Paris,
E. B. Warren, Weatherford.

VIRGINIA.
Robt Beverly, The Plains, G. H. Chrisman, Chrisman,
Mann Page, Brandon.

ROLL OF STATES AND TERRITORIES.

Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Nebraska, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, Louisiana, Virginia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Indian Territory.

Miscellaneous Committees:

Auditing—J. H. Beeman (chairman), J. B. Reid, R. W. McKee, Elias Carr, I. P. Langley.
On Legislative Demands—S. B. Erwin, U. S. Hall, F. M. Blunt, B. H. Clover, Maud Page, J. H. Turner, J. R. Miles, J. D. Hammon, T. L. Barton, N. A. Dunning, S. M. Adams, J. D. Hatfield, S. E. Alexander, R. Morris, H. S. P. Ashby, R. T. Peck, R. C. Betty, W. S. Morgan and A. S. Mann.
On Printing—L. L. Polk, J. H. McDowell, John Ansley, H. G. McCall, and R. J. Sledge.

On Land Interests—J. F. Tillman, S. B. Erwin, B. J. Kendrick, J. A. Tets, and W. H. Barton.

On Transportation—S. B. Alexander, J. W. Lybrand, Harry Tracy, E. P. Mitchell, and J. W. Rodgers.

Committee on Mileage and Per Diem—J. H. Beeman, J. W. F. R. Tucker, Elias Carr, I. P. Langley.

Committee on Monetary System—C. W. Acuine, L. L. Polk, W. S. Morgan, L. F. Livingston, and H. S. P. Ashby.

The following resolution was introduced and adopted:

That no State shall be entitled to a vote on any question in excess of the votes fixed by the constitution by reason of the creating of separate delegations from States not yet virtually consolidated; that the vote of each State shall be proportionate between the double delegations on the basis of the united strength of each.

The following communications were received:
From the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association:

Mount Vernon, Ill., Nov. 25, 1889.

I certify that the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, in session at Mount Vernon, Ind., November 19 to 23, 1889:

"To the officers and members of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America in session at St. Louis:

"The Farmers Mutual Benefit Association sends heartiest greetings, and bids you God speed. We congratulate you on your consolidation, and wish you unbounded success. We are glad to state that our organization was never in a more flourishing condition. We are pushing the work of organization and education; our membership is encouraged and hopeful, and we will heartily join you in any effort you may make or plan you may devise for the amelioration of the condition of our people, or to redress the wrongs of the long-suffering and patient, but over-burdened farmers and laborers of the country, and that our committee on cooperative trade be and they are hereby charged with the bearing of this communication to said meeting."

Given under my hand and seal of said association the day and date above written.

JOHN P. STABLE, Sec.

From the National Farmers Alliance:

St. Louis, December 3, 1889.

To the Farmers and Laborers Union of America:

GENTLEMEN: The National Farmers Alliance, in convention assembled, have duly elected a committee of conference consisting of nine members, to meet with a like committee from your organization.

CONSTITUTION.

I would call your attention to the necessity of more closely guarding State rights in our constitution.

Respectfully,

J. BURROWS,
Pres. Nat. Farmers Alliance.

Committee from the National Alliance of the Northwest was then announced in waiting. Bros.

L. F. Livingston, of Georgia, Mann Page, of Virginia, and L. L. Polk, of North Carolina, were appointed a committee to receive the visiting committee and seat them on the platform. After an interchange of views the committee retired, and on motion the following committee on conference was appointed to confer with the National Alliance of the Northwest:

H. W. Hickman, Missouri; Mitchell, South Carolina; Page, Virginia; Clover, Kansas; Lybrand, Arkansas; Patty, Mississippi; Tucker, Tennessee; Anderson, Texas; and Morgan, Louisiana.

Also the following committee was appointed to confer with the Mutual Benefit Association:

Davis, Missouri; Clayton, Louisiana; Gowen, Tennessee; Bird, Alabama; and Worth, North Carolina.

President Jones delivered his annual address:

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

To the Officers and Members of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America, greeting.

DEAR BROTHERS—This is certainly an auspicious occasion; it being the first meeting of our organization; an organization that to-day stands without a peer in its influence for good—not to the farmers and laborers only, that you represent, but to every legitimate and necessary interest of a free and independent government; and upon the perpetuation of its principles and their influence upon

our people depend the prosperity and liberty of all classes, and the stability and power of our nation. An organization whose fundamental principles are founded upon equity and justice and whose cardinal doctrines inspire peace on earth, love of liberty and good will to all mankind; an organization whose rise and progress is without a parallel; and which is destined in no distant day to embrace the entire agriculture and laborers of the world, and whose power and influence shall protect their liberty and interest from the encroachment of rings, trusts and soulless combinations, which are absorbing all of the profits of labor, and thereby paralyzing the industries of our country.

The wonderful growth of our order during the brief period of ten years, and the rapid strides it has taken in establishing its various business enterprises, based upon fair and equitable principles, have had a salutary influence upon commerce and excited the admiration and respect of the business world.

It has also aroused the hostility of the greedy and avaricious trusts, rings and monopolistic combinations to such an extent that great and persistent efforts are put forth by them to thwart us in every attempt at reform or effort to correct the prevailing evils that now environ and threaten the destruction of our industrial classes.

Ours is no common effort. We are approaching a period of social and political development that will test the wisdom and patriotism of our whole people, and will demand the most guarded and conservative action of our greatest statesmen.

The weal or woe of our nation depends upon the intelligent action of the industrial and conservative classes through organization, education and co-operation.

Brethren, in view of the above facts, and recognizing you as representing the intelligence of the various State organizations in this, our highest legislative body (a creature of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America and the National Agricultural Wheel, the consolidated power and influence of which makes it one of the greatest organizations in the world), would call your attention to the gravity, magnitude and importance of this occasion, and impress upon you the necessity of the most guarded, intelligent and conservative action.

CONSOLIDATION.

It is an evident fact that to free our industrial classes from the oppressions that now prevail so universally, it will require a perfect concert of action of all sections; therefore, one of the most important subjects to be considered by this body is a basis of union or co-operation with all kindred organizations, and whereas there have been negotiations between the National Farmers Alliance and the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association of the Northwestern States, looking to a consolidation of these two great agricultural organizations with the Farmers and Laborers Union of America, and as delegates from the National Farmers Alliance and National Mutual Benefit Association are now in the city, would recommend that you give this matter your immediate attention, and if possible agree upon a basis of union, or at least co-operation.

CONSTITUTION.

I would call your attention to the necessity of more closely guarding State rights in our constitution.

Would recommend that the work of organizing should come under the jurisdiction of State organizations, provided, however, that in unorganized States the President of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America shall appoint organizers and take general supervision of the work. And

WHEREAS, The constitution defines the duties of an executive committee, would call your attention to the failure of its providing for the creation of same. And

WHEREAS, The constitution, under the head of miscellaneous, now provides that all trials for offenses shall be by the Farmers and Laborers Union of America while in session. And

WHEREAS, The time of holding said meetings is limited, and the expenses of the same great, would recommend the creation of a supreme judiciary, who shall hear and try all cases.

I would also call your attention to the necessity of bonding your secretary. Also to the more clearly defining Article 7, governing eligibility.

CO-OPERATION.

The advancement of civilization, the development of the natural resources of our country, the promotion and perpetuation of our free institution, the stability, power and influence of our republican system of government, the creation and successful operation of all our gigantic enterprises, which gives strength and influence to government, depends largely, if not wholly, upon the intelligent application of the true principles of co-operation.

The most, if not every failure of all the various

business efforts of our order, is due to a want of a proper understanding and a strict adherence to the business principles of co-operation.

It is the foundation that underlies the whole superstructure of our noble order, and a strict adherence to its principles will lead the membership to a degree of prosperity that shall gladden the hearts of all, and bring joy and contentment around the family circle.

I would recommend that you spare no effort in plumping its cord upon law alone; and as the law derives its strength solely from the will and obedience of the people, every rail, car, stock, bond and charter has its security and protection chiefly from that tender homage and reverence which emanates from the hearts of our law abiding and liberty loving agriculturists; and in oppressing them, they are chafing the cords upon which alone hangs their profits, franchises and rights and privileges.

FINANCE.

The monopolization of finance has been, and now is, the fountain from which all monopolies, rings, trusts and oppressive organizations draw which are chafing the cords upon which alone hangs their profits, franchises and rights and privileges.

Money in shrinking and insufficient volume remits labor to idleness, reduces the price of products, plants, mortgages on the homes of our people, bankrupts those who are forced to borrow, paralyzes our industries, and produces hard times and great privations among the masses.

It is impossible to have an equitable adjustment of capital and labor so long as money is contracted below that which is adequate to the demands of commerce; hence, if we would correct the abuses and powers that are now prostrating and enslaving our industries, lift the mortgages from the homes of our people, restore peace and prosperity to our now paralyzed and almost ruined agricultural and laboring people, we must have a circulating medium in sufficient volume to admit of transacting our business upon a cash basis.

I would therefore recommend that you demand at the hands of the law-making functions of our nation a monetary system that shall conform to the interest of the producing and laboring classes as well as the speculator and usurer.

That the coinage of silver be as free as gold, and that gold and silver be supplemented with treasury notes (which shall be a full legal tender for all contracts) in a sufficient amount to furnish a circulating medium commensurate to the business necessities of the people.

LAND.

There is, perhaps, no question that demands more serious attention at this time than the present condition of our land.

From its many resources flow all the wealth of our nation; and upon its proper and just distribution depend the prosperity, contentment, and happiness of the yeomanry—a class upon whom all nations must largely depend for strength and support.

During the greatest prosperity of Rome, about eighty-five per cent of her population owned titles in land. It was then that she was founded upon a rock, and was mistress of the world; but in the course of her history, through the monopolization of her lands by the few, through unjust legislation, the homes were wrenches from the hands of the masses, and when the dark death-ford was reached, upon which civilization was to die, less than two per cent of the people controlled the land; and it is said that about fifteen hundred men controlled the wealth of the world.

Given under my hand and seal of said association the day and date above written.

JOHN P. STABLE, Sec.

From the National Farmers Alliance:

St. Louis, December 3, 1889.

To the Farmers and Laborers Union of America:

GENTLEMEN: The National Farmers Alliance, in convention assembled, have duly elected a committee of conference consisting of nine members, to meet with a like committee from your organization.

CONSTITUTION.

I would call your attention to the necessity of more closely guarding State rights in our constitution.

Respectfully,

J. BURROWS,
Pres. Nat. Farmers Alliance.

Committee from the National Alliance of the Northwest was then announced in waiting. Bros.

L. F. Livingston, of Georgia, Mann Page, of Virginia, and L. L. Polk, of North Carolina, were appointed a committee to receive the visiting committee and seat them on the platform.

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First, That a joint committee of five on the part of the National Farmers' Alliance and a like number on the part of the National Farmers and Laborers' Union be appointed with authority to formulate a plan for a confederation of said organizations and of other known agricultural and industrial organizations in the United States, to the end that immediate and practical co-operation may be secured for the accomplishment of the objects common to all.

Second, that the autonomy of said organization be preserved intact until such time as the way may be found clear to effect organic union if the same should hereafter be found necessary.

A. J. STREETER, (Ill.) Chairman.

ROBERT C. PATTY, (Miss.) Secretary.

The committee on conference was reduced to five, consisting of the following, and appointed to confer with a like committee from the National Alliance:

Hickman, Missouri; Patty, Mississippi; Page, Virginia; Clover, Kansas; and Mitchell, South Carolina.

On motion the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association was allowed representation on conference committee, to confer with Northwestern Alliance.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

SECOND DAY.

St. Louis, Mo., December 4, 1889.
Called to order at 9 a. m., President Jones in the chair.

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the National Farmers' Alliance is hereby cordially invited to visit us in a body, to listen to the address of ex-President C. W. Macune, on the aims and principles of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America. Adopted.

Minutes of the proceedings of yesterday were read and approved.

The representatives from the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association and National Farmers' Alliance were escorted in and seated.

Brother Macune addressed the joint bodies, after which the meeting adjourned to meet at 2 p.m. [This address was published in the last issue of THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.]

Committee called to order at 2.30 p.m., President Jones in the chair, and opened for the transaction of business.

Report of committee on the order of business received and adopted, as follows:

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Calling of the roll.
2. Reading of the minutes.
3. Reading reports of committees.
4. Unfinished business.
5. New business.
6. Reports of officers.
7. Special orders for future consideration.

Resolution offered by Brother Livingston:

That a committee of five be appointed on the monetary system of this country; committee of five on the landed interest of the country; five on transportation; and five on consolidated Alliance Press Association, and that suggestions made by President Jones and Brother Macune touching such questions are hereby referred to said committees. Adopted.

Report of committee on President Jones' message was read and adopted:

1. So much of the message as relates to co-operation be referred to a committee on co-operation.
2. So much as relates to the constitution be referred to a committee on constitution.
3. So much as relates to land be referred to the committee on demands.

4. So much as relates to transportation be referred to the committee on transportation.

5. So much as relates to finance be referred to the committee on finance, and that the several committees named not already appointed be appointed by the chair.

The following resolution, by Patty of Mississippi, was adopted:

Resolved, That the committee on credentials be instructed to ascertain and report the number of votes to which each State is entitled under the constitution, and in what proportion the same shall be cast in cases where State Alliances and State Wheels have not yet effected an organic union.

Resolved, That the roll of States be called at

7.30 p.m., and the delegates from the various States are requested to offer resolutions to be referred to the committee on demands or any other committee. Adopted.

Resolved, That the State of Delaware be permitted to organize under the State organization of the State of Maryland; that the said State of Delaware be permitted to retain its autonomy, and be allowed State representation at national meetings. Adopted.

Resolved, That a committee of five on mileage and per diem be appointed to ascertain and report who are entitled to receive compensation as members of this national convention; the rate and manner in which same shall be paid. Adopted.

On motion the house adjourned to meet at 1.30 p.m.

Adjourned to meet at 8.30 tomorrow morning.

THIRD DAY.

St. Louis, Mo., December 5, 1889.

Meeting called to order at 8.30 a.m., President Jones in the chair.

The following resolution was introduced by Brother Simrall of Mississippi, and referred to the committee on demands:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this body that the people and government of the United States are not under obligation to redeem the interest-bearing national debt by paying an exorbitant premium or any premiums at all on the bonds so redeemed.

And further, If the right so to do does not already exist, such authority should at once be conferred on Congress.

The following resolution was received and referred to the committee on demands:

Resolved, That we condemn the purchase of government bonds at a premium, and demand that they be redeemed and called according to the law as provided in section 3693 of the statutes of the United States.

On motion Brother Harry Tracy was appointed a committee of one to wait upon Hon. T. V. Powderly and request that he address this body some time during the day.

The secretary's report was received and referred to the executive committee.

On motion a committee was appointed to adjust claims of the cotton committee received and referred to the executive committee.

The following communication was received and ready:

READSVILLE, MASS., December 4, 1889.

Hon. Evan Jones, in convention, president of National Farmers' Alliance, now in session, St. Louis, Mo.

Howard Professor Davis, Shalar, Pickering, Ritchie, myself and other scientists here believe efficiency and usefulness of weather bureau could be increased by transfer to Agricultural Department, and desire your Alliance recommend transfer to Congress.

H. H. CLAYTON.

Resolution by Brother Langley, of Arkansas, that it is the sense of this body that a reduction of postage upon fourth-class mail matter would confer more benefits upon the country than a reduction upon letters, was referred to the committee on demands.

The following resolution was read by Brother Polk, of North Carolina, and referred to committee on demands:

Resolved, That the Farmers and Laborers Union in convention assembled in St. Louis hereby endorse the "Prospectus" of the National Farmers Bureau of Immigration, and that we invite any of the brotherhood who desire to buy or sell lands to actual settlers to examine their method.

And that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Governor by the secretary of this body.

On motion the following resolution was read and adopted:

Whereas, Statements are often made and the belief is growing, that we are becoming a nation of landlords and tenants, and that the homes and farms of the country are very largely under mortgage; and

Whereas, Exact knowledge on this subject is of great importance in the study of the social and economic questions of the day; therefore be it resolved, That it is the sense of this body that Congress ought to make the necessary appropriations for the construction of this navy yard without any delay.

On motion the following resolution was read and adopted:

Whereas, The committee appointed by Congress to ascertain the most favorable location for a navy yard on the southern coast has reported in favor of New Orleans as the best site; therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this body that Congress ought to make the necessary appropriations for the construction of this navy yard without any delay.

On motion the following resolution was read and adopted:

Whereas, It is the opinion of this convention that very much loss comes to the agricultural interests from the bad condition of farm products as put upon the market; therefore,

Be it resolved, That the President appoint a committee to consist of one member from each State, whose business it shall be to suggest and insist upon the best possible condition of all products offered on the market by the farmers who are constituent members of this convention.

Brother Tracy submitted the following:

Committee appointed to wait upon Hon. Mr. Powderly, reported that arrangements had been made to have him address this body at 3.30 p.m., with Messrs. Beaumont and Wright; which, on motion, was adopted.

On motion the house adjourned to meet at 1.30 p.m.

Convention called to order at 1.30 p.m., President Jones in the chair.

The report of the joint committee on conference with Northwestern Alliance was read and adopted as follows:

The joint committee of the National Alliance and National Farmers and Laborers Union, appointed to formulate a plan to secure practical co-operation of said organizations and of other kindred organizations for the accomplishment of the objects common to all, recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, to wit:

Resolved, 1. That the presidents and other authorized representatives chosen by the executive board of each national and State agricultural and industrial organization in the United States be requested to assemble in the city of Washington, on 22d day of February, A. D. 1890, to consider and agree upon a basis for a federation of such organizations for the purpose of securing needed reform and remedial national and State legislation, and for the promotion of such other objects as may be found to be of common interest to such organizations; it being understood that such plans as agreed upon shall be submitted to the various national and State organizations participating therein for ratification and adoption.

2. That an executive committee of two each on the part of the National Farmers Alliance and the National Farmers and Laborers Union be appointed, with authority to take all necessary steps to carry out the foregoing resolution, and to arrange for an immediate federation of said organizations, if same be now possible.

3. That the President of the National Farmers' Alliance and National Farmers and Laborers Union and the General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor now in this city be authorized and requested to take all necessary steps to carry out the foregoing resolutions, and to arrange for an immediate federation, if the same be now possible.

4. That an executive committee of two each on the part of the National Farmers' Alliance and the National Farmers and Laborers Union be appointed, with authority to take all necessary steps to carry out the foregoing resolution, and to arrange for an immediate federation of said organizations, if same be now possible.

5. That an executive committee of two each on the part of the National Farmers' Alliance and the National Farmers and Laborers Union be appointed, with authority to take all necessary steps to carry out the foregoing resolution, and to arrange for an immediate federation of said organizations, if same be now possible.

6. That an executive committee of two each on the part of the National Farmers' Alliance and the National Farmers and Laborers Union be appointed, with authority to take all necessary steps to carry out the foregoing resolution, and to arrange for an immediate federation of said organizations, if same be now possible.

7. That an executive committee of two each on the part of the National Farmers' Alliance and the National Farmers and Laborers Union be appointed, with authority to take all necessary steps to carry out the foregoing resolution, and to arrange for an immediate federation of said organizations, if same be now possible.

On motion the following resolution was unani-

mously adopted:

Whereas Bro. W. S. Morgan has written and published a History of the Wheel and Alliance;

Whereas said history has been endorsed by many of the leading and most eminent members of the order; and

Whereas this convention recognizes the fact that the circulation of the book as an educator will contribute much to the advancement of the great principles of our order: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention endorses this book as a reliable history of the order and a true exponent of its principles; and we commend it to all members of the order. We take especial pleasure in commending this book to all members desiring information regarding the history of the Wheel and Alliance and the great impending revolution.

Convention adjourned until 8.30 to-morrow morning.

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gaged, and also what proportion of such indebtedness is for purchase money.

2. That if the present law providing for the census enumeration does not include provisions to take a complete census of farm indebtedness, we request the Congress of the United States to amend the present law as to provide for the above enumeration, and further that the publication setting forth the above facts shall be the first report given to the public.

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

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

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

6. To suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices; all unhealthful rivalry and all selfish ambition.

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

"On earth, peace, and good will to man."

ADJOURNED UNTIL 7.30 P.M.

In accordance with previous invitation the National Alliance appeared in a body and were seated in the convention. Grand Master Powderly then addressed the joint body. Ralph Beaumont, A. W. Wright, and General J. B. Weaver followed with appropriate and well-received speeches.

Called to order at 7.30 p.m.

On motion the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas our order has no suitable music or collection of songs for use: Therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of five, viz., W. S. Morgan, Elias Carr, N. A. Dunning, B. H. Clover, W. J. Northen, be, and they are hereby appointed to investigate the advisability of securing the publication of such a work and report to this body.

ARTICLE I.

NAME AND POWERS.

SECTION I. This organization shall be known as the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union.

SEC. 2. This organization possesses and shall exercise such powers as are delegated to it by charter from the Government of the United States, and such further powers as are herein expressed.

SEC. 3. No person shall be eligible to office as judge in the Judiciary Department who is under thirty years of age.

SEC. 4. The senior judge shall be called the chairman, and shall be the presiding officer of the court.

SEC. 5. The Judiciary shall have authority to act upon the rulings of the president; to try and decide grievances and appeals affecting the officers or members of the Supreme Council; to try appeals from the State bodies.

SEC. 6. The decisions and findings of the Supreme Judiciary shall be a matter of record, and shall be preserved in the archives of the order, a careful report of which shall be made to the regular annual session of the Supreme Council.

SEC. 7. For the purpose of carrying out the above provisions and rendering the workings of the Judiciary Department effective, the Supreme Council shall provide rules and regulations.

ARTICLE VII.

MEETINGS.

SECTION I. The regular annual meeting of the Supreme Council shall be on the first Tuesday of December of each year, and at such place as may be determined by majority vote of the body.

ARTICLE IV.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I. It shall be the duty of the Supreme Council to make laws, rules and regulations governing its meetings and usages.

SEC. 2. The supreme council shall be composed of the officers of the organization and delegates from the various State organizations elected by the States upon such basis of representation as the Supreme Council may prescribe. It shall be the duty of the Supreme Council to adopt rules governing such representation. Provided, That the delegates to the Supreme Council shall be not less than twenty-one years of age; and the basis of representation shall not allow more than two delegates from each State and one additional delegate for each 10,000 active members or majority fraction thereof. Active members under this section are such members only as have paid the regular yearly dues of five cents each.

SEC. 3. The Supreme Council shall elect at each regular annual session the following officers, who shall hold office until their successors are elected and qualified: A president, a vice-president, a treasurer, a secretary, and a treasurer.

SEC. 4. The president shall be presiding officer of the Supreme Council and the official head of the executive department.

SEC. 5. The Supreme Council shall provide laws and rules prescribing the powers, duties and methods of the officers, and may limit the term of office, fix salaries, etc.

ARTICLE V.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I. The president shall be the chief executive officer; he shall have power to direct and instruct all executive officers and all executive work in this department subject to the laws and regulations made by the Supreme Council.

SEC. 2. The president shall have authority to in-

terpret and construe the meaning of the laws of the order by official rulings, and such rulings shall have the force and effect of laws and be promptly presented to the Judiciary Department for consideration, and if the Judiciary approve the ruling it shall then be the final construction of the law; but should the Judiciary refuse to concur in a ruling, then and in that case such ruling shall be held in abeyance until the next

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ARTICLE X.

RESERVATION OF POWERS.

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

ARTICLE XI.

AMENDMENTS.

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

The statutory laws were taken up, and after discussion and amendment, was adopted; as follows:

STATUTORY LAWS.

SECTION I. The basis of representation of the State organizations in the Supreme Council shall be as follows: Two delegates from each State and one additional delegate for each twenty thousand active members or majority fraction thereof.

SEC. 2. Delegates to the Supreme Council will not be entitled to seats in the body unless settlement of the national per capita dues of 5 cents for each male member has been made by the State secretary, accompanied by the proper amount of money to the national secretary, and State secretaries shall make such remittance and report promptly on or before the first day of November.

SEC. 3. The annual election of officers by the Supreme Council shall be by ballot.

SEC. 4. The president shall appoint from the actual delegates to the session of the Supreme Council a chaplain, assistant lecturer, door-keeper, assistant door-keeper, sergeant-at-arms, and such other executive officers as the business of the session may require. The term of office for such officers shall expire at the close of the session; such appointed officers to receive nothing in addition to mileage and per diem as delegates.

SEC. 5. The president shall be the presiding officer of the Supreme Council and shall conduct the business according to the accepted rules of parliamentary usages and the requirements of the ritual.

SEC. 6. The President shall have authority to call upon any executive officer or committee to make reports and showing of the business entrusted to him at such time as in his judgment it seems best.

SEC. 7. The president may, when notified of any dereliction of duty or violation of the rules of the order suspend any officer or committee, and summon them to appear before the judiciary committee to make showing to the chairman either by oral or written evidence as to their guilt or innocence of the charges.

SEC. 8. The president shall have full authority to enforce order and decorum during the sessions of the Supreme Council.

SEC. 9. The president shall have power to call a meeting of the Supreme Council at such time and place as in his judgment is for the good of the order. When petitioned by one-fourth of the State presidents in the jurisdiction of this order, he shall call a meeting of the Supreme Council. He shall state in the call specifically for what purpose the meeting is convened.

SEC. 10. The vice-president's duties shall be to assist the president, and in his absence to perform his duty.

SEC. 11. The order of succession in vacancy shall be—president to vice-president and vice-president to chairman of the executive board.

SEC. 12. The secretary's duty shall be to keep a record of the proceedings of the Supreme Council; conduct its correspondence; to receive all money of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union and pay it over to the treasurer and take his receipt for the same; to read all communications, reports and petitions in open Supreme Council when necessary, to affix the seal of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union to all documents requiring the same, to prepare for publication a copy of the proceedings of each annual or called session immediately after adjournment. He shall have charge of the seal, books and papers of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. His books shall at all times be open to the inspection of the president, or any committee appointed by the president to inspect the same, to keep a correct account between each State and the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. He shall furnish the secretaries of each State Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union with a blank book properly ruled, with suitable column heads for classifying and recording the contents of the reports from the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. Also suitable blanks for making reports to his office and to the chairman of the executive committee. He shall also make a list of all the officers, standing and special committees of the Supreme Council, with name and postoffice address, which list shall be a part of the printed proceedings of the Supreme Council.

13. The treasurer's duty shall be to receive all money from the secretary, and pay it out on a warrant from the secretary approved by the president. He shall file with the secretary a bond for double the amount of money that is likely to pass through his hands.

Sec. 14. It shall be the duty of the lecturer to visit each State in the jurisdiction at least once a year and hold himself in readiness at all times, to visit such localities and perform such duties as may be designated by the president.

15. There shall be elected by the supreme council an executive board composed of three members, who shall be an advisory board of the President, and shall represent the supreme council during recess. The chairman of the executive board shall be located at the official headquarters of the order in the city of Washington, and be ex-officio chairman of the legislative committee.

16. It shall be the duty of the executive board to require and pass upon the bonds of Secretary and Treasurer, to audit all bills and accounts, to examine and audit the Secretary and Treasurer's books, and in a general way perform detail of executive work.

17. The secretary of the executive board shall be the crop statistician of the entire order, and shall make such crop reports to the President as he may require.

18. Each State body in this jurisdiction is requested to select and report, by the first day of January, a State crop statistician, who shall require such reports from county statisticians and make such reports himself as may be required by the secretary of the executive board.

19. The regular term of office for members of the executive board shall be three years, but of the board first elected one shall be for one year, one for two years and one for three years, and thereafter one shall be elected each year.

20. The eligibility clause of the constitution is hereby declared to apply to persons of the following classes and conditions as herein expressed: Persons engaged in farming, who live upon their farms and whose greatest interest is that of farming, may be admitted and retained as members, even though they conduct a small mercantile establishment located upon the farm, which receives the support and endorsement of the nearest sub-union, and be controlled by an executive board of sub-unions. Farmers, in fact, who are personally engaged in farming shall not be debarred from membership, even though they may own stock in a banking or other corporation as a means of investment, but in no wise devote their personal attention to the business of such corporation; provided that the bank stock owned shall not exceed more than one-fifth of agricultural investment. Persons selected to buy and sell as agents of the order are eligible, but persons engaged in the practice of law, banking, insurance, railroading, manufacturing, speculating, merchandising, brokerage or commission are not eligible. Merchandising under this section shall mean such persons as give their personal attention to mercantile pursuits as a means of profit and leading source of revenue, as distinguished from those who conduct stores on the farm for the benefit of those in the neighborhood, and controlled by a board of the order. Land agents, canvassers and all kinds of solicitors for machinery or commodities, or purchasers of farm produce for speculative purposes are ineligible.

21. All persons who are ineligible for membership who make application should be notified of the facts in the case, and no ballot or action taken. When members of the order engage in an occupation that would have rendered them ineligible before initiation, they shall upon sufficient evidence be immediately dismissed by motion of the President in open lodge, and shall be granted a withdrawal card.

22. Each Supreme Council shall when convened fix the mileage and per diem of its members, subject to the restrictions of the constitution.

23. The salary of the President of this organization shall be \$3,000, office expenses and \$900 for a stenographer, with headquarters at Washington, D. C., and traveling expenses.

24. The salary of the Secretary shall be \$2,000 and office expenses.

25. The salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

26. The salary of the Lecturer shall be \$3,000 and actual traveling expenses.

27. The salary of the chairman of the executive board shall be \$2,000.

28. The salary of the members of the executive board shall be \$500 each, and actual expenses while in actual service.

29. No State organization or member of this order shall under any circumstances be allowed to print or distribute the rituals of the order, except as the executive board shall cause them to be, and they shall be distributed as the President may direct.

30. All charters for State, county or subordinate bodies in unorganized States must emanate from and contain the signature of the national president, and those for bodies under State jurisdiction shall be issued by the president and secretary of the State body having jurisdiction over them.

31. It shall be the duty of the executive board to secure from each of the States copies of their forms of reporting from sub, county and State secretaries, and endeavor to secure a uniform system of quarterly reports throughout the entire order.

Sec. 32. All resolutions that shall be adopted by this National Council shall be laws governing the membership of the order, and shall be codified and added to the existing laws of the order.

Convention called to order at 1:30 p. m. On motion the convention proceeded to the election of officers, with the following result:

L. L. Polk, of North Carolina, was elected president.

B. H. Clover, of Kansas, vice-president.

J. H. Turner, of Georgia, Secretary.

H. W. Hickman, of Missouri, treasurer.

Ben Terrell, of Texas, lecturer.

On motion a committee from the Northwestern Alliance was received, and considerable time given to a conference with this body.

Brother Polk was asked to take the chair to receive the committee.

Adjourned to meet at 7:30 p. m.

Convention called to order at 7:30 p. m., President L. L. Polk in the chair.

On motion the body proceeded with the completion of the organization.

The election of three judges resulted as follows:

R. C. Patty, of Mississippi, for a term of three years.

Isaac McCracken, of Arkansas, two years.

Evan Jones, of Texas, one year.

The committee on demands made the following report on confederation with the Knights of Labor. Adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON DEMANDS.

St. Louis, Mo., December 6, 1889.

Agreement made this day by and between the undersigned committee representing the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union on the one part, and the undersigned committee representing the Knights of Labor on the other part, Witnesseth: The undersigned committee representing the Knights of Labor, having read the demands of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union which are embodied in this agreement, hereby endorse the same on behalf of the Knights of Labor, and for the purpose of giving practical effect to the demands herein set forth, the legislative committee of both organizations will act in concert before Congress for the purpose of securing the enactment of laws in harmony with the demands mutually agreed.

And it is further agreed, in order to carry out these objects, we will support for office only such men as can be depended upon to enact these principles in statute law uninfluenced by party caucus. The demands hereinbefore referred to are as follows:

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

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

3. That we demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

4. That we demand the passage of laws prohibiting the alien ownership of land, and that Congress take early steps to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by railroad 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.

5. Believing in the doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," we demand that

each State Alliance or Union in the cotton belt secure from their respective legislatures such legislation as will enforce this demand.

Your committee further recommend that all cotton producers connected with this organization be required to use cotton bagging as a covering for cotton, or any other fiber than jute, and that said cotton bagging shall be 44 inches wide and not less than 12 ounces per yard in weight, and of the same texture as the Odenseiner cotton bagging.

We suggest also that seven yards of bagging be used as a covering for a bale of cotton, and that all packages shall be neatly and securely fastened at the ends of the bales.

We most earnestly protest against the wasteful and extravagant method of sampling cotton; also the unjust weights and classification of cotton, as now being practiced.

We also recommend and require of our national and State legislatures to enact such laws as will effectively and entirely prevent the selling of cotton or grain futures except when actual delivery and a bona fide sale shall have been made, or intended delivery shall be expressly a condition of such sale.

Your committee further recommend that cotton producers be advised not to contract any debt in the future that will obligate them to deliver their cotton on a given day, sooner than the 25th of December.

Your committee also recommend that no cotton from an Alliance man or Union, grown or controlled, shall be shipped or sold to any point or party antagonistic to our demands hereinbefore set forth.

We hereby tender the thanks of this committee to the cotton exchanges of this country that endeavored to assist us this season, and respectfully invite all cotton exchanges in the United States to join us in the future in securing our demands as hereinbefore set forth.

We hereby tender the thanks of this committee to the cotton exchanges of this country that endeavored to assist us this season, and respectfully invite all cotton exchanges in the United States to join us in the future in securing our demands as hereinbefore set forth.

Your committee desire, through this body, to congratulate the brotherhood that so faithfully adhered to cotton bagging for the present season, and thereby demonstrated that farmers could and would make any reasonable effort or sacrifice to maintain the high ground taken by the National Alliance and Co-operative Union at Birmingham.

Your committee recommend that the foregoing enactments and resolutions be published in our official organs at the earliest period practical, and a copy sent to each State president calling his attention to his duties in the premises; also to the presidents of the cotton exchanges of the United States.

Not granted, but a substitute was adopted that the States not ready to receive the secret work at once shall be allowed one year for preparation.

The delegation from the northern Alliance was escorted in, and the following communication was read and referred to the committee on the constitution:

1. That we perfect our present organization as two separate bodies.

2. To strike out the word "white" in the constitution.

This proposition had already been practically complied with in the new constitution.

3. To leave the secret work optional with each State.

Not granted, but a substitute was adopted that the States not ready to receive the secret work at once shall be allowed one year for preparation.

The delegation from the northern Alliance was escorted in, and the following communication was read and referred to the committee on the constitution:

1. That we perfect our present organization as two separate bodies.

2. That we meet together in joint session for the purpose of adopting a constitution for a united body, and for the election of officers.

3. That the question of the adoption or ratification of said action be left to the several State Alliances of the National Farmers Alliance represented here, and when two-thirds of said Alliances have ratified, that the president be authorized to issue a proclamation perfecting the new organization; provided that where State Alliances have already passed upon the question of union, action of their executive committee will be sufficient.

The committee on the constitution reported as follows:

We suggest that the committee from the National Farmers' Alliance now in waiting, be informed that this body has perfected its organization, by adopting a constitution and electing officers, and announces as ready to contend for the farmers' interest in every way, and would be glad to receive any accession or assistance from the National Farmers' Alliance, but respectfully decline to enter into the proposed new federation for lack of enthusiasm of her people.

The report was adopted, and the National Alliance informed of the action.

The committee on cotton tare and bagging reported as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT—Your committee on cotton bagging and tare on cotton bales beg leave to submit the following report.

We recommend to this body that you demand that all future cotton crops be sold at net weight with actual tare and the advance in price over the present tare that is just and equitable; and that

consideration, and hereby express our thanks to the Mayor for the city, also the Cotton Exchange and Georgia National Exposition for the invitation to hold the inter-State alliance exposition in this city. Adopted.

Adjourned to 9 a. m. tomorrow morning.

FIFTH DAY.

DECEMBER 7, 1889.

Convention called to order at 9:30 a. m.; President Polk presiding.

Committee appointed to wait on the Kansas delegation reported that delegation in waiting to be admitted.

On motion they were admitted at once.

The delegation was escorted to the platform, and reported that they were ready to consolidate.

After much enthusiasm the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union hereby approve and ratify the consolidation of the Farmers Alliance and Farmers Laborers Union of the State of Kansas. That J. M. Morris, G. Bosher, L. V. Herlosker, Perry Daniels, T. J. McLean, and Henry Shapcott be received and seated as delegates from said State, and that a charter for the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of the State of Kansas be issued to B. H. Clover and S. M. Morris and their associates.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Your committee also recommend that no cotton from an Alliance man or Union, grown or controlled, shall be shipped or sold to any point or party antagonistic to our demands hereinbefore set forth.

That a committee consisting of Bros. Tracy, Blood, and Erwin be instructed to inform the National Farmers Alliance that this body will stand firmly to the propositions made yesterday, and invite them to appear before this body for obligation and secret work, as well as participation in the further business of the session.

Committee on constitution reported on the monetary system, which after an animated discussion was adopted by a large majority.

We, your committee on the monetary system, beg to submit the

appropriate and important that our efforts be concentrated to secure the needed reform in this direction, provided all can agree upon such measures. Such action will in no wise connect this movement to any partisan effort, as it can be applied to the party to which each member belongs.

In seeking a true and practical remedy for the evils that now flow from the imperfections in our financial system let us first consider what is the greatest evil, and on what it depends. The greatest evil, the one that outstrips all others so far that it is instantly recognized as the chief, and known with certainty to be more oppressive to the productive interests of the country than any other influence, is that which delegates to a certain class the power to fix the price of all kinds of produce and of all commodities. This power is not delegated directly, but it is delegated indirectly by allowing such class to issue a large per cent of the money used as the circulating medium of the country, and having the balance of such circulating medium, which is issued by the Government, a fixed quantity that is not augmented to correspond with the necessities of the times. In consequence of this the money issued by the privileged class, which they are at liberty to withdraw at pleasure, can be, and is, so manipulated as to control the volume of circulating medium in the country sufficiently to produce fluctuations in general prices at their pleasure. It may be likened unto a simple illustration in philosophy: The inflexible volume of the Government issue is the fulcrum, the volume of the bank issue is the lever power, and price is the point at which power is applied, and it is either raised or lowered with great certainty to correspond with the volume of bank issue. Any mechanic will instantly recognize the fact that the quickest and surest way of destroying the power of the lever to raise or lower price is to remove the resistance offered by the fulcrum—the inflexible volume of Government issue. The power to regulate the volume of money so as to control price is so manipulated as to develop and apply a potent force, for which we have in the English language no name; but it is the power of money to oppress, and is demonstrated as follows:

In the last four months of the year the agricultural products of the whole year having been harvested, they are placed on the market to buy money. The amount of money necessary to supply this demand is equal to many times the actual amount in circulation. Nevertheless the class that controls the volume of the circulating medium desire to purchase these agricultural products for speculative purposes, so they reduce the volume of money by hoarding, in the face of the augmented demand, and thereby advance the exchangeable value of the then inadequate volume of money, which is equivalent to reducing the price of the agricultural products. True agriculturists should hold their products and not sell at these ruinously low prices. And no doubt they would, if they could, but to prevent that, practically all debts, taxes, and interest are made to mature at that time, and they being forced to have money at a certain season when they have the product of their labor to sell, the power of money to oppress by its scarcity is applied until it makes them turn loose their products so low that their labor expended does not average them fifty cents per day. This illustrates the power of money to oppress; the remedy, as before, lies in removing the power of the fulcrum—the inflexible Government issue—and supplying a Government issue, the volume of which, shall be increased to correspond with the actual addition to the wealth of the Nation presented by agriculture at harvest time, and diminished as such agricultural products are consumed. Such a flexibility of volume would guarantee a stability of price based on cost of production which would be compelled to reckon the pay for agricultural labor at the same rates as other employment. Such flexibility would rob money of its most potent power—the power to oppress—and

place a premium on productive effort. But how may so desirable a result be secured? Let us see. By applying the same principles now in force in the monetary system of the United States with only slight modification in the detail of their execution. The Government and the people of this country realize that the amount of gold and silver, and the certificates based on these metals, do not comprise a volume of money sufficient to supply the wants of the country, and in order to increase the volume, the Government allows individuals to associate themselves into a body corporate, and deposit with the Government bonds which represent National indebtedness, which the Government holds in trust and issues to such corporation paper money equal to ninety per cent of the value of the bonds, and charges said corporation interest at the rate of one per cent per annum for the use of said paper money. This allows the issue of paper money to increase the volume of the circulating medium on a perfectly safe basis, because the margin is a guarantee that the banks will redeem the bonds before they mature. But now we find that the circulation secured by this method is still not adequate; or to take a very conservative position, if we admit that it is adequate on the average, we know that the fact of its being entirely inadequate for half the year makes its inflexibility an engine of oppression, because a season in which it is inadequate must be followed by one of superabundance in order to bring about the average, and such a range in volume means great fluctuations in prices which cut against the producer, both in buying and selling, because he must sell at a season when produce is low, and buy when commodities are high. This system, now in vogue by the United States' government of supplementing its circulating medium by a safe and redeemable paper money, should be pushed a little further and conducted in such a manner as to secure a certain augmentation of supply at the season of the year in which the agricultural additions to the wealth of the Nation demand money, and a diminution in such supply of money as said agricultural products are consumed. It is not an average adequate amount that is needed, because under it the greatest abuses may prevail, but a certain adequate amount that adjusts itself to the wants of the community. The task was overwhelming. Money was to be found to meet not only the demands on the bank, but the necessities both public and private, of every rank in society. It was essential to enable the manufacturers to work, lest their workmen, driven to desperation, should fling themselves amongst the most violent enemies of public order. It was essential to provide money for the food of Paris, for the pay of troops, and for the daily support of the industrial establishments of the nation. A failure on any one point would have led to a fresh convulsion, but the panic had been followed by so great a scarcity of the metallic currency, that a few days later, out of a payment of 26,000,000 francs due, only 47,000 francs could be recorded in silver.

In this extremity, when the bank alone retained any available sums of money, the government came to the rescue, and on the night of the 15th of March, the notes of the bank were, by a decree, made a legal tender, the issue of these notes being limited in all to 350,000,000, but the amount of the lowest of them reduced for the public convenience to 100 francs. One of the great difficulties mentioned in the report was to print these 100-franc notes fast enough for the public consumption. In ten days the amount issued in this form had reached 80,000,000 francs.

To enable the manufacturing interests to weather the storm at a moment when all the sales were interrupted, a decree of the national assembly had directed warehouses to be opened for the reception of all kinds of goods, and provided that the registered invoice of the goods so deposited should be made negotiable by indorsement. The bank of France discounted these receipts. In Havre alone eighteen millions were thus advanced on colonial produce, and in Paris fourteen millions on merchandise; in all, sixty millions were made available for the purposes of trade. Thus, the great institution had placed itself as it were in direct contact with every interest of the community, from the minister of the Treasury down to the trader in a distant port. Like a huge hydraulic machine, it employed its colossal powers to pump a fresh stream into the exhausted arteries of trade to sustain credit, and preserve the circulation, from complete collapse.—From the Bank Charter Act, and the Rate of Interest, London, 1873.

This is proof positive, and a clear demonstration, in 1848, what this system could accomplish when a necessity existed for resorting to it. But

since that time every conceivable change has tended toward rendering such a system easier managed and more necessary. The various means of rapid transportation and the facilities for the instantaneous transmission of intelligence, make it no disadvantage for the produce of a country to be stored at home until demanded for consumption, and the great savings that will follow the abolition of local shipments shows what great economy such a system is. In this day and time, no one will for a moment deny that all the conditions for purchase and sale will attach to the Government certificates showing amount, quality and running charges that attach to the product.

The arguments sustaining this system will present themselves to your minds as you ponder over the subject. The one fact stands out in bold relief, prominent, grand, and worthy the best effort our hearts and hands, and that is "this system will emancipate productive labor from the power of money to oppress" with speed and certainty. Could any object be more worthy? Surely not; and none could be devised that would more enlist your sympathies.

Our forefathers fought in the revolutionary war, making sacrifices that will forever perpetuate their names in history, to emancipate productive labor from the power of a monarch to oppress. Their battle cry was "liberty." Our monarch is a false, unjust, and statutory power given to money, which calls for a conflict on our part to emancipate productive labor from the power of money to oppress. Let the watchword again be, "Liberty!"

Delegation from Farmers Alliance of the State of Dakota were admitted, and the following communication was received and unanimously adopted:

St. Louis, Mo., December 7, 1889.
To the Farmers and Laborers Union of America.

In pursuance of the joint action of the National Farmers Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union, providing for an organic union between the two bodies, the conditions being that when the new constitution should be jointly proposed, approved, and ratified by said Farmers and Laborers Union, and by two-thirds of the State Alliances composing the National Farmers Alliance, then by proclamation of the presidents of the two bodies the union should be declared completed, we the delegates from the State Alliance of South Dakota, by authority reposed in us, do hereby accept and ratify said constitution, as amended and agreed upon by the National Farmers Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers Union, to take effect upon acceptance and ratification of said constitution by two-thirds of the State Alliances composing the National Farmers Alliance.

Attest—
C. V. GARDNER,
Chairman of Delegation.

A. WARDALL,
Secretary of Delegation.

Resolved, That C. V. Gardner, F. F. B. Coffin, A. N. Van Dorn, E. B. Cummings, Alonzo Wardall and Mrs. Elizabeth Wardall be received and seated as delegates from South Dakota, and that a charter for the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of South Dakota be issued to said persons and their associates. That Walter Muir be received and seated as a fraternal delegate from the State of North Dakota. Adopted unanimously.

Committee on mileage and per diem reported as follows:
Your committee on mileage and per diem beg to submit the following report:
The resolution creating this committee instructed us to ascertain who are entitled to pay, what amount should be paid to each, and in what way these payments should be made.

1. As to those attending this meeting who are entitled to compensation. To this report we append a roll of those who have appeared in person or by proxies, and which we believe from the evidence presented to the committee are entitled to compensation.

2. As to the amount of compensation to be paid delegates and others who by authority have been in attendance upon the meeting the committee recommend three cents per mile traveled by most direct route to this place and the same amount to return, and \$3 per day while in actual attendance upon the session of this meeting. Upon this basis the committee have approved the accounts of the delegates and others in attendance by au-

thority, the amount of which are hereto annexed. 3. As to the method by which these payments are to be made the committee recommend the following plan:

The accounts of delegates to this meeting and others in attendance by authority approved by this committee can be used by the different State secretaries as dues from their several State organizations to the National organization. In order to guard against imposition, we recommend that the holder of every account for attendance on this meeting as delegate or otherwise, and which has been approved by our committee, present the same to the secretary of this National body, and have the seal of the same affixed thereto; and that State secretaries be notified that no accounts other than those to which the seal has been affixed will be received by the secretary of the National body as dues to same.

We further recommend that publication be made in the various State organs that no accounts having gone out from this meeting will be recognized unless the seal has been affixed, but the same may be forwarded to the secretary of the National body, who will affix the seal to same, provided it corresponds in name and amount with the register which the committee file with him.

Respectfully submitted,

J. H. BREEMAN,
ELIAS CARR,
R. W. TUCRER,
J. W. REID.

Resolved. That so much of this report as requires the seal of the National secretary be stricken out, and the endorsement of the secretary be taken instead.

On motion Brother C. W. Macune be allowed mileage and per diem the same as other delegates.

On motion Brother Evan Jones was allowed four hundred dollars for his services.

On motion Brother E. A. Gardner was allowed five hundred dollars for his services as Secretary, and Brother Linn Tanner was allowed one hundred dollars for his services as Treasurer.

On motion the convention proceeded to the election of the executive committee. Brother C. W. Macune was elected chairman of said committee, for the term of three years; Brother Alonzo Wardall for the term of two years; Brother J. F. Tillman for one year.

Committee on demands reported as follows:
1. We, the committee on demands, hereby recommend that this National Farmers and Laborers Union of America appoint a national legislative committee of two to act in concert with a like committee of the Knights of Labor, to the end of securing industrial freedom.

2. That we recommend to the different State organizations that they discuss the Australian system of voting, and press upon their State legislatures to enact the same or some similar system.

3. *Resolved*, That this committee recommend that we press to the front as the most important the three problems of finance, land and transportation.

4. *Resolved*, That all internal revenue tax and licences on tobacco be repealed.

5. *Resolved*, That we condemn the purchase of Government bonds at a premium, and demand that they be redeemed and called in according to the law as provided in section 3693 of the Statutes of the United States.

On motion the city of Jacksonville, Florida, was selected as the place of holding the next regular session.

The following petition was received and adopted:

St. Louis, December 6, 1889.
To the National Alliance and Industrial Union of America.

The undersigned, representatives of the Farmers Alliance and Agricultural Wheel of Mississippi, hereby apply for a charter for the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of the State of Mississippi

ROBERT C. PATTY,
FRANK BURKETT,
H. F. SIMRALL,
I. H. BREEMAN,
Representing Alliance.

A. M. STREET,
F. M. BLUNT,
Sec. State Wheel.

Representing Ag'l Wheel.

Committee on land made the following report, which was adopted:

Your committee on land submit the following report:

The total number of farms in the United States is about 5,000,000; 1,280,000 are rented. Since 1880 there has been an increase in farm renting to the extent of twenty-five per cent. It is evident to the most ordinary observer that the farms are passing out of the hands of those who cultivate them. It cannot be urged that this is the result of incompetency or idleness on the part of the tillers of the soil, for statistics show that the wealth of the country has, during the past twenty-five years, increased more than one hundred per cent. No other nation has ever shown such an enormous increase of wealth in the same length of time. All this increase of wealth is the result of the active energies of the producers. It is a peculiar condition, that the producers of all this wealth have gradually grown poorer, but still the cold hard fact stares them in the face that they are not only not living as well as they should, but their farms are gradually slipping from their grasp.

The natural and inevitable result of this accumulation of wealth into the hands of the capitalists, and at the expense of the producers, is the establishment of a land aristocracy on the one hand, and tenant farmers on the other; such a system as has obtained in many of the European countries.

Your committee have had neither the time nor the facilities to prepare as extensive a report as the importance of the subject demands. From the best and most reliable authority we can obtain, the amount of mortgaged indebtedness resting upon the farms and homes of the people is not less than \$16,000,000,000. The interest on this vast sum at eight per cent per annum is \$1,280,000,000. This is the annual tribute which the farmers of this country are paying to Shylocks. The immensity of this vast sum can be more readily be realized when we consider that it exceeds the value of the entire wheat, corn and cotton crops of the United States for one year. Nor is this all. Other forms of indebtedness, both public and private, swells the above sum to more than \$30,000,000,000. When we consider the fact that the annual increase of all agricultural interests is less than three per cent, it does not take more than an ordinary observer to realize that it is only a matter of time when the eight per cent annual tribute will absorb all the land in the country, as it has certainly done in other parts of the world. Statistics show that more than two hundred million acres of land have been granted to various railroad companies. Foreign syndicates own more than 20,000,000 acres. In addition to this the comparative statistics show that there is a tendency to increase the number of large farms in the United States, and that the number of small farms is growing less each year.

We recommend to this body that they take immediate action to furnish some relief to the many thousands of farmers whose only hope in being able to lift the mortgages from their homes and farms is through the early action of Congress to devise some method to protect their interests and give to them the fruits of their labor.

J. F. TILLMAN, Chairman.
S. B. ERWIN.
W. H. BARTON.
B. J. KENDRICK.

Committee on a collection of Alliance songs reported as follows:

The special committee appointed to secure a suitable collection of songs for the use of the Farmers and Laborers Union beg leave to say that it will not be possible to submit a final report at this session of the union; we beg time to make all necessary investigation, and further ask that the National Union will authorize this committee to give its endorsement to such work as we may select.

Following resolutions were read and adopted:

Whereas THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our adopted official National organ, has so boldly and fearlessly advocated our cause and defended our principles: Therefore, be it

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

Resolved, That the thanks of this body is tendered to the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis for the use of the commodious hall in which this meeting was held, and that the secretary be requested to inform the Merchants' Exchange of the same.

On motion the following report from the business agents was read and approved:

ST. LOUIS, MO., DECEMBER 3, 1889.

The business agents and managers met in room 13, Hurst's hotel, for the purpose of forming an association.

On motion Bro. J. B. Dines was elected chairman, and Oswald Wilson secretary.

On motion a committee of five were appointed to consider the advisability and formulate a plan of organization for the business agents.

The committee reported the following plan, which was unanimously adopted as the constitution:

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.
The name of this association shall be State Business Agents' Association.

ARTICLE II.
SECTION 1. The objects of this Association are to disseminate information, promote and encourage the exchange of the various articles consumed and produced in the different sections of the country, so as to have them pass directly from the producer to the consumer.

SEC. 2. To assist each other in devising the best means for encouraging the membership in the respective States to confine their trading entirely to the channels recommended by their respective States.

SEC. 3. To collect and tabulate reports as to the condition of the various crops periodically.

ARTICLE III.

The members of this Association shall be the State Business Agents and managers of exchanges established under the auspices of the Farmers and Laborers' Union, and of similar organizations of farmers.

ARTICLE IV.

This Association shall meet annually at the time and place of the regular annual meeting of the Farmers and Laborers' Union.

ARTICLE V.

The officers of this Association shall consist of a president, vice-president and secretary, who shall be elected at the regular annual meeting of this Association.

ARTICLE VI.

SECTION 1. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and perform duties usually incumbent upon such presiding officer. He shall call special meetings upon request of the majority of State agents or managers whenever questions of general interest demand.

SEC. 2. The vice-president, in the absence of the president, shall perform his duties.

SEC. 3. The secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of each meeting of the Association, and do the correspondence of the Association.

We hereby agree to conform to the above constitution governing the action of this Association.

J. B. DINES, President.

Oswald Wilson, Secretary.

J. S. BIRD, Ala. AUGUST POST, Iowa.
W. W. HOLLAND, Ky. J. L. SEAVIER, Wash.
GEORGE A. GOWAN, Tenn. S. M. HOSKINS, Ia.
J. O. WINN, Ga. M. B. WADE, Kans.
FELIX CORPUT, Ga. S. W. WRIGHT, Jr., Ill.
T. A. CLAYTON, La. S. P. A. BRUBAKER, Va.
W. H. WORTH, N. C. B. G. WEST, Miss.
D. B. HATFIELD, Ark. T. W. HAYNES, Ky.
T. J. GALLOWAY, Tenn. W. B. COLLIER, Mo.
W. K. CESSNA, Fla. Col. L. MAY, Wis.
G. G. GROSE, Dak. W. J. COX, Ind.
ALLEN ROOT, Neb. J. A. MUDD, Md.
J. D. FURLONG, Minn. A. S. MANN, Fla.

On motion Bro. J. B. Dines was elected president, W. W. Holden vice-president and Oswald Wilson secretary.

On motion a report of the action taken by the Southern Business Agent's Association, with the constitution, be published and submitted to the Farmers and Laborers Union for indorsement by the president and secretary.

Oswald Wilson, Secretary.

The committee on secret work reported and exemplified the secret work.

The meeting adjourned at 6 p. m., to meet the first Tuesday in December, 1890, at Jacksonville, Florida.

The New York World, speaking of an abuse believed to be quite current, says:

The purchase of Senatorships is the robbery of the people of their dearest possession. Like bribery in elections, it is a crime against liberty which no honest man can look upon except with loathing and a deadly righteous hatred of its perpetrators. The man or the party that consents to it is already leprosy to the marrow.

ORGANIZATION and education are rapidly preparing the masses for the work of conducting this republic as it was originally intended it should be conducted—in the interest of all the people.

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

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

No. 32.

OBSTRUCTED AND UNEVEN COMPETITION THE CAUSE OF LOCAL DISCRIMINATION.

The principle of the railroad system under which local discriminations are made almost inevitable should be definitely stated in order to point the way to a discussion, at least of the reform which may remedy those conditions, and with that remedy take away the abuse. It has probably been made plain enough to the reader of the foregoing discussions of the character and effect of local discrimination what the reason is which forces the railroads to give extremely low rates upon competitive traffic, and what is the nature of their power which enables them while doing so to maintain high rates upon the local traffic. But in order to make the point definite and to fix the fact beyond dispute it is well to state the reason and cause of this class of discrimination in exact terms.

The discriminations between localities are not due to the exercise of any wanton powers or unrestrained tyranny on the part of the railroad; they are simply due to the fact expressed in the division of the traffic into the classes of competitive and non-competitive business. The cause and reason of all local discrimination lies in the fact that competition extends only to a portion of the business of the railroad. The result of that imperfect extent and operation of the power of competition is that the railroads are forced, whenever they meet competition, to give the lowest rates that they can afford upon the traffic which enjoys the ability to take other routes; while upon the traffic where they have no competition they are able to maintain their full traffic rates.

The theory developed by the railroad school of assessing railroad rates solely with reference to the value of the service, or what the freight will bear, and discarding the element of cost of service, is not the cause of the discrimination; but it is an expression or indication of the cause. Value, what the freight will bear or what the consumers of any service can afford to pay, is the measure and indication of demand. The cost of service or production is the limit and measure of supply. It is well known that where both supply and demand are allowed a free influence, acting one upon the other, the resultant or effect of both influences is a just and natural adjustment of values or charges. If more people engage in the business of supplying any given staple or service the price naturally and legitimately goes down. If more people join in the demand for it, and greater quantities are needed, the price or charge with equal jus-

tice is enhanced. But it is a well known fact, established by the universal testimony of commercial experience, that where either supply or demand is controlled by a single person or corporation, while competition makes itself freely felt on the other side, the result is that the influence which is thus controlled does not make itself fully felt, while that which is open to competition has its entire effect. Therefore, the real significance of the railway theory of adjusting rates solely by value is that on a portion of the traffic the absence of competition enables the railroads to discard the element of cost as the indication and exponent of supply, and to fix its rates solely with regard to demand.

The reverse may be and is the case in one or two instances. There are a few shippers of prominent staples who, having sole control of that class of shipments, are enabled to oppose that control against the competition of various railroads. In that case the supply of railroad service is made a more prominent factor in the establishment of rates than the demand for it on the part of shippers. But with regard to local traffic, the absence of competition in transportation enables the element of supply to be controlled and kept from the shippers, while the element of demand, of value, or of what the freight will bear, is still given its full effect.

The formulation of this railroad theory means simply that the absence of competition makes the railroads assess all that the freight will bear upon the non-competitive traffic, while upon the competitive traffic the rates are reduced to the point which the freight will bear, as shown by the ability to take other rates; while discarding of the cost of service means that the cost of service is so much exceeded on the local traffic that the railroad is enabled to ignore that element upon the competitive business.

That the sole cause of this class of discrimination is the imperfect and uneven operation of competition—its presence at one point and its absence at another—is shown most plainly by a single fact with regard to local discrimination that has not been brought out prominently in any discussion of the subject. That is, that local discrimination may be made in favor of the transportation which involves the carriage of much the longer distance, when the competition is on the shorter haul. The anomaly of disregarding the element of distance in transportation, so far as to charge the same rate or less for the transportation of double the distance as for that of the shorter haul, is more prominent and surprising than a discrimination which charges actually less in proportion to distance on the shorter haul. Consequently the discussion has been almost entirely confined to cases in which the longer haul is the radically favored one, and most of the provisions suggested and enacted for remedying those evils have been simply for the protection of the shorter haul as against the longer one. Nevertheless, it is true that,

rivals in the same class of business, the one which requires the least transportation may, if it is the competitive point, secure actually lower rates in proportion to the service rendered than the one farther away. One case of exacting that discrimination within the knowledge of the writer has imposed the greater charge in proportion to distance upon the longest haul, involving the distribution and prosperity of an industry of national importance.

At the time when Pittsburg was without competition in the railroad transportation of the important freights, the manufacture of iron, the most prominent and nearest contrast to the rates which were imposed upon that industry at Pittsburg, were the rates to a competitive point involving half the transportation on iron ore, on which less than half the charge was made, while on pig-iron freights involving practically the same distance for transportation the competitive point secured an advantage in the rates of from 56 cents down to 12 cents per ton. In this case, all the advantages given to the intermediate point involving the least transportation, so far as distance is concerned,

made a total upon a ton of manufactured iron in favor of the rival of Pittsburg of over eleven dollars per ton. This was a very marked advantage for the iron manufacturers at the competitive point, and a decided disadvantage for the iron manufacturers of Pittsburg. The sole reason for this was that the competitive point had three different lines of railroads competing for its iron business. Pittsburg, while possessed of as many lines considered in a geographical sense, labored under the misfortune of having all those lines controlled by a single company, so that it was without competition in the transportation which was vital to its iron traffic. This specifically illustrates the fact that, while it is customary to speak of these discriminations as between the long and short haul, the real foundation of the discrimination does not rely solely upon distance. It is not any inherent affection or desire on the part of the railroads that makes them discriminate in favor of the long haul, nor have they any especial enmity for a short one. It is the element of competition that gives a low rate on one class. It is the absence of competition from the great mass of local traffic that maintains the high rate there.

Whenever competition reaches what has heretofore been the local traffic, as it did in the case of Pittsburg, by the building of a new line in consequence of the discrimination just referred to, and as it has done on a portion of the Pacific railroads by the building of new roads, the discriminations disappear in proportion as the competition is thorough and permanent.

This fact makes it pertinent to allude to an expression of the president of the Farmers Alliance at a recent convention of that body with regard to the effect of competition in the regulation of freight traffic. It gives voice to the general idea with regard to the

railway question, that competition in its application to the railroad business has been given a full trial and proved a failure. This view is correct enough as applied to the actual fact with regard to the workings of competition under the present system of railroad operation; and it is also equally true with regard to that influence so long as the present conditions of railroad organization are maintained. But it overlooks one important fact: That is, that the present methods of organization and operation in railroad business prevent competition from ever securing its full and complete influence upon the charges fixed by the railroad.

The fundamental and controlling fact with regard to the work of competition in the railroad business is that it has never been given a fair trial. Each railroad possesses the exclusive privilege of transportation over its own line. Therefore, wherever it affords the only transportation route for a given locality, there it is able to prevent the influence of competition from being felt in any degree whatsoever.

The fact that any beneficial influence or regulative power makes a failure when prevented from reaching a certain class is not to be charged against the power itself but against the circumstances which prevented it from doing its work. Education is generally acknowledged to be a beneficial influence in enlightening and qualifying the masses for the duties of citizenship; but if the circumstances of organization or the errors of our laws should prevent any education at all from reaching a considerable portion of our population, the ignorance and degradation and lack of knowledge displayed by that portion would not be chargeable to the failure of the beneficial influence of education but to the defective organizations which prevented the beneficial power from doing its legitimate work.

So with regard to competition in its effect upon the railroad business as a whole, and especially with regard to its bearing upon the differences between competitive and non-competitive traffic. Its failure as a regulative force and the eccentricities of rates which are produced by the concentration of the competition upon a single class of traffic, while it is entirely removed from another class, is inevitable. But the reason of the failure is not to be found in any imperfect or vicious effect of the principle itself, but it is to be found in its imperfect and uneven application; its total absence upon one class of business and its concentrated and exaggerated form upon the other class.

The difference between the obstructed form of competition upon the railroads and the full and natural working of that influence in business where it has full play, may be shown by comparing business with various classes of enterprise and industry in which competition exerts its full influence.

It happens to be the truth that the one industry in which there is the most absolutely free and general competition is that to which the NA-

TIONAL ECONOMIST addresses its arguments. There are seven million competitors in the production of agricultural staples; and it was never heard in that interest, that the consumers of agricultural products, who are located nearest the field of production, should pay more, should bear a greater portion of the interest charges and profit upon the staples than the consumers of flour and wheat in the European markets, where the American products come into competition with those of Russia and India. A merchant who sells goods in direct competition with a score of other merchants, never thinks of developing a theory, like that of the railroads, that a certain class of his customers must yield

all the profits necessary to pay the rent of his store, or the interest on the capital which he has invested in the business. Both merchant and farmer know that they have got to sell to all customers alike. The consequence is, that the prices of services or staples, which are subject to the full and free influence of competition, are brought down into the closest relation to the cost of the service, or the unwholesome prices of the staple. The result of this equality is undoubtedly beneficial, not only to all the customers, who thus obtain their goods and services at the cheapest rate, but it has been demonstrated by experience over and over again to be for the best interests of commerce as a whole. There have been instances in which merchants were able to control the trade of especial classes, and thus to be free from competition. In such cases, we may be quite confident that the natural result ensued of making such customers pay greater prices and larger profits than were exacted from customers who had the privilege of going elsewhere to buy their goods if he did not sell them at a reasonable margin. But under such circumstances trade is always dwarfed and hampered, and the development of competition has resulted in the expansion of trade, just as in the case of certain railroads, where the introduction of competition has relieved the localities from the burdensome local charges, the growth of business has more than compensated those who endeavored to preserve the monopoly for the business which was taken away from them by the new competitors.

This makes the logical conclusion with regard to the cause of discrimination between localities as clear as, if not clearer than, the similar conclusion with regard to the source and root of individual discriminations. The sole reason why high rates are charged to one locality and low rates to another, upon transportation involving practically the same service, is simply that the favored locality has the influence of competition, pressing rates down to the cost of service, while the disfavored locality is without competition, and therefore has no relief. In other words the imperfect and hampered condition of competition in railroad transportation is the cause of these discriminations.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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.
Incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia.
SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

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

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

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

Address all remittances or communications to—

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

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

ALL mail for the secretary of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union should be addressed to "J. H. Turner, secretary, N. F. A. and I. U., care NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C."

WHEREAS THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our adopted official national organ, has so boldly and fearlessly advocated our cause and defended our principles: Therefore, be it.

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

In calling attention to the foregoing resolutions, passed unanimously by the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union at St. Louis, the publishers of the national journal have nothing more to say at present upon the subject than that the highly complimentary indorsement is duly appreciated. THE ECONOMIST has at all times endeavored to do its duty fully and faithfully, and it now remains for the members to do their duty to themselves, THE ECONOMIST and the cause it represents by giving it an extensive circulation. The individual indorsement of the members by sending in their subscriptions is now and always in order.

OUR REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD.

Upon the subject of diplomatic relations with foreign countries, the President in his message recommends that our diplomatic agents to the other American nations be of the uniform rank of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. There is, however, a growing dissatisfaction with the present system of diplomatic service with all its pompous pretense and affected importance.

The very names seem silly and strange for the agents of a plain, common-sense republic to assume. Envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary is bombast, an extraordinary title for a simple democrat to carry around. Louis XIV of France, posing before his visitors and strivings by every artistic and artificial means to appear to them of a commanding and majestic appearance, may have been excusable under the circumstances which surrounded him and the age in which he lived. But our republic needs no such artificial means to impress the world with its greatness or make

its agents respected. It does not need to copy the grandiloquent diplomatic gibberish of monarchical Europe or dub its agents abroad with high sounding but meaningless titles. The extraordinary duties attached to those extravagant titles are just as absurdly silly. Those principally consist in doing nothing, but doing it in a solemn, diplomatic manner. About the only thing they do in a business manner is to draw their salaries. It was Talleyrand who defined a diplomat as "a person sent abroad to lie for his country." The whole system has become a living lie, a fraud and a farce. It is utterly inconsistent with a republican form of government. The monarchical idea of government was a sort of a magnificent mutual admiration society of the few rulers, and for the honor, glory and aggrandisement of those rulers; the masses to be kept in awe and loyalty by the grand displays, majestic titles and affected wisdom and worth of the governing class. The republican idea of government is a business organization for carrying on the public business in a commonsense, business-like manner. Not only should the public business of this republic be conducted on business principles at home, but its business abroad should be reduced to business terms, placed upon a business basis and attended to by business agents. Even in matters and methods of our republic at home there is too much of this sham, affectation and tinsel. The suggestion that the diplomatic agents of this Government to the other American governments should be of uniform rank is in the right direction; but that rank should be simply business agent or consul. It is said that an Eastern member of Congress has prepared a bill and will soon introduce it, proposing to abolish, after July 1, 1890, the offices of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, minister and minister resident from the United States to foreign countries; that this country be represented abroad by agents, consuls and consuls-general; according to the importance of the place. The bill also provides for four inspectors of consuls to make examinations of the books and official workings of consular offices in the countries and places designated by the Secretary of State. It also provides that after the new system is established appointments to fill vacancies shall be made to the office of third class consuls only; all other vacancies to be filled by promotion and not more than one-half of the appointments to be from one political party. Some of the provisions of the bill so far as made public are wise; some might be deemed otherwise.

A GENERAL VIEW.

Taking the world as a whole in one comprehensive view, the outlook is in the main unusually encouraging and bright. There is a spirit of unrest among the people wherever false systems prevail and a serious earnestness in favor of change and reform among advanced thinkers everywhere. The great

masses are awakening, beginning to investigate the systems under which they live, and are suggesting changes and amendments. Even into the densest darkness of despotism the light of freedom is shining and the spirit of progress is penetrating with sufficient strength and power to somewhat tame the haughtiest tyrant and to the same extent elevate his lowliest serfs. From Teheran come the news that the Shah of Persia is willing to be divested of such of his personal prerogatives as the interests of his people may require. He has directed his ministers to form a commission to study the laws of European countries with a view of forming more liberal civil and criminal codes. In the far away southern seas Sir Henry Parkes, premier of one of the Australian dependencies of Great Britain, proposes a confederation of all the Australian colonies, which the more progressive of the Australians hope will in a few years lead to the formation of an independent republic—the United States of Australia. In Italy the masses are becoming more enlightened, and in the result of the recent local elections showed their dissatisfaction with monarchical methods by electing a large number of labor candidates. In England, although the Tory ministers of a monarchical government holds sway, yet the march of democratic ideas has left them long in the rear, and in all probability will ere long permanently retire them. In France and Germany national antipathy and national jealousy to a certain extent keep popular movements and tendencies repressed. Measures are submitted to and burdens borne by the people of each of those countries which would not be tolerated were it not for this race antipathy. Rational enlightenment will yet show them that their real interests are identical. Upon the American continent Brazil has just effected a peaceful, and it is to be hoped, a happy change. The Canadians are becoming dissatisfied with a dependent colonial condition, but hesitate between autonomy and independence and annexation. The five Central American republics propose to form a union—the United States of Central America—believing it to be the interest of all their people to do so. Senor Gerónimo Zalaya of Honduras, lately interviewed in this city upon that subject, said:

By the union of our countries all those petty jealousies, all those wars, and the possibility of our having another Barrios will be done away with.

At present the Pan-American Congress, composed of delegates from all the American nations, is in session devising and perfecting plans to promote the progress and prosperity of all Americans. And last, but not least, here at home the agricultural organizations of the United States having come to the conclusion that in order to protect their interests and secure their rights they would have to unite, the union was accomplished, and the result is the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union. Realizing that field and factory should harmonize

in the effort for reform, the co-operation of the farmer and artisan has been effected. They now propose that in future the economic systems of this republic must be shaped to subserve the interests of the producers rather than to swell the profits of monopoly or support a horde of useless parasites.

ASPIRING DEMAGOGUES.

Those who are not friends of the Alliance movement among farmers and laboring men of all classes veil their hostility behind the deceitful cloak of good advice. They say "we have no doubt your masses are actuated by honorable motives and impelled by the pressure of your necessities, but your organizations are going to be used by aspiring demagogues to procure for themselves prominence in your order, as a stepping-stone to political advancement." These are the same old "aspiring demagogues" whom everybody knows, and they are incapable of harm.

Every man of them has upon him an infallible mark; we know them all, and we do not intend to be used by them. There are those connected with these organizations who may be relied on to smoke them out before they get warm in their nests, and who will set their faces against every attempt to prostitute any branch of the Alliance to any such base uses. Whenever the Alliance becomes capable of being used by such people for such purposes it will speedily be abandoned to its deserved fate by all who are capable of sustaining it as an instrument of real and safe reform in many necessary directions in the administration of public affairs and in the general policy of government. On these reforms be assured the attention of the leading minds of the order is invited, and their support can be had by no man and by no party except by deserving it continually. Notice to that effect is hereby served on all concerned.

Due notice is given that no such aspiring demagogues, whether they be effete politicians seeking asylum in the order or professional politicians outside of the order whose tenure upon the public pap is getting insecure, can climb up through us to positions of power and influence or places which pay.

The most able and trusted men in this movement are not in it for anything to be made out of it, and they have determined that it shall not be diverted to partisan uses nor perverted to any base ends. In short, they are not demagogues; but sober, able, honest men, seeking to advance their own calling by means and methods which shall promote the general happiness and welfare of all classes of every community and section of the Union, and by such means and methods only.

They are prepared to be misunderstood; they are prepared to be traduced and denounced; they are prepared for malice and scorn and hate from the "aspiring demagogues" against whom their faces are set, and from all whom these men are able to lead. Our order is no Jugurthine camp to which all bankrupt debtors, all suspected persons, all who are dissatisfied, and all whose

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fortunes being desperate trust that they may benefit by any change in the existing order of things, have made resort. We are a conservative host, with conservative leaders, moving with deliberate caution and with resolute determination in favor of the reversal of a public policy which makes government an ally of every political mountebank and every financial juggler who concocts a scheme to enable the rich to plunder the poor through the taxing power of the government and its monetary system.

HARRY TRACY.

The Texas brethren will be delighted to learn that the "Sam Jones" of our order will, in obedience to the general plan, return to the "Lone Star State," for the purpose of delivering a series of lectures, beginning at his old home, Rockdale, on December 28 at 11 a. m.

The Alliance movement began in Texas, and that State has stood the brunt of the unequal struggle; upon her the combined forces of speculation and usury have centered their heaviest guns. The battle cry of the opposition has been, defeat the Farmers Alliance in Texas and it is defeated everywhere, but fail to destroy the movement in Texas and the Farmers Alliance will sweep the country and destroy the sway of speculation and usury.

Few organizations have been confronted

with such powerful combinations, and fewer

have survived such a strain; yet despite

all the Texas flag is seen proudly floating

in the Alliance army, now reaching from

Mexico to Canada.

It is meet, therefore, that the first gun in the great reform emanating from the St. Louis meeting should be fired upon Texas soil and at the home of a leader who is destined to be a host in the great battle for justice and liberty.

Bro. Tracy's Texas headquarters until further notice will be Rockdale, Milam county, Texas. All communications should be addressed to him there.

THE Journal of the Knights of Labor (late Journal of United Labor) thus speaks of the consolidation of the farmers and their agreement with the knights:

Essentially the principles of the two organizations being the same and their aims being identical, it is immaterial to which man may belong, and the Knight of Labor who helps build up the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union is doing the same work as if he were building up the assembly of his own order.

Never before was the future so full of hope. With fidelity to conviction, all we ever hoped for is now within our reach. We have formed an alliance with a body who are earnest, honest, intelligent, and who believe as thoroughly as we in the great principles upon which our order is founded, and for the carrying out of which it exists. Our allies are not fair-weather friends, not new converts, but men of deep and well-rooted convictions; men who "know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain." They are men who can be depended upon to do their full part in the struggle. Let us see to it that we too do ours.

OFFICIAL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 11, 1889.
L. L. POLK, Pres. National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: As chairman of the National Executive Board, I address you for a ruling upon the following questions of law:

Is the five cents per capita dues from the State bodies for the present year to be estimated upon the strength of the order in the various States on the first day of October, 1889, or on the first day of October, 1890, and was same due and payable to the National Secretary on the first of November, 1889, or will it not be due till the first day of November, 1890?

My reason for asking this ruling is, that I called the attention of the Supreme Council to the fact that the Executive Board would be called upon to audit accounts for expenses necessary to put the officers at work, and to meet salaries and other expenses authorized by the body, and that there is now no fund on hand to meet same. The body took no formal action, but a number of delegates called out that the annual dues were payable in advance. Hence this request for your ruling.

C. W. MACUNE,
Chairman Executive Board.

RALEIGH, N. C., December 14, 1889.
C. W. Macune, Chairman Executive Board of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

DEAR SIR AND BRO: In compliance with your request I submit the following rulings on the question involved:

Ruling 1.—That the per capita tax of five cents imposed by the constitution is to be collected by the various State organizations upon their estimated strength on the first day of October, 1889.

Ruling 2.—That the per capita tax of five cents was due and payable to the National Secretary on the first day of November, 1889.

Fraternally, L. L. POLK,
Prest. N. F. A. and Industrial Union.

THE scheme of Secretary Windom, stripped of its many words and useless phrases, is simply this: Congress will stop the coinage of silver, the owners of silver may exchange their bullion at the mint for certificates if they can get the consent of the Secretary to do so; or, in other words, repeal the present law governing coinage, and in lieu thereof permit the owners of silver to deposit their bullion at the mints and receive in exchange silver certificates. Meanwhile the Secretary is to be authorized to suspend the operation of the law whenever he shall deem it advisable. This is the same old confidence game in another form. It won't work.

AT THE St. Louis meeting strong resolutions were passed demanding that recorded farm indebtedness shall not only be included in the present census, but should be among the first reports published. From present indications it is doubtful if this demand will be acceded to. The subject has been brought before Congress with the statement that the superintendent, Mr. Porter, does not understand it to be his duty under the law to take this kind of indebtedness. This will probably be the final result. THE ECONOMIST will urge the importance of this matter, and will receive any suggestions upon the subject with thanks. Meanwhile its readers will be kept informed.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

POTASSIUM.

Among the ash minerals of plants always found therein and essential to their vegetative activity is the element potassium. Non-living matter which does not contain this element is incapable of becoming living matter. If living matter be deprived of its potassium it can not continue to live. In what manner potassium performs its functions in support of the initial processes of life we are not able, in the present condition of knowledge, to state. Like the other elements essential to life, it enjoys a distribution practically universal. The fact that any soil has produced vegetation is evidence that it contains potassium. This element can not exist in the free state in nature on account of its affinity for oxygen. Neither on account of the powerfully basic character of its oxide and its hydrate does it exist in those forms naturally, but in the form of chemical salts, mainly sulphates, silicates and chlorides. Potassium chemically isolated is a metal, resembling silver in lustre, but of low density or hardness, and is easily cut like wax with a knife. A piece of this metal thrown on water decomposes this water and appropriates its oxygen so energetically as to cause a brilliant combustion. It is set on fire by water, which we so commonly use to put fire out. This fact demonstrates that potassium can not exist in nature in the free state. Potassa is potassium oxide, commonly called potash. The final result of the action of potassium on water is potassium hydrate and water. The flame produced is the result of the combustion of the displaced hydrogen by the heat developed by the reaction.

As the formula readily shows water H_2O plus potassium K = KOH plus H. That is, one atom of the hydrogen of water is replaced by an atom of potassium, and the escaping hydrogen undergoes combustion, uniting with oxygen to form water. Now this KOH or potassium hydrate is commonly known as caustic potash, and is in fact a powerful caustic and violent irritant poison. This substance is the typical alkali; that is to say, the type of a class of compounds powerfully basic, and turning red litmus blue and yellow tourmaline brown, and also saponifying oils and fats. Alkali is a technical term of the old alchemists, and is a sort of mixture or arabic and latin, kalium being latin for potassium. Alkali is a substance like potassium in its action. Other of these alkali or like-potash metals are lithium, sodium, calcium, barium, strontium, magnesium, caesium, and rubidium. Of these, besides potassium, sodium, calcium and magnesium are essential to vegetation. They are invariable ash minerals of plants, and are universally distributed. Each of the other metals of this group having nothing to do with life is sparingly distributed in accordance with the great general design and purpose displayed throughout nature, viz., preparation for the grand climax, the advent of life. Again and again do we recur to this point and insist upon its importance. Why, upon any doctrine of chance, any theory of probabilities, any operation of physical laws, any hypothesis of a principle of evolution, should the very form of these metals which are essential to the existence of life be selected out of a group of nine, for universal distribution upon the earth, while only a sparing and partial

distribution is accorded the others. It is in vain that by a hypothesis we would cast out God from His own creation. Of nearly every rock and of all soils potassium is a constituent, mainly as a silicate. One of the constituent minerals of the granite rocks, viz., feldspar, contains potash to the extent of 14 per cent, existing in combination with silica and alumina. Mica contains as much as 9 per cent of it, and this mineral being also a constituent of granite it appears that granitic soils are vastly rich in potash, and to fetch potash from Stassfurth to manure our American granite soils is one of those strange things that men so often do for which they can assign no good reason. At Strassfurth overlying the rock salt is a vast deposit of potassium chloride. Considerable deposits of potassium chloride and sulphate have been found also in East Galicia. In sea water potassium chloride exists, and hence also in sea-weed and sea salt. In the ash of all ordinary plants there is much potash. Common wood ashes, especially those of hard wood, are a commercial as well as a domestic source of it. In the processes of plant life potash performs its functions in a manner which science has not explained. We know only that without potash they can not live, and no vegetable tissue of any sort can be formed. Within the tissues of living plants the potassium seems to exist in combination with various organic acids. When the plant is subjected to combustion these salts are reduced for the most part to carbonated sulphate and chloride. When wood ashes are acted on by water the salts of calcium and magnesium are not dissolved out, but the potash is freely dissolved and leached out mainly as hydrate. Upon the addition of slaked lime calcium carbonate is formed, and any potassium carbonate converted into hydrate calcium carbonate being insoluble is precipitated and a tolerably clear solution of potassium hydrate remains. In leached ashes very little potassium remains, but much calcium as hydrate and carbonate, and a considerable quantity of phosphate, and this last in a very minute state of division is readily assimilated by plants. The chief manurial value of leached ashes depends on the amount of calcium phosphate, and by no means, as very commonly supposed, upon its potash. Potash as a manure is very useful on sandy and light ochreous soils, but much less so on granitic soils, and in fact on any which are of a stiff clayey nature, such soils usually contain potash in very large quantities. With the military history of man potassium is associated as one of the elements of gun powder. In that aspect of it one of Shakespeare's personages who went down to the field of battle after the fight delivered himself after a fashion we are somewhat inclined to indorse. He said that for his part he regarded it a thousand pities (or words to that effect) that villainous saltpeter was ever dug out of the bowels of the harmless earth, and but for the vile guns he would himself have been a soldier. Now we learn that there is to be a powder used in future wars noiseless and smokeless in which there is to be no saltpeter. In medicine and in various uses in the arts, and in some of the larger productive industries potassium compounds play an important part; and in the scientific work of the chemist, whether in industrial chemistry or in the manipulations and determinations of exact analyses, any theory of probabilities, any operation of physical laws, any hypothesis of a principle of evolution, should the very form of these metals which are essential to the existence of life be selected out of a group of nine, for universal distribution upon the earth, while only a sparing and partial

THE ASSOCIATION OF AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES.

The Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations has been holding a recent meeting in Washington and discussing many things of interest to these institutions. The co-operation of the colleges and stations with agricultural societies and farmers institutes was discussed and generally endorsed and approved, with the reservation that the exhibits should be for exhibition only and not for premiums, the sole object of their exhibition being their educational value. That this is the correct view is very plain. The educational value of the experiment stations, no less than of the agricultural colleges, is the only and true reason for their existence. The National Government never meant to appropriate money to put the States in competition with individual farmers. That the stations and colleges should take part in farmers institutes seems clear, as this is the most direct and effectual way of disseminating among the people any important results of their investigations, and at the same time popularizing the knowledge of the correct methods of scientific investigation among practical farmers. In so far as such work can be done without useless or excessive expense of the time and means of the colleges and stations it is right everywhere that it should be done. The educational work will not by any means be all one way, for the stations and colleges must be benefited in their knowledge of practical questions by the contact of their officers in discussion with practical farmers. A lack of any real grasp of practical questions, unfrequently associated with a sort of contempt for such questions, is a vice generated by long adherence to the methods of the schools. In general there has been far too little contact between teachers and men of affairs.

CARBOLIC ACID.

An immense number of quack nostrums in the form of so-called cressols, phenols, etc., are advertised as destroyers of vermin, and cures of mange or itch. These are one and all solutions of so-called crude carbolic acid, which is a mixture of carbolic acid, creosote and pyroligneous acid, with light and heavy oils of tar. If this mixture sold under the name of crude carbolic acid be mixed with water the oils of tar constituting 10 to 15 per cent of the crude acid will remain undissolved. Our nostrums are made by adding alkalis which combine with a portion of the carbolic acid to form alkaline carbolates and also saponify and render soluble the oils of tar. Divers other things are added or pretended to be added which add nothing to the value of the article. Pure carbolic acid in a solution of 1 per cent is fatal to all low organisms. A pint of carbolic acid as sold in the shops added to about 80 pints of water will be a cheaper, more effectual, and cleaner remedy for vermin and for itch, and with all a cheaper one than any of the advertised

"dips," which are of variable and uncertain strength. Moreover, the alkaline carbolates while fatal to the vermin, are not so deadly to them by any means as the free acid. Having prepared a solution of the acid as above suggested, saw a coal oil barrel in half, and having warmed the solution put it into the tub so formed and therein dip and squeeze the affected animal; hold him over the tub to drain and strike the solution off by stroking with the hair; then let the creature go. It will soon dry, and be clean without any tar oil sticking to the hair like glue. Such a dip will destroy fleas, lice, the itch, mite, and all such parasites. The solution may be put in any old can or keg, and kept for future use. Remember, carbolic acid, pure or crude, is poisonous, and so are all preparations of it.

In the examination of witnesses before the Senate special committee investigating the dressed meat business some light was thrown upon the methods of the meat monopoly to crush out competition. A butcher of this city named Hoover testified that he was warned not to bid on Government contracts; that if he did he would be driven out of the market by the Chicago packers. He did bid, however, and obtained a small contract. Then he found that none of the agents of the Chicago beef combinations would sell him any meat; nor would they sell to any of his friends who tried to purchase for him. After he made complaint to the home offices of the Chicago firms through an attorney the Washington agents were instructed to sell meat to him at two or three cents above the regular price. George N. Omahundra, the Washington salesman of one of the Chicago firms, corroborated Hoover's testimony. The latter stated that he could now buy the beef at the regular rates; that the boycott has been raised since the Senate committee commenced investigating the business.

THE New York State Trades Assembly in its session at Albany December 11 adopted resolutions in favor of a uniform school text-book law; of a ballot-reform law securing absolute secrecy and State registration; of a law forbidding the sale of articles manufactured in the prisons, penitentiaries and reformatories of the State; a law defining the liabilities of railroad companies for death or injuries of employees caused by carelessness of the companies; a law providing for the appointment of twenty factory inspectors, ten of whom shall be women; of an anti-Pinkerton law. A resolution was also passed requesting Congress to print 5,000,000 copies of the Congressional committee's report on the Reading railroad trouble.

W. S. Morgan.
DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I write to congratulate you upon your valuable "History of the Agricultural Wheel and Farmers Alliance and the Impending Revolution."

I regard your history as a great benefit to the order, and calculated to be of much assistance in the important work of the future.

Every farmer and every man interested in the cause of the farmer should read your book and preserve it in his home library.

Yours fraternally,

C. W. MACUNE.

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AND

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The great necessity of the times is education. It is our only hope. It is the beacon light of success. We must not only educate but we must educate properly. The people fight the bagging trust and the twine trust because they see plainly the iniquity of the system.

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BRO. MORGAN: After critical examination of your new book, "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution," I find it to be a work of vital importance to every reformer, and one that should be read by every American citizen. The subjects on which it treats are the questions which affect the industries of the nation and cause the depressed condition of labor. It is a wonderful compilation of facts, sustained by the most eminent authorities. It is one of the best editions within the reach of the people, and it has my hearty approval.

Yours fraternally, EVAN JONES,
Pres. Farmers and Laborers Union of America.
OZONE, ARK., September 6, 1889.
BRO. MORGAN: I have received your "History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution." I predicted a work of unusual interest, and after having read your book I find my predictions fulfilled to the letter. It is a work which I can heartily recommend to the toiling millions. It has more clubs with which to fight monopoly, between its two covers, than any book I have ever seen. I hope it will have an extensive circulation.

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Pres. National Wheel and Vice-Pres. F. L. U. A.
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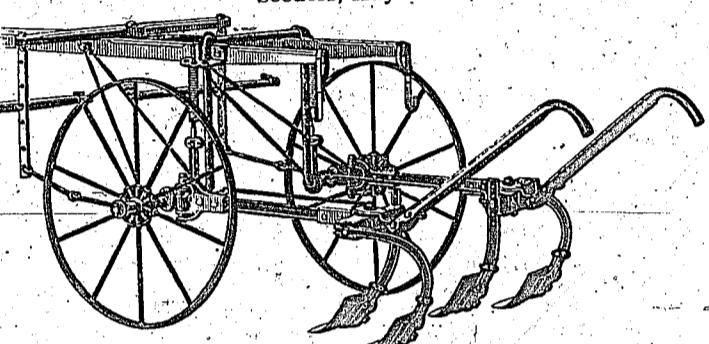
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NO. 15.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

VOL. II.

EUREKA!

Key to the Solution of the Industrial Problem of the Age.

An important step was taken in the history of the world by the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union at the recent St. Louis meeting, and the gauntlet is thrown before monopolists and speculators by the adoption of the following:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MONETARY SYSTEM.

The financial policy of the general Government seems to-day to be peculiarly adapted to further the interests of the speculating class, at the expense—and to the manifest detriment of the productive class, and while there are many forms of relief offered, there has up to the present time been no true remedy presented which has secured a support universal enough to render its adoption probable. Neither of the political parties offer a remedy adequate to our necessities, and the two parties that have been in power since the war have pursued practically the same financial policy.

The situation is this: The most desirable and necessary reform is one that will adjust the financial system of the general Government so that its provisions cannot be utilized by a class, which thereby becomes privileged and is in consequence contrary to the genius of our Government, and which is to-day the principal cause of the depressed condition of agriculture. Regardless of all this the political parties utterly ignore these great evils and refuse to remove their cause, and the importunities of the privileged class have no doubt often led the executive and legislative branches of the Government to believe that the masses were passive and reconciled to the existence of this system whereby a privileged class can, by means of the power of money to oppress, exact from labor all that it produces except a bare subsistence. Since then it is the most necessary of all reforms, and receives no attention from any of the prominent political parties, it is highly appropriate and important that our efforts be concentrated to secure the needed reform in this direction, provided all can agree upon such measures. Such action will in no wise connect this movement to any partisan effort, as it can be applied to the party to which each member belongs.

In seeking a true and practical remedy for the evils that now flow from the imperfections in our financial system let us first consider what is the greatest evil, and on what it depends. The greatest evil, the one that outstrips all others so far that it is instantly recognized as the chief, and known with certainty to be more oppressive to the productive interests of the country than any other influence, is that which delegates to a certain class the power to fix the price of all kinds of produce and of all commodities. This power is not delegated directly, but it is delegated indirectly by allowing such class to issue a large per cent of the money used as the circulating medium of the country, and having the balance of such circulating medium, which is issued by the Government, a fixed quantity that is not augmented to correspond with the necessities of the times. In consequence of this the money issued by the pri-

ileged class, which they are at liberty to withdraw at pleasure, can be, and is, so manipulated as to control the volume of circulating medium in the country sufficiently to produce fluctuations in general prices at their pleasure. It may be likened to a simple illustration in philosophy: The inflexible volume of the Government issue is the fulcrum, the volume of the bank issue is the lever power, and price is the point at which power is applied, and it is either raised or lowered with great certainty to correspond with the volume of bank issue. Any mechanic will instantly recognize the fact that the quickest and surest way of destroying the power of the lever to raise or lower price is to remove the resistance offered by the fulcrum—the inflexible volume of Government issue. The power to regulate the volume of money so as to control price is so manipulated as to develop and apply a potent force, for which we have in the English language no name; but it is the power of money to oppress, and is demonstrated as follows: In the last four months of the year the agricultural products of the whole year having been harvested, they are placed on the market to buy money. The amount of money necessary to supply this demand is equal to many times the actual amount in circulation. Nevertheless the class that controls the volume of the circulating medium desire to purchase these agricultural products for speculative purposes, so they reduce the volume of money by hoarding, in the face of the augmented demand, and thereby advance the exchangeable value of the then inadequate volume of money, which is equivalent to reducing the price of the agricultural products. True agriculturists should hold their products and not sell at these ruinously low prices. And no doubt they would if they could, but to prevent that, practically all debts, taxes, and interest are made to mature at that time, and they being forced to have money at a certain season when they have the product of their labor to sell, the power of money to oppress by its scarcity is applied until it makes them turn loose their products so low that their labor expended does not average them fifty cents per day. This illustrates the power of money to oppress; the remedy, as before, lies in removing the power of the fulcrum—the inflexible Government issue—and supplying a Government issue, the volume of which, shall be increased to correspond with the actual addition to the wealth of the Nation presented by agriculture at harvest time, and diminished as such agricultural products are consumed. Such a flexibility of volume would guarantee a stability of price based on cost of production which would be compelled to reckon the pay for agricultural labor at the same rates as other employment. Such flexibility would rob money of its most potent power—the power to oppress—and place a premium on productive effort. But how may so desirable a result be secured? Let us see. By applying the same principles now in force in the monetary system of the United States with only slight modification in the detail of their execution. The Government and the people of this country realize that the amount of gold and silver, and the certificates based on these metals, do not comprise a volume of money sufficient to supply the wants of the country, and in order to increase the volume, the Government allows individuals to associate themselves into a body corporate, and to deposit with the Government bonds which repre-

sent National indebtedness, which the Government holds in trust and issues to such corporation paper money equal to ninety per cent of the value of the bonds, and charges said corporation interest at the rate of one per cent per annum for the use of said paper money. This allows the issue of paper money to increase the volume of the circulating

medium on a perfectly safe basis, because the margin is a guarantee that the banks will redeem the bonds before they mature. But now we find that the circulation secured by this method is still not adequate; or to take a very conservative position,

if we admit that it is adequate on the average, we know that the fact of its being entirely inadequate for half the year makes its inflexibility an engine of oppression, because a season in which it is inadequate must be followed by one of superabundance in order to bring about the average, and such a range in volume means great fluctuations in prices which cut against the producer, both in buying and selling, because he must sell at a season when produce is low, and buy when commodities are high. This system, now in vogue by the United States government of supplementing its circulating medium by a safe and redeemable paper money, should be pushed a little further and conducted in such a manner as to secure a certain augmentation of supply at the season of the year in which the agricultural additions to the wealth of the Nation demand money, and a diminution in such supply of money as said agricultural products are consumed. It is not an average adequate amount that is needed, because under it the greatest abuses may prevail, but a certain adequate amount that adjusts itself to the wants of the country at all seasons. For this purpose let us demand that the United States government modify its present financial system:

1. So as to allow the free and unlimited coinage of silver or the issue of silver certificates against an unlimited deposit of bullion.

2. That the system of using certain banks as United States depositories be abolished, and in place of said system, establish in every county in each of the States that offers for sale during the one year five hundred thousand dollars worth of farm products; including wheat, corn, oats, barley, rye, rice, tobacco, cotton, wool and sugar, all together; a sub-treasury office, which shall have in connection with it such warehouses or elevators as are necessary for carefully storing and preserving such agricultural products as are offered it for storage, and it should be the duty of such sub-treasury department to receive such agricultural products as are offered for storage and make a careful examination of such products and class same as to quality and give a certificate of the deposit showing the amount and quality, and that United States legal-tender paper money equal to eighty per cent of the local current value of the products deposited has been advanced on same on interest at the rate of one per cent per annum, on the condition that the owner or such other person as he may authorize will redeem the agricultural product within twelve months from date of the certificate or the trustee will sell same at public auction to the highest bidder for the purpose of satisfying the debt. Besides the one per cent interest the sub-treasurer should be allowed to charge a trifling fee for handling and storage, and a reasonable amount for insurance, but the premises necessary for conducting this business should be

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

secured by the various counties donating to the general government the land and the government building the very best modern buildings, fire-proof and substantial. With this method in vogue the farmer, when his produce was harvested, would place it in storage where it would be perfectly safe and he would secure four-fifths of its value to supply his pressing necessity for money at one per cent per annum. He would negotiate and sell his warehouse or elevator certificates whenever the current price suited him, receiving from the person to whom he sold, only the difference between the price agreed upon and the amount already paid by the sub-treasurer. When, however, these storage certificates reached the hand of the miller or factory, or other consumer, he to get the product would have to return to the sub-treasurer the sum of money advanced, together with the interest on said and the storage and insurance charges on the product. This is no new or untried scheme; it is safe and conservative; it harmonizes and carries out the system already in vogue on a really safer plan because the products of the country that must be consumed every year are really the very best security in the world, and with more justice to society at large. For a precedent, attention is called to the following.

In December, 1848, the London Times announced the inevitable failure of the French republic and disintegration of French society in the near future, but so wise was the administration of the statesmen of that nation that two months later it was forced to eat its own words—saying in its columns February 16, 1849:

"As a mere commercial speculation with the assets which the bank held in hand it might then have stopped payment and liquidated its affairs with every probability that a very few weeks would enable it to clear off its liabilities. But this idea was not for a moment entertained by M. D'Argout, and he resolved to make every effort to keep alive what may be termed the circulation of the life-blood of the community. The task was overwhelming. Money was to be found to meet not only the demands on the bank, but the necessities both public and private, of every rank in society. It was essential to enable the manufacturers to work, lest their workmen, driven to desperation, should fling themselves amongst the most violent enemies of public order. It was essential to provide money for the food of Paris, for the pay of troops, and for the daily support of the industrial establishments of the nation. A failure on any one point would have led to a fresh convulsion; but the panic had been followed by so great a scarcity of the metallic currency, that a few days later, out of a payment of 26,000,000 fallen due, only 47,000 francs could be recorded in silver.

In this extremity, when the bank alone retained any available sum of money, the government came to the rescue, and on the night of the 15th of March, the notes of the bank were, by a decree, made a legal tender, the issue of these notes being limited in all to 350,000,000, but the amount of the lowest of them reduced for the public convenience to 100 francs. One of the great difficulties mentioned in the report was to print these 100-franc notes fast enough for the public consumption. In ten days the amount issued in this form had reached 80,000,000 francs.

To enable the manufacturing interests to weather the storm at a moment when all the sales were interrupted, a decree of the national assembly had directed warehouses to be opened for the reception of all kinds of goods, and provided that the registered invoice of the goods so deposited should be made negotiable by indorsement. The bank of France discounted these receipts. In Havre alone eighteen millions were thus advanced on colonial produce, and in Paris fourteen millions on merchandise; in all, sixty millions were made available for the purposes of trade. Thus, the great institution had placed itself as it were in direct contact with every interest of the community, from the minister of the Treasury down to the trader in a distant port.

Like a huge hydraulic machine, it employed its colossal powers to pump a fresh stream into the exhausted arteries of trade to sustain credit, and preserve the circulation from complete collapse.—From the Bank Charter Act, and the Rate of Interest, London, 1873.

This is proof positive, and a clear demonstration, in 1848, what this system could accomplish when a necessity existed for resorting to it. But since that time every conceivable change has

tended toward rendering such a system easier managed and more necessary. The various means of rapid transportation and the facilities for the instantaneous transmission of intelligence, make it no disadvantage for the produce of a country to be stored at home until demanded for consumption, and the great savings that will follow the abolition of local shipments shows what great economy such a system is. In this day and time, no one will for a moment deny that all the conditions for purchase and sale will attach to the Government certificates showing amount, quality and running charges that attach to the product.

The arguments sustaining this system will present themselves to your minds as you ponder over the subject. The one fact stands out in bold relief, prominent, grand, and worthy the best effort our hearts and hands, and that is "this system will emancipate productive labor from the power of money to oppress" with speed, and certainty. Could any object be more worthy? Surely not; and none could be devised that would more enlist your sympathies.

Our forefathers fought in the revolutionary war, making sacrifices that will forever perpetuate their names in history, to emancipate productive labor from the power of a monarch to oppress. Their battle cry was "liberty." Our monarch is a false, unjust, and statutory power given to money, which calls for a conflict on our part to emancipate productive labor from the power of money to oppress. Let the watchword again be, "Liberty!"

In the consideration of the question as to how an adequate volume of money may be estimated, all modern writers seem to have lost sight of the changes which have necessarily crept into commercial transactions as a result of the introduction of steam and electricity. All have sought to solve the question by an estimate of a fixed quantity that should be augmented as the population of the country increases. Acting on the principle that a fixed volume, if large enough, would be a solution, the demand has been for an increased volume which should amount to a certain sum per capita, and kept up to that ratio as the population of the country should increase. In accordance with this doctrine, there has been a widespread belief among reformers that the lands of the country, since they offered an admirable permanent security, should be used as a basis of loans from the Government direct to the people at a nominal rate of interest. These are the methods that have been advocated by those deeply interested in relieving the present depressed condition of agriculture up to this time. They sought to secure the same end by much the same means now advocated by the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union. The difference is very small but it is very important, and on the slight difference between these two systems is really the key to the solution of the great problem.

In considering the effects of a fixed volume versus a flexible volume of money, it is well to resort to the classification of production agreed to by all political economists, that is agricultural, manufacturing and commercial (including transportation). It will be found that the wants of that class of producers engaged in manufacture are practically the same at all seasons of the year. They are constantly consuming the same

products and turning out the same manufactured commodities in the same quantities at all times and seasons of the year, and consequently a fixed volume would completely meet all their requirements and they are predominantly interested that the volume shall be kept fixed and uniform, so that there may be no fluctuations in price.

The wants of the class of producers engaged in agriculture will be found in this particular to demand an exactly opposite manner of securing the same result. They, instead of producing and consuming upon a daily basis, require a whole year to consummate one round of agricultural production and consumption, and the volume of agricultural production is so great (being yearly at least ten times as great as the gross volume of money now in circulation in this country), and is all precipitated upon the market in such a comparatively short time—as it practically all leaves the hands of the agriculturist in four months of the year—it produces a great scarcity of money during that season.

This scarcity reacts unfavorably upon the price of, not agricultural products alone, but everything. As this agricultural product is consumed the money invested in it is again liberated for investment in other things, and therefore as the volume of the gross product of agriculture is slowly consumed from December till September the volume of money so liberated is making the volume of money relatively greater, which reacts favorably upon the price, not only of agricultural products, but of everything, the result is that agriculturists are compelled to sell when the volume is comparatively small, which means low prices for all produce, and that they are compelled to buy commodities for at least half the year when the volume of money is

comparatively great, which means higher prices for such commodities consumed. This is the inevitable result of a fixed volume, be it great or small. The conclusion is therefore that agriculture, since its demand for money is different in different seasons of the year, demands a flexible volume to correspond with its necessities, and by so keeping a uniform volume as compared to the productive effort of labor to guarantee a stability of price.

The wants of the class of producers engaged in commerce partake of the peculiarities of both the above mentioned classes. Their demand for money throughout the year is much more uniform and constant than that of the agriculturist and much less so than that of the manufacturer. They have their busy seasons, in which they are called upon to handle the products of agriculture and during which their demand for money is greatly augmented. It is fair, then, to conclude that they need a fixed volume adequate to enable them to transact their business without resorting to a credit system and a flexible volume equal to the extra demands put upon them in certain seasons of the year by the dumping of the agricultural product into the lap of the nation.

They are constantly consuming the same

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The consideration then of the wants of the great classes of producers leads unavoidably to the conclusion that the only way to accomplish the feat of supplying a volume of money adequate to properly transact the business of the country is by having a fixed volume equal to the necessities of the manufacturing interests and an average demand of the commercial interests, and that such fixed or per capita circulation should be supplemented by a flexible volume, which shall be augmented to correspond with the demands of the agriculturist at the season in which he presents the nation with the consumable product of his labors, and which volume shall be gradually diminished as such agricultural product is consumed. This will guarantee actual uniformity of volume as compared to its only measure—demand—throughout the entire year, and therefore insure stability of price, which must as an inevitable result kill speculation. Under the present system the demand for the consumable product of agriculture brings money into the hands of the agriculturist once a year; but when the agricultural product is consumed the money does not go back into the treasury of the government, but goes into the hands of the capitalist, who does not again turn it loose as the interests of the agriculturist may require, but as his own selfish interests may dictate, and the consequence is it is held back when the crop is presented to buy money until the agriculturist is compelled to sacrifice his product. It should go right back into the sub-treasury when the agricultural product is consumed, and by so doing keep the volume of money in circulation uniform during the different seasons of the entire year.

It does seem that that arch enemy to humanity, Avarice, who has wrecked and ruined every prior attempt at stable government, has set earnestly to work to disrupt and overthrow this grand political structure, and the national banking system is one of the most effective weapons he could use.

But the industrial masses have been studying the problem; they have made research into the design and effects.

They have declared the sources of their discontent and formulated a remedy consistent with the spirit of free government and the strictest justice, and they demand that their servants, who are entrusted with the execution of their desires, see to it that this wrong shall cease and that the system they have formulated be made effective.

That in its financial system this country shall rise to the demands of the enlightenment of the age and the principles of justice, consistent with reason and giving to all equal opportunities and advantages. This new declaration of the industrial people means a great stride forward in the march of civilization. It means that the close of the nineteenth century will find the people of America much nearer the final goal of universal equality and true independence than any people have ever before approached.

WHAT should be the volume of the currency is a question which receives invariably the same answer from all to whom it is put and still remains unanswered. The stereotyped answer is, that it should be of sufficient volume to meet the requirements of the lines of business demanding a fixed volume.

The last and most important conclusion is that the only way of securing a uniform volume of money that shall at all times bear

exactly the same ratio to the demands of the business interests of the country is to give it a flexibility that will correspond with the fluctuations in the quantity of the agricultural products of the country on hand at any one time. Therefore neither a per capita volume nor a land security plan will completely meet the requirement.

THE laws controlling the circulating medium of a nation should have their foundation in the strictest justice to all, in order that no class can possibly be benefited by arbitrary legislation, but by mathematical and practical boundaries which find their origin in the nature of things, or rather in the nature of our social organism.

The only reasonable and practical means of getting at the solution of this problem is the one fixed upon by the Farmers Alliance in its meeting in St. Louis. This does not deal with any arbitrary rulings, any fixed amount, but leaves the supply entirely dependent upon the demand, and ready to respond promptly to its requirements. Should industry be active and the values it produces great, those values would to the necessary proportion be represented in the currency. Should misfortune have fallen at any time and a large volume not be required it would not be called into circulation.

The farmers have used that cool common sense for which they are so remarkable. They have taken a new departure. They have discovered that a problem which has puzzled the wisest heads in all ages will if rationally treated solve itself.

THE President, Secretary of the Treasury, Controller of the Currency, and Congress as well, are all engaged in looking up some kind of indebtedness upon which to predicate the issue of money to the people. The

fact is conceded at every point that there is not sufficient circulating medium, and that the business of the country is suffering in consequence; but the old idea that it is unsafe for government to perform that duty still exists to a large extent. It seems strange that financial wisdom has progressed no further. In casting about for some form of indebtedness that will answer the purpose a great diversity of opinion is found to exist. The one principal obstacle discovered is the knowledge of the people upon financial matters. Something must be decided on that will satisfy them. Senator Farwell in his letters recommends that state, municipal, or railroad bonds be used for that purpose. They have formulated the sources of their discontent and formulated a remedy consistent with the spirit of free government and the strictest justice, and they demand that their servants, who are entrusted with the execution of their desires, see to it that this wrong shall cease and that the system they have formulated be made effective.

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of \$610,000,000. This at four and a half per cent interest would amount to \$27,450,000 annually. Even this expense and trouble does not put the money into the hands of the people; it only takes it to the vaults of the banks. In order to obtain it from the banks the people are compelled to pay a heavy tribute, fully \$55,000,000 more, making in all \$82,450,000 annually for the use of \$550,000,000, which, under the sub-treasury system, would cost but \$5,500,000. This shows a saving to the people of fully \$76,950,000. When we say the people we mean the wealth producers of the country. Neither banker, broker, bondholder nor speculator contribute one single effort to increase production, but to the contrary, their profits are derived almost entirely from disasters and failures in that direction. This plan is in the interest of those who bear the burdens. Let those rally to its support.

THE following contribution to Frank Leslie's Newspaper of Nov. 30th, is from the pen of Harry Skinner. We print the article in full to show the writer's idea of the sub-treasury system. Mr. Skinner has evidently given the subject much study and careful consideration, and while we do not agree upon details or perhaps to the general tenor of his communication, yet it seems conclusive that all who entertain similar ideas upon this question must join together on some common grounds and begin the contest.

The verdict of the country at the polls last fall was for protection to American industries, and it becomes the South to make the most of it. There is hope for the South if we are able properly to use nature's special gift to us—our power to produce cotton—for cotton is still king, and will continue to be if fair treatment is accorded it.

If the same ratio of protection were extended to the producers of this staple that is granted to manufacturers, we should feel that we were dealt with justly, and be more kindly disposed toward protection; for under equal protection cotton planting and cotton manufacturing would march together to prosperity. Every conceivable argument for the protection of the cotton manufacturers can be urged with equal justice for the protection of its producers. Cotton production employs more labor, and creates a larger market for Northern and Western produce. The higher the price of the staple, the better for all concerned.

I maintain, as an economic proposition, that the government, by extending to the planter the same ratio of protection that it extends to the manufacturer, can secure to the former thirteen cents per pound for his product. I name thirteen cents because that would be obtained by adding forty-seven per cent to the present average market price, and that is also the average percentage of protective duties. To understand my proposition we must know the relative proportion of the cotton crop of the Southern States to that of all the world, and also that the cotton mills of this country never consume more than one-quarter of our annual crop, while European mills must have the remainder to keep their machinery running. The total annual crop of the world is estimated at 9,600,000 bales of 400 pounds each. The Southern States produce three-fourths of this crop, or about 7,000,000 bales. The world's

consumption of all kinds of cotton goods increases fully as fast as does the production of the staple; consequently there is no surplus at the end of any fiscal year to indicate over-production. "So long as the supply is not in excess of a fair demand," says Mr. Kelley, "the producing nation may name the price of its productions. The United States is such a nation. Its planters produce three-fourths of a staple which is of the utmost importance to the world. Three-fourths of all the cotton consumed by foreign nations is the product of our Southern fields. Is it not a reasonable, a just demand, that the planters to whom this country is indebted for this annual creation of wealth should receive such protection from the government as to retain an equitable share of the profits of their labor? Our cotton manufacturers are protected and become rich because of it. Our cotton planters are unprotected. They cannot, unaided by the Government, fix the price of their product. What I contend for is that the Government shall throw around cotton culture the same arm of protective care that it gives to the manufacturer, and thus assist the cotton planter in making the European manufacturer pay a reasonable price for his product, thus relieving the former from his present dependent condition of being compelled to market his crop at such a price as the European manufacturer dictated twelve months before through the agency of the Liverpool Cotton Exchange. It is cruel as well as unjust for the government to tacitly permit the manufacturers of Europe to control the price of one of our most valuable crops, one which is grown nowhere else in such abundance or equal quality. It is manifestly to the benefit of every American interest that, if the government possesses the power to prevent sacrificed prices, it should exercise it as a simple act of justice to the poor, long-neglected cotton planter.

Now for the solution of the problem—the means by which the Government can give this assistance without hazard of loss. Let part of the treasury surplus be expended in building cotton warehouses at convenient points in the South. Let the Government say to the cotton planter, "If manufacturers will not pay you thirteen cents a pound, bring your cotton to the warehouse, and on strict and proper grading you shall receive warehouse receipts" (suppose I term them cotton certificates in analogy to gold and silver certificates); "at the rate of fourteen cents a pound for standard grade. You must pay the warehouse a fee of one cent a pound to cover all expenses, costs, and risks." These certificates could be issued for ten, hundred, and thousand pound lots and be made negotiable. (I say fourteen cents because this adds the one penny the Government has received to the price the cotton could be purchased for before entering the warehouse. If a large part of the crop should pass through these warehouses the revenue would leave a handsome profit to the Treasury after paying all expenses.) These certificates would be the same as cash to the planter for all purposes, for they would be accepted by every one as readily as are gold and silver certificates. These are general suggestions only, but they form the basis of a plan that can be perfected in detail by proper legislation.

The writer is a Southern Democrat, without local, sectional, or race prejudices, who desires earnestly to see equal justice meted out, so that his section may keep pace with the other great sections of our country. He believes that under existing conditions the great need of the South is such protection as will assure a reasonable price for its chief

staple, and thereby secure prosperity to its citizens and to all our people. Every patriot, whether Democrat or Republican, must desire this consummation, and every protectionist must necessarily approve of protection to the cotton planter, for it makes his line of argument consistent, secures his own position, and blazes the way for converts to his economic faith.

THERE are about 3,000 counties in the United States, and 15,000 warehouses would doubtless supply the demand for the present. Averaging these to cost \$40,000, from the expensive grain elevators to the less costly cotton warehouse, and we have an expenditure of \$60,000,000. From careful calculation it is estimated that cotton warehouses cost about \$1 per bale storage capacity. As the cotton crop amounts to about 7,000,000 bales, \$5,000,000 would build all the necessary warehouses. With the remaining \$55,000,000 grain elevators of a storage capacity of fully 400,000,000 bushels could be erected. The building of these warehouses would employ thousands of workmen who are now idle, and distribute this vast sum of idle money among the people, where it belongs.

This amount of storage would be ample for the present, and the expense would be a mere trifle compared to other Government expenditures. In the details of the management of this system much thought and careful consideration is necessary. But this plain fact has always obtained, if the principle is right, details are always found adequate to carry out the proposition. With interest at 1 per cent and payment of actual cost of storage and insurance the Government would soon be re-imburied for the expenditure, the people rescued from the power of money to oppress, and the whole country benefited.

THE surplus is in the hands of the people at present by being distributed among the national banks. The policy inaugurated by the last administration in this respect has not been disturbed as yet.

This statement was made by Secretary Windom in a recent interview. No one knows better than he that money held by banks to loan is not in circulation among the people. There is not a single writer on political economy that will agree with him in this proposition. This money that he has loaned to the banks (about \$47,000,000), without interest, is held by the banks to loan to the people. There is a matter of from 8 to 25 per cent difference between being in the hands of the people and in the vaults of the banks. As well might he claim that clothing held by merchants for sale was in use among the people as that this money is in circulation. The money has to be bought as well as the clothes before either can be used. Besides all this, banks never put money into circulation, they simply hold it for others to rent and use in that capacity.

Under the sub-treasury plan there could be no excuse for this kind of plundering. As it is, the Government places this vast sum of money in the hands of the banks, and says to them, "loan it back to the people from whom it has been taken by taxation, for all you can get, and we will aid you in the effort. We will make money scarce and consequently the products of labor cheap, and as a result the people will be compelled

to borrow from you." Would it not be better for all to let the people have this money direct through the sub-treasury plan and save to them this unnecessary tribute?

THE sub-treasury plan contains all the beneficial factors of the national banking system and rejects all the bad ones. The same precautions as to safety, public protection and national supervision are not only retained, but strengthened and improved. While the national banking system is in fact a close corporation, where none but the rich can have a voice, this sub-treasury system places the humblest farmer on an equal footing with his more wealthy neighbor. There is not one single plea made for national banks as public necessities but can with equal force be applied to the sub-treasury plan. The experience of the past quarter of a century that has enabled the banks to perfect their working machinery, and for which the people have paid over \$5,000,000,000, can now be utilized in the interest of the whole people.

VIEWS OF THE PRESS.

The News Reporter (Three Rivers, Mich.) comments on the St. Louis meeting as follows:

The national convention at St. Louis last week was completely represented by the agricultural and other labor interests of the nation. The federation if held together will embrace three-fourths of all the voters in the United States. The day of deliverance from the money power rule is near at hand if the farmers can but see their own interest as represented by the federation. The present Congress and present administration will conform to the principles enunciated at this, the most important convention since the declaration of independence, or they will go to the wall.

The Dakota Rivalist (Aberdeen, Dakota,) speaking of the St. Louis meeting, one of its correspondents says:

A union was perfected and there was not a dissenting vote against it. It must be remembered that only a few of the northern States have as yet held their annual meetings. Delegates from these States could go no further than to agree to a union and then present the matter at their State meetings for ratification. Kansas, Illinois and South Dakota were ready to unite at once and did so. North Dakota will join as soon as their executive committee can get together. Other States will follow in the next few months and within the coming year the National Farmers Alliance will cease to exist as a separate body, being merged into the common union.

The National Alliance (Houston, Tex.) says about St. Louis:

Never before in the history of this country did there occur anything that could at all compare with the gathering of the people's representatives in St. Louis this week. The two great National Alliances of the South and North, the National Wheel, the Knights of Labor and the Colored Farmers National Alliance and Co-operative Union, are all here. It is safe to say that the people of the nation have bridged the bloody chasm. Minnesota and Florida, Dakota and South Carolina have shaken hands. There is no

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North or South in the vast assemblages; and if the machine politicians would now come forward and die, as they ought to do, for the good of their country, we should have perfect peace and friendship and brotherly love from ocean to ocean, and from the great lakes to the gulf. Notable among the doings of the week have been the recognition and attention paid by the white organization to the Colored Farmers National Alliance and Cooperative Union. Committees from each of the great organizations visited our body with congratulations and good wishes; and heard with astonishment our delegates tell what great things the Alliance had done for us.

The Advocate (Meriden, Kan.) says:

Saturday the labors of the week culminated in the consolidation of the Northern Alliance and the Farmers and Laborers under the name of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of America. Articles were also agreed upon for practical co-operation with the Knights of Labor, and the combined order therefore numbers to-day over 4,000,000 of voters. These will be heard from in due time. The national body gave no uncertain indication of the propriety of the use of franchise to accomplish the objects of the order, and it is folly to expect to accomplish them to any other means.

The Rock Islander (Rock Island, Ill.) says of the meeting:

The great event last week, in labor circles, was the national conference, in St. Louis, between the delegates of the various farmers' organizations in the United States, and a committee of the Knights of Labor. After a four days' consultation and very harmonious discussion, and public meetings and speeches, a formal agreement was reached for joint political action on certain measures.

The reader will find on the first page the policy of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, as outlined in Colonel Livingston's interview. And also in the interview of Brother Turner, who we are glad to announce is our national secretary. A true man has a just and merited recognition. The policy of the order, as outlined in these interviews, we heartily endorse. We can freely and truthfully say that we endorse this policy in every line and letter. We know that it will not be a popular policy with capitalists and monopolists, but no policy which was for the benefit of the masses has ever been popular with that class which made their fortunes by cornering the products of the soil and oppressing the laboring classes. We welcome every opposition, which is open, and we see plainly that this is the issue which will win with all fair minded people. We are working for the emancipation of our brethren from debt and oppression, and are determined to see it out on the line adopted by the National Alliance and Industrial Union.

The Progressive Farmers (Raleigh, N. C.) says:

The annual meeting of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union, at St. Louis, contemporaneously with the Northwestern Farmers' Alliance, the Mutual Benefit Association and the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor, marks a new era in the great reform movement. Practically, twenty-three States are brought under one head, but each preserving its autonomic independence. For the first time in a century, have the wealth producers of this great country been permitted to meet in council without the presence and interference of designing sectional agitators, and for the first time has their voice of power been heard in unison and in the spontaneous declaration that this great country is and shall remain one and inseparable. The farmers from Dakota and from Maryland have discovered that their interests are one and that to preserve and promote them they must henceforth stand together. The supreme question of consolidation engaged most earnestly the minds and hearts of the representa-

tives of over two millions of farmers whose homes dot our land from New Jersey to the Pacific. It was done in the earnestness of an ardent patriotism, with the prudence of calm conservatism and with the unanimity of the most cordial fraternity of spirit. The cattle growers of Colorado, the corn farmers of Illinois, the fruit growers of Florida and the cotton growers of South Carolina, will henceforth feel that they are indeed brethren and will patriotically strive and labor together to correct the evils which so seriously threaten their common country.

It was a session of laborious and earnest, but harmonious work, and its results will insure to the general good of all the people.

The Coffee County News says:

The famous farmers' bodies have agreed upon a plan of consolidation which will, as soon as necessary references can be had to the various State organizations, result in bringing about the absolute union in one body. It is probable that in time the Knights will also join the farmers in actual union, and in the meantime the leaders of both bodies are entirely satisfied with the practical federation now consummated.

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Perhaps the strongest point in the agreement which was signed on Friday is that which provides for the joint action of the legislative committees of the two organizations to act in concert before Congress for the purpose of securing the enactment of laws in harmony with the demands mutually agreed. At any rate, labor is endeavoring to act in harmony with its many parts, and this is a step forward.

Our Opinion (McPherson, Kan.) contributes the following:

Elsewhere will be found a short report of the political sentiment adopted by the National Farmers' Alliance at St. Louis. It is sound to the core upon every subject that it touches, and reads so much like a union labor platform that it is evident that every man who can not endorse our platform in that organization is in the condition of a fish out of water. But what strikes us as promising most for the future is the close reciprocal relations established between the Alliance men and the Knights of Labor. One in belief and in purpose, there was no good reason why they should not join hands and work in harmony, mutually strengthen and uphold each other. We see before us a new lease of life for the Knights of Labor.

COL. ROBERT BEVERLEY, president of the Virginia Farmers Assembly, reports that he had the sub-treasury plan read and explained to that body at its recent meeting in Richmond, and it was received with enthusiasm and adopted unanimously. This may be considered as the first test among the States, and seems to indicate a favorable consideration from the people. When such a representative body of men, headed by such a veteran as Col. Beverley, approves of a trial of this sub-treasury system it is quite likely to meet with success.

PRESIDENT L. L. POLK.

Speech at a Banquet on His Return Home to Raleigh.

Below we print in full the eloquent speech of Colonel L. L. Polk, President of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, at a banquet given by his fellow citizens at his home in Raleigh, N. C., in honor of his election. As the guest of the evening, he was called to respond to the toast, "The New Revolution." He said:

Mr. Chairman: History is ever repeating itself. The march of human progress is strewn with the wrecks of empires, kingdoms, systems, thrones and governments. Many of them went down in violence and blood. But the declaration in the sentiment to which I am called to respond—"The New Revolution"—is but the echo of the mighty fiat which has been put forth by 3,000,000 liberty-loving, law-abiding American freemen. The approach of this new revolution has not been heralded by the flare of flambeau, the beat of drum or the thunder of cannon. The thousands and hundreds of thousands of patriots who are enlisting in the ranks are marching under no ensign of strife, of hate, of blood or of carnage, but they align themselves under a banner on whose snow-white folds are imprinted, in characters of heavenly hue, the God-given motto: "On earth peace, good will to men;" and the battle-cry of this mighty host, from one end of the land to the other, is: "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

In the rapid development of our American civilization, demoralizing forces have evolved which seriously threaten to paralyze our industries, to impoverish our wealth-producers, to subvert our free institutions and to destroy our republican form of Government. To meet these forces and neutralize or subdue them is an undertaking as formidable, as patriotic and as heroic, as its accomplishment shall be grand and glorious. With that quiescent submission characteristic of the American farmer in times of peace, he pursued the even tenor of his way, sowing for the harvest and hoping for the reward of his labor. How anxiously, but how in vain, did he look for his coming! Banking and other moneyed interests, manufacturing in all its departments; railroads, schemes of speculation, villages, towns and cities, all prospering and flourishing; yet, despite his earnest, honest, manly and untiring efforts, he is being gradually drawn into the chilling shades of helpless and hopeless poverty.

Most naturally he began to investigate the situation. And here are a few of the alarming and appalling facts that confronted him:

1. That from 1870 to 1880, while farms of 3 to 20 acres decreased 14 to 33 per cent., those of 1,000 acres or more increased 77 per cent! And in this connection he finds another no less alarmingly significant fact—that aliens and foreign syndicates own 61,900,000 acres of land. He was startled, for he belongs to that class of conservative thinkers who believe that, with all the vast area of our country, there is not a single acre for any except actual citizens under our government.

2. That in 1850 to 1860 agriculture led man-

ufacturing, in increased value of products, 10

per cent.; yet from 1870 to 1880 manufacturing led agriculture, in increased value of products, 27 per cent., thus showing 37 per cent. in favor of the growth of manufacturing.

3. That in 1867, 65,636,000 acres in culti-

vation produced 1,329,729,000 bushels of all kinds of grain, which sold for \$1,284,000; which in 1887, twenty years subsequent, 141,821,000 acres produced 2,660,457,000 bushels, which sold for only \$1,204,289,000.

That is, the products of 1867 from less than one-half as many acres and half the amount, brought the farmer \$79,711,000 more. It is impossible to charge this wholesale destruction of values to over-production. It was a want of ability to purchase, caused by a shrinking volume of currency, and nothing else. In 1867 we had \$52 per capita of population, and in 1887 we had less than \$7 per capita. He finds in the vaults of our National Treasury on the 1st of November, 1889, \$648,220,000.

It is not overproduction, but underconsumption. There can be no overproduction in that country where there is the cry of a single child for bread.

Had the 65,000,000 of our people consumed each day during the last year more than they did consume, one ounce of meat, it would have taken 1,470,000,000 pounds, 338,000,000 more than was exported.

If they had consumed four ounces of flour each day it would have required 148,280,000 bushels of wheat, 28,280,000 bushels more was exported. If they had expended three cents each day for products in excess of what they did expend they would have bought \$711,750,000 or nearly \$29,000,000 more than was exported.

Does the farmer share these results? I point to the fact that the average decrease in the value of farms throughout the country, is not less than twenty per cent. I point to the ten great leading agricultural States of the Northwest, loaded down with farm mortgages to the extent of \$3,425,000,000, and in which the assessed value of the farms in 1880 but little exceeded \$5,000,000,000. With the accumulated interest on these mortgages at high rates, and the constant decline of the values of the farms, what must be the condition of the farms of those States? It was my fortune, a few days since, to pass across the three great States of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, and the most significant feature, as indicating their condition, was the striking absence of new or improved buildings on the farms. Again, I point to the mortgage-ridden, mortgage-cursed farms all over the land, north, south, east and west. I point to the cattle-grower of Kansas, selling his beef at one cent per pound, to the Illinois corn-grower selling his corn at fourteen cents per bushel, and the cotton-grower of the South selling his cotton at barely the cost of its production.

If this debt had been contracted in cotton, it could have been paid in 1867 with 14,185,000 bales, but now, after having expended 71,560,000 bales, there still remained a debt, which at present prices would require the enormous amount of 33,850,000 to pay it!

Individual or private indebtedness of whatever form or character has been governed by the same conditions as has the public debt, and subject to the same processes of spoliation and destruction.

5. In 1860 there were but two millionaires in all this country, to-day they are counted by thousands and own three-fifths of the wealth of the nation. Two days ago I stood in the gallery of your Senate chamber in Washington and looked down upon a body of 76 men, 41 of whom are millionaires. What brought about this state of affairs? Where among the 8,000,000 farmers in this broad land will you find a farmer millionaire. This vast aggregation of wealth is the product of labor. What kind of labor? Search our country's history, and you will search it in vain to find where slave labor ever made a single millionaire. It is not slave labor, but it is controlled labor. Slaves had to be cared for in childhood and old age, in sickness and in health, but controlled labor is used only when found profitable, and is discarded with heartless indifference when found unremunerative, and wornout manhood and woman-

hood,

and is cast aside to find its refuge in a poor-house or a pauper's grave.

6. In 1860, the farmers numbered one-half our population and owned one-half the wealth of the country. In 1880, while they still numbered one-half the population, they owned but one-fourth the wealth of the country, and I confidently predict that the forthcoming census will show a still more deplorable condition of affairs.

7. One of the most potent factors in this wholesale destruction of values is to be found in the financial policy of this government. In 1886, when the business interests of the country were never in a more prosperous condition, we had a circulating medium of \$52 per capita, with an estimated total indebtedness of all kinds of \$5,000,000,000.

To-day we have a circulating medium of less than \$7 per capita, with an estimated total of indebtedness of all kinds of \$5,000,000,000.

Had the 65,000,000 of our people consumed each day during the last year more than they did consume, one ounce of meat, it would have taken 1,470,000,000 pounds, 338,000,000 more than was exported.

If they had consumed four ounces of flour each day it would have required 148,280,000 bushels of wheat, 28,280,000 bushels more was exported. If they had expended three cents each day for products in excess of what they did expend they would have bought \$711,750,000 or nearly \$29,000,000 more than was exported.

Does the farmer share these results? I point to the fact that the average decrease in the value of farms throughout the country, is not less than twenty per cent. I point to the ten great leading agricultural States of the Northwest, loaded down with farm mortgages to the extent of \$3,425,000,000, and in which the assessed value of the farms in 1880 but little exceeded \$5,000,000,000. With the accumulated interest on these mortgages at high rates, and the constant decline of the values of the farms, what must be the condition of the farms of those States? It was my fortune, a few days since, to pass across the three great States of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, and the most significant feature, as indicating their condition, was the striking absence of new or improved buildings on the farms. Again, I point to the mortgage-ridden, mortgage-cursed farms all over the land, north, south, east and west. I point to the cattle-grower of Kansas, selling his beef at one cent per pound, to the Illinois corn-grower selling his corn at fourteen cents per bushel, and the cotton-grower of the South selling his cotton at barely the cost of its production.

If this debt had been contracted in cotton, it could have been paid in 1867 with 14,185,000 bales, but now, after having expended 71,560,000 bales, there still remained a debt, which at present prices would require the enormous amount of 33,850,000 to pay it!

Individual or private indebtedness of whatever form or character has been governed by the same conditions as has the public debt, and subject to the same processes of spoliation and destruction.

5. In 1860 there were but two millionaires in all this country, to-day they are counted by thousands and own three-fifths of the wealth of the nation. Two days ago I stood in the gallery of your Senate chamber in Washington and looked down upon a body of 76 men, 41 of whom are millionaires. What brought about this state of affairs? Where among the 8,000,000 farmers in this broad land will you find a farmer millionaire. This vast aggregation of wealth is the product of labor. What kind of labor? Search our country's history, and you will search it in vain to find where slave labor ever made a single millionaire. It is not slave labor, but it is controlled labor. Slaves had to be cared for in childhood and old age, in sickness and in health, but controlled labor is used only when found profitable, and is discarded with heartless indifference when found unremunerative, and wornout manhood and woman-

hood, trols the currency of a country controls the people." This vast aggregation of capital, enriching the few to the impoverishment of the many, is entrenched behind law, but it has heard the sullen and ominous murmur of an oppressed people.

Over one thousand years ago the old Sheik Ilidrim, of Medina, said to a certain Roman ingrate: "Do you dream that because the prophet of Allah dwells now beyond the bridge of Al Sirat, that therefore he is deaf, and dumb, and blind? I tell you by the splendor of God that a tempest is brooding on his brow, there is lightning gathering in his soul for you." Do men dream that because the Genius of Justice has withdrawn and no longer presides in the councils of the nation, that therefore it has become deaf, and dumb, and blind? Let them not deceive themselves with such delusion.

We are told that the unjust and ruinous exactions of capital and corporate power are made in conformity to law. I answer as an American citizen, as a North Carolinian, aye, as a descendant of our Mecklenburg fathers, that the tyrannical mandates of George the Third were accompanied by the boastful declaration that he, too, was the rightful occupant of the British throne.

There is no tyranny so degrading as legalized tyranny—there is no injustice so oppressive as that which stands entrenched behind the forms of law.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, I have very briefly referred to some of the causes which have inaugurated the "new revolution," and which assumed form and life and being in the great convention at St. Louis last week. The cry for relief, which swells up all over the land, will not, if it cannot, be suppressed. Justice, and not charity, is what we demand. Warring on no legitimate interest, legitimately prosecuted, we earnestly invoke the sympathy and aid of all good citizens of whatever rank, or class, or vocation.

Thank God! that between the hearts of the promoters and their co-workers of this mighty reform movement, there is no room nor place for sectional lines or divisions.

Thank God! that the farmers of the great Northwest and of the South—representatives of a constituency of 3,000,000 of the most conservative of all our people, were at last permitted to convene in St. Louis, without the officious and wicked interference of designing sectional agitators. Those men who were "invisible in war and who have been invincible in peace." Many of the farmers who had faced each other in the red blaze of battle.

But patriotically and magnanimously turning their backs to the past, they clasped hands as brethren, and standing around the grave of sectionalism, they planted thereon the white rose of peace, with the united prayer, that it might bloom perpetually and forever. Thus united in purpose, and impelled by common interest and common peril, the "new revolution" will move forward with resistless force until the sovereignty of the people shall be re-established in the glory of its majesty and power, and justice shall be re-enthroned.

And when old Father Time shall grow weary with his work of demolition and shall sit down 'mid the wreck of empires and wasted monuments and extinct governments to recount his victories, may he find, towering high above the desolation of the ages, in all the freshness and beauty of resplendent glory, the Temple of American Liberty, and inscribed above its portal, in characters of fadeless light, the symbols of its immortal duration—Truth, Justice and Equity!

President Garfield said, "Whoever con-

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.
Incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia.
SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

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

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

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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

WIPE OUT THAT FRAUD.

Is there not some chosen curse, some hidden thunder, in the stars of heaven red with uncommon wrath to blast the man who owes his greatness to his country's ruin?—*Addison:*

Philologists have long noted the universal tendency among men at certain stages of civilization to try to conceal the full hideousness of a system, evil act or practice, by giving it a name which covers up or palliates, at least in expression, its vile or loathsome nature. The most hardened criminals wish to have their wicked works described in words of softened expression. When in Italy the poisoning mania was at its worst the victims were not referred to as having been poisoned, but that their deaths had been "assisted." Just so the professional politicians and lobbyists who bribe, bulldoze or buy legislators in the interests of corporations and monopolists, instead of being classed and called as they deserve, the vile tools of corruption and fraud, are simply said to be assisting legislation. Aristotle tells us that in his time pirates would resent being called pirates, and preferred to be called "paveysors."

In Shakespeare's time thieves considered it an injustice to be called thieves and preferred to be named "St. Nicholas' clerks," with them stealing was "conveying." No doubt the men who planned and carried through the surreptitious demonetization of silver in 1873; who accomplished in effect the wholesale robbery of the debtor masses for the enrichment of the creditor classes; who ruthlessly bankrupted millions of toiling producers in order that a few thousand non-producers might become millionaires—would not wish to be called by their right names, but would prefer to be called financiers and statesmen. And financiers and statesmen they have been called, while ordinary forgers and frauds who obtain money under false pretences for themselves or others are sent to the penitentiary and are called criminals. But no matter what those men are called, or how they designate the act which they stealthily perpetrated, it can not change the cold-blooded villainy of the deed or mitigate the cruel consequences. Nor can it make it any the less bounden duty of the American people to right the wrong then

forced upon them by those whom they trusted and paid to attend to the public interests. This is a feature and fact in the consideration of the subject that should not be lost sight of or forgotten. There are important material interests at issue, including the necessity for larger circulation, the rights of the creditors, etc., but far more important is the principle involved, a principle that can not be evaded. The American people were grossly insulted and the national dignity brutally trifled with and trampled upon by a few unscrupulous schemers. An organic, vital change in the financial system of the nation was placed upon the statute books without consulting the wishes of the people or their representatives in Congress; without public announcement or public discussion. For eighty years of the existence of this republic the silver dollar was the unit of value and silver coins the money of the people. In 1873, by a trick, it was stricken from the statute books as the unit of value, and practically demonetized. The people of the republic owe it to their own self-respect and to the national dignity to resent the trifling and trickery by restoring silver to its former status. If they fail to do this they place a premium upon scheming fraud, by legalizing it through acquiescence. They can not afford, by condoning an infamy, to invite its repetition in other forms. Nor will the people longer leave it to party politicians to restore silver. The leaders of both parties have trifled and truckled and trimmed upon the question until public patience is worn out, and now the people propose to take the matter out of partisan hands and settle it themselves. It is no longer a party question; the masses of all parties will cordially unite in this movement. When in 1878 a partly aroused public opinion forced Congress to remonetize silver it was done only to a limited extent. The act provided for the coinage of not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 per month, and gave the Secretary of the Treasury discretionary power to decide how much should be coined between the minimum and maximum named. Every Secretary of the Treasury since then has used that discretionary power against the debtor classes and against silver; in favor of Wall street and against the workers; in favor of the professional interest-absorbers and against the practical producers of wealth. When in 1884 a change of party in power was effected, and Grover Cleveland was elected, millions of people hoped and believed a change of policy would come, and free coinage would be resumed. The first public utterance Mr. Cleveland made after election was a fierce attack upon silver. He did not wait even until his inauguration to recommend the stoppage of the silver coinage. In the presidential campaign of 1888 the Republican party platform had a strong silver plank; the party candidates endorsed it, and the party then in power was denounced because of its warfare upon silver. The election resulted in another change, and the professed friends of silver came into power.

They are still professing, but that is all. In his message President Harrison professes to favor silver, but, like Ensign Stebbins, "in favor of the law but agin its enforcement," he is in favor of a law to coin silver but not in favor of coining much silver. "We should not tread the dangerous edge of peril" by increasing the coinage he says. Possibly it would be better for the producers to tread the rugged edge of poverty a few years longer from lack of silver. Secretary Windom also favors silver after a fashion; but his fashion is peculiar, to say the least. He is not in favor of coining any more silver, because, as he says, "the continued coinage of the silver dollar at a constantly increasing quota is a disturbing element in the otherwise excellent financial condition of the country." But yet he finds that:

It is unquestionably true that in this country public sentiment and commercial and industrial necessity demand the joint use of both metals as money.

If public sentiment and industrial and commercial necessity demand it, why is it not so conceded and so used? If these demanded it, why was it demonetized in 1873? Who opposed it then? Who opposes it now? Are not public opinion and public interest the factors that should shape and determine the laws and policies of this country? But it appears that there is a power greater than public opinion and an interest greater than public interest opposing the coinage of silver. Between the public opinion of the people and the private opinion of the money monopolists, between the interest of the workers and the interests of Wall street, Mr. Windom halts a moment to propose a compromise measure. Here is the plan he proposes:

Issue treasury notes against the deposits of silver bullion at the market price of silver when deposited, payable on demand in such quantities of silver bullion as will equal in value at the date of presentation the number of dollars expressed on the face of the notes at the market price of silver, or in gold at the option of the Government, or in silver dollars at the option of the holder. Repeal the compulsory features of the present coinage act. * * * The Secretary of the Treasury should have discretionary powers to suspend temporarily the receipts of silver bullion for payments in notes when necessary to protect the Government against combinations formed for the purpose of giving an arbitrary and fictitious price to silver.

The foregoing is Mr. Windom's plan, and he feels proud of it, for he says that "in the application of its principles will be found the safest, surest and most satisfactory solution of the silver problem." In point of fact the only problem it would solve would be the problem of stopping the coinage of silver. That it would do this must be conceded. If this be the purpose in view it certainly would be successful. But it would neither solve nor simplify the silver problem; on the contrary, it would still further mix and muddle our monetary system and for the masses make matters worse than at present. Silver is now a legal tender, performs the functions

of money and pays the people's debts equally with gold. This would increase the dependence of the people upon gold, increase the demand for that metal, consequently make it dearer, and silver and all other commodities relatively cheaper. The burdens of the debtors would be increased, the poverty of the masses deepened and the power of the gold brokers over the industry and business of the country relatively augmented. That such would be the result every candid person reasonably well informed upon the financial question must admit. The present conditions are bad, but Mr. Windom's system would make it worse. Besides, were it otherwise unobjectionable, giving the Secretary of the Treasury discretionary power in the premises would be enough to condemn it. It would be just as good to leave it to the discretion and power of Wall street directly as to do it indirectly through a Secretary of the Treasury. The American people for the last quarter of a century have had a surfeit of the alleged discretionary power of the Secretary of the Treasury. They will have no more of it. They intend in future to give that official, whoever he may be, specific instructions. They will also see to it that he conforms to them.

ALIEN CONTRACT LABOR.

After much trouble a law was passed by Congress restricting the importation and immigration of foreigners under contract to labor. In the recent report of the Secretary of the Treasury, whose duty it is to see the law enforced, the matter is very briefly discussed. He enumerates the amount of trouble made by this law, and can see no good in it. To support this conclusion he gives a short table which discloses the fact that 422,352 immigrants landed on our shores last year, and out of that number but three were found violating this law. The Secretary evidently wanted to show that, if out of nearly half a million of immigrants, but three could be found coming in under contract to labor, those who urged the passage of the law did not understand the situation, and as a result Congress was deceived into passing it, and should look more carefully into future propositions coming from similar sources. It was aimed as a blow at proposed labor legislation. But now comes the sequel which places the Secretary and his subordinates in rather an unfavorable position. The following is from the associated dispatches from Pittsburgh, Pa., dated December 19:

Max Schomburg, Austro-Hungarian Consul at Pittsburgh, expects to receive orders from the government of Galicia to collect evidence and probably forward witnesses for trial of 300 government officials who are charged with making common cause with certain steamship and railway lines, in forcing about 35,000 men, women and children to emigrate to America. These government officials, some of them high in rank, received a bonus for each emigrant transported. Treason was the favorite charge on which these people were frightened into selling their humble homes and fleeing the country. About 15,000

of these people have come to Pittsburgh within the past two years. Anton Czadon was one of the victims yesterday; he bought tickets in this city for Trieste and will return to his native land, taking his wife and child with him. Czadon told the following story:

It is a fair sample of the treatment of all who had come from a small hamlet about one hundred miles east of Cracow.

"My occupation there was that of a farm laborer. One evening, upon returning from my day's labor, I found a man who looked like an official talking to my wife. The man gave me a hard look and said: 'Anton Czadon, you are charged with high treason. Some one heard you speaking ill of his majesty, the Emperor. The punishment is death, but the Emperor is willing to be lenient and will be satisfied if you leave this country in a week's time and sail for America, never to return.'

The man told me to sell my fruit, my corn and pigs and get money for him by the end of the week. The man showed up promptly in a week after his first visit and asked how much money I had. I told him 400 guilders (about \$100). He said that was enough to pay my passage and that of my wife and child. About fifty other men in my village were accused of the same crime and suffered the same punishment. The nearest railway station was across the frontier in Silesia, about one hundred miles distant. We had to walk while four men on horseback armed with pistols and long whips guarded us. The journey was terrible for the women, as the country through which we had to pass was very rugged. From the minute we started until we arrived at our destination, none of us received a morsel to eat or to drink. Two babies died on the road, while some of the women sank down from exhaustion, but a cut from the whips of the men on horseback put them on their feet again."

Czadon further said that all these thousands of exiles took the places of the striking coke workers in Pennsylvania.

It was utterly impossible to carry out such a gigantic piece of rascality without accomplices on this side, and they must have been Government officials. As it is simply a matter connected with labor, it will doubtless never be investigated. One thing, however, is true: The farmer was made to suffer in this matter, and through the Alliance may force something to be done. Cheap labor in the mines, shops and factories means cheap wheat, pork and beef. When well paid labor is supplanted by cheaper labor, the farmer in the end is the greater loser. It is a struggle now for a cheap dollar, and a dear days work.

THE Executive Committee will prepare a bill immediately after the holidays embodying all the features of the sub-treasury plan and urge its passage by Congress. Of course this will be antagonized by the combined

power of the banks, United States Treasury, trusts, corporations and syndicates. This, however, is exactly the condition desired. It will provoke discussion both in and out of Congress, by which the people will become informed and can intelligently decide upon its merits. When properly before the people, with full and complete explanations, showing its fairness and adaptability to the wants of the country. The friends of the measure need have no fear of ultimate success.

RAILWAYS;

Their Uses and Abuses,

AND THEIR EFFECT UPON REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

BY JAS. F. HUDSON,

Author of "The Railways and the Republic."

No. 33.

THE REMEDY OF COMPETITION.

The fact that local discrimination is caused by the presence of competition at the point which receives the lowest rate, and its absence at the points which are discriminated against, might suggest, to all whose position does not prejudice them against such an idea, that the true and complete remedy lies in endeavoring to supply the lacking influence; to give that portion of the railroad traffic which is without competition the influence which secures the advantages to others. In other words, when we have a condition of the railroad system which enables the railroad managers to discard the great element of the cost of service as a proper factor in making rates, and to levy charges solely in accordance with what the freight will bear, is it not the just and thorough remedy to try to bring in the influences which will make both factors have their proper force?

When we find that competition can produce such a remarkable reduction of rates as ten dollars per ton upon a haul of three thousand miles, concurrently with a charge of thirty dollars per ton upon a single thousand miles of the same haul where competition is absent, the inference is irresistible upon the surface of the case, that the extension of competition to the people who are subjected to the higher charges, is exactly what they need. Take the case, that the absence of competition at certain points has led to the shipment of freights in manufacturing localities intended for far Western points, but transported to its destination by first starting in the opposite direction and then coming back again past their original point of shipment in order to obtain the low rates which were in force upon the Atlantic seaboard. In that case, the deduction is obvious that the creation of competition, if it is possible, will prevent the wasted effort involved in hauling the freight over the hundreds of miles that bring it back simply to where it started, and will give the disfavored localities something like the rates the natural advantage of their position entitles them to.

It is difficult to bring the average mind to the recognition of the fact that, because discriminations between localities are produced by the absence of competition at the point discriminated against, therefore, the true and thorough remedy is to supply the lacking element. This is simply because it is generally held to be a foregone conclusion that competition upon the local traffic of a railroad is an impossibility in the nature of the case. But that is simply begging the whole question. It is true that so long as the railroads are organized and operated as at present competition is an impossibility, inasmuch

as the foundation of the existing organization is the exclusive privilege of each railroad to carry on transportation over its own line. But it is a false deduction that, because the organization of the system produces the evil, therefore it is possible to so reform the organization that the evils can not be taken away. That is equivalent to saying that if you remove the cause of the disease, there is no hope of the ultimate cure of the ill. This is practically what Professor Hadley says when he asserts that "the principle of charging what the traffic will bear gives the railroad a dangerous power, and one which is often abused—a power against which competition furnishes no remedy." Yet upon the very page upon which Professor Hadley makes this last assertion he goes on to say:

"Wherever there is an industrial monopoly of any kind there is a liability to discrimination. They have become most prominent in the case of railroads because the monopoly of railroads has been in some respects most complete, their activity most extensive and the investigation of their doings the most searching; in short, because the railroad has attained a fuller development than other forms of industrial monopoly." Here we have the recognition on the part of this able and generally clear-sighted writer that the cause of discriminations lies solely in the monopoly, or the absence of competition upon the railroad in that portion of the traffic discriminated against. Yet with the perception of that fact Professor Hadley leaps to the conclusion that competition furnishes no remedy against the abuse of the practice of charging what the freight will bear or basing rates solely upon the theory of value of service to the shippers, and that is, simply because he has entered upon the examination of the subject with his mind made up to the stereotyped belief that competition can not be made to apply evenly to all branches of the railroad traffic.

This conclusion is the more remarkable because the very abuse which is under discussion presents the most remarkable illustration of what competition can do in preventing the abuse of the principle of charging what the freight will bear. Charging what the State will bear at the competitive point brings the reduction of rates to the lowest estimate of the cost of service; charging what it will bear at the non-competitive point means the raising of rates to the highest estimate of the ability of the shippers to bear the charges, combined. It means that the local freight must pay the principal part of the cost of many of the portions of the service, and in addition a larger margin of profits than the through freights. The present effect of the uneven and partially obstructed working of competition renders railroad management careless and ignorant, according to Mr. Alexander's confession, of the true elements of cost of service, and frequently results in the transportation of the competitive traffic at actually less than it cost the railroad to carry it. But when every

example of local discrimination comprises an illustration of what competition will do in taking away the power of the railroad officials to abuse the principle of charging what the freight will bear, it is a natural assumption that the extension of competition to the disfavored traffic would be that the abuse must disappear.

The influence of an even and universal competition in the performance of any service or the production of any staple is best perceived by first referring to those classes of enterprise in which competition is universal and permanent beyond any effort to overcome and defeat it. In a previous article I referred to an illustration in the production of agricultural staples, and the fact that no farmer ever dreams of asserting that the purchasers of his products at the point nearest to him must pay the greater share of the profit on his capital in order that he may compete at advantage in the distant markets. This is simply due to the fact that the competition in furnishing agricultural products to local points is practically as strong as it is anywhere else; and the consequence is that the price of all such staples is based upon the cost of production, with an equal influence to the value or the element which constitutes the demand. In other words, irresistible force of competition in the production and sale of grain or cotton renders the discrimination against localities in the sale of such products as clear an impossibility as the avoidance of that discrimination is in the railroad business under the present partial and uneven operation of that force.

Take another illustration in the transportation of freight by water, and especially by the canals. The latter are so similar to the railroads in origin and the class of the business transacted as to afford the clearest basis of comparison. It is not one of the theories of canal transportation that the freight which requires the use of the longest part of the improved waterway, or necessitates a greater motive power, should pay less, or even the same, as that which calls for less. These are clearly and distinctively elements of the cost of service; and it is significant that one of the elements most prominently taken into consideration is that of distance, which is so largely discarded in railroad questions. The reason that rates are adjusted so closely with the cost of service in water transportation is simply because competition is so free that if any transportation company by water should endeavor to levy unreasonable or excessive charges for the profit of the capital upon any class of traffic, the force of competition would fully rectify the inequality. Even supposing the effort to be made to maintain high charges at a single point by the combination of all the transporters at such point; that would at once be defeated. Other competition would promptly come in to keep the business down to the limits of reasonable profit. Imagine a company controlling a large fleet of canal-boats trying to

maintain schedule of rates at Syracuse and making a higher charge for the transportation of flour to New York city than from Buffalo. If the canal-boat company making that adjustment of rates was the sole transporter on the canal, or could prevent other canal carriers from competing with it at Syracuse, it might be able to enforce the discrimination against that city of a greater charge upon the less haul than is made to the more distant port. But as every one is at liberty to compete in transportation on the canals, the result, if one canal-boat owner should make a higher charge from Syracuse than from Buffalo, would be that other canal-boat owners would take all the Syracuse business. If there were no other canal-boat owners at hand to take the business, we may be certain that it would not be very long before the Syracuse shippers would put their own boats in operation upon the canal to relieve them from the discrimination of yielding the greater share of profit of the regular carriers in order that they might be freed to meet the competition of other routes at Buffalo.

It is the universal and vital rule that wherever competition in the service of transportation is free to all points and all classes equally, then the charges for the service which involve the least cost of labor and capital will be less than those which involve a greater cost. This is for the simple reason that whenever the charges may be higher upon the least expensive work other competition will flow in, and by seeking to share the liberal profit growing from such a state of affairs will reduce the charges to the same relation to the cost of service which prevails at other points. This is not asserting that each place will be placed upon a dead level of equality as regards transportation charges. Every place would secure under such a state of affairs the economy in transportation rates which comes from its natural advantages and from its enterprise in making the most of them. The place where a vessel can secure but half a load, or may have to wait a long time to be sure of a full load, will naturally have to pay higher charges for transportation than one where the vessel can obtain its lading promptly.

This is the due reward of enterprise and the natural recognition of the advantages of location. The sure result of the freedom of competition in water transportation at every point is that rates are kept in due relation to the cost of service; that each locality has the proper benefit of its position; that enterprise at one locality is not handicapped by an irresistible discrimination which gives another point a cheap rate of transportation; and that no one thinks of imposing charges without regard to the cost of service. Consequently the cheaper charges of transportation at the point where the service required is the least secures the most economical distribution of production and the performance of the work of commerce in the cheapest manner.

The converse of the proposition in the appearance of similar inequalities in other classes of commercial work, than those of transportation, where the action of competition is obstructed and hampered, prove exactly the same point, that the remedy of such evils lies in establishing competition upon a broad and universal basis. Prof. Hadley is quite correct in asserting that "wherever there is an industrial monopoly of any kind there is a liability to discrimination;" but the singular feature of his argument is that, having thus pointed out the cause of discrimination to lie in the obstruction of competition that forms the vital characteristics of a monopoly, he is unable to see the clear deduction that the remedy for the evil lies in restoring the full action of competition. It is instructive to note one example that lies outside of the railroad business in which exactly this point is brought out.

The Standard Oil Company, during a great portion of its career, held a practical monopoly of the refining and sale of illuminating oil throughout the United States. The cause of that monopoly has been already referred to and may, in the future, form the subject of more extended inquiries. At present it is sufficient to note that for many years this corporation was without a rival in its peculiar field, so far as the home market was concerned; but at the same time it met with very strong competition in the European market from the large production of petroleum in the Russian field. What was the result? Exactly the same discrimination in character, with a slight variation for the difference in circumstances, that exists in the discriminations between competitive and non-competitive traffic in railroad transportation. The Standard Oil Company did not develop any peculiar theory about the duty of the local buyers of petroleum to pay all the profit on the capital, or the right of foreign buyers to be emancipated from such charges. It was simply a frank and undisguised assertion of its power to levy certain charges upon the home buyers; and that assertion took the form, during a period when the business was unregulated by the competition of other refineries in the United States, of an actually higher price for wholesale invoices of oil for the home trade and delivered at the doors of its refineries in Pittsburgh and Cleveland than was charged for the same grade of oil in New York, loaded on board of vessels for export. The difference was simply due to the fact that the Standard Oil Company was without competition in the home market; that it had to meet competition in the foreign market, and the result was that the home buyers had to pay from one and a half to two cents per gallon more for oil delivered to them at the refining city than the shipment for the foreign market yielded for petroleum which had undergone a transportation of three or four hundred miles, and was loaded on board the vessel ready for shipment.

It is pertinent to the discussion in hand that the Farmers Alliance in seeking to remedy this evil finds no difficulty in perceiving that the proper remedy lies in supplying the lacking element and affording competition on that class of trade which has hitherto been bound and tied up by the system of advances. The measure taken by the Alliance was eminently correct in refusing to adopt the policy of trying to set up another monopoly to take the place of that partial one, which has hitherto prevented the planters from obtaining the full measure of their prosperity. It was not necessary to establish a socialist and governmental scheme of stores to take the place of the old ones. It was sufficient to organize under the management of the Alliance such competing mercantile establishment as would furnish the planters with supplies upon moderate margins of profit and make advances upon their stock at reduced rates of interest, and to leave the planters at liberty to deal either with the new establishments or with the old merchants, according as each could furnish the most inducements in the form of the most reasonable terms.

It would not be at all singular if the merchants and factors who have drawn liberal profits from the old state of affairs should develop a policy exactly like that of the railroads, with regard to the long and short haul—that as their original purpose was to

furnish the planters with supplies and to advance money on their crop, therefore the planters who have become bound to them by such a form of dealing must pay them greater profits than those who are not bound, and who, therefore, can take advantage of the competition of other merchants; but it is not hazardous to predict that wherever such a theory is developed, when the work of creating competing establishments which all the planters can reach at equal terms has its full effect, it will be found that one merchant as well as another can afford to give all planters the moderate prices which are established and maintained by the universal and free competition of all dealers alike.

However this may be in this especial instance, it is the safe principle or inquiry, when we find an evil produced by the absence of a normal and beneficial influence, to direct the discussion to the question whether that influence can not be brought to bear in order to heal the evil. If we find a case in which physical disorder is produced by the lack of sufficiently nourishing food it is little better than mockery to assume that the disease must be treated and the evil must be removed by remedies based upon the supposed position that nutritious food can not be obtained for the patient. The first thing to be done is to supply the lacking nutrition. The same rule will hold good in all cases where commerce is disturbed and burdened by discriminations arising out of the imperfect and obstructed condition of competition. Temporary and partial measures may be a slight alleviation, but the only thorough cure is to supply the lacking force and to give those localities which are burdened by reason of the absence of competition the benefit of the influence which secures to those localities that have competition especial advantages by means of its partial operation. The republican theory of equality applies in this respect in favor of securing to all localities an equal operation of the principle of competition and then permitting all of them to work out their own prosperity in accordance with their respective natural ability and advantages.

The Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kansas) speaks of the result of the St. Louis meeting:

The labors of the Alliance leaders are crowned with success. Consolidation was carried as far as it was possible to carry it, for want of authority on constitutional questions with part of those present. We may confidentially expect that next year will see the "Granger" and "F. M. B. A." in the federation if not in the consolidation. This will make the grandest organization in the world. By keeping its actions conservative in tone but decisive and certain in action it can wield the controlling power at the ballot-box and compel attention to the needs of the "people."

THE latest is the diamond trust. It is said that the De Beers syndicate controls twenty-nine-thirtieths of the output, and diamonds are rapidly advancing in price.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

CALCIUM AND MAGNESIUM.

These metals closely resemble each other in their characters and functions, and are to a certain extent capable of mutual replacement in the ashes of plants. They are, when chemically isolated, metals of silvery luster and low specific gravity. Their oxides are white, powdery substances, commonly known as lime and magnesia. Their hydrates and carbonates exhibit the usual alkaline reactions; both are essential ash minerals found in the ashes of all plants and necessarily existing in all soils capable of supporting vegetation. As each of them contributes to the formation of protoplasmic matter, or the simplest form of the physical basis of life, each does and must enjoy universal distribution. There are vast series of magnesium limestone; also many other rocks and soils are distinctively magnesian. Of the two metals, calcium is the more abundant in nature and in most respects more important, whether in the great domain of nature or of art. It would seem that all substances essential to life are in this, their highest function, reduced to one level as regards their importance. Nevertheless, in the art of culture, and in the science of agriculture on which that art is based, lime is a substance more important than magnesia. It has not anywhere been found profitable to apply magnesia as lime has been extensively and profitably applied as a fertilizing agent to many crops and soils. The chief source of lime is the vast natural deposits of calcium carbonate commonly designated lime-stone rock. These are of almost continental area and vast thickness, in many localities reaching to several thousand feet. These lime stones are burned to drive off the carbonic acid, and quick lime is thus obtained. When lime stones assume a crystalline form they are called marbles. Strange to tell, the writer once met a distinguished professional man, a university graduate and another who did not know that marble had any relationship to lime stone. Sea-water may be regarded as the original source of the present lime stone deposits, and from that reservoir of water has been separated in the lapse of mighty ages the vast lime stone areas of the modern world which was done at the bottom of the ancient seas which then covered the present habitable surface of the globe. When we consider the agency whereby that separation was effected we are astounded at the wondrous plan which selects the humblest creatures, and minute as humble, as the agents to perform such mighty works. When we reflect that the bottoms of modern seas are the theatres where in the midst of serene and eternal silence the foundations of future arable fields are being laid down, and endeavor to contemplate the time which will elapse before self-binders shall reap the golden harvest that shall grow thereon of which the nations then living shall bake their bread, the faculties of the human mind are paralyzed by the weight of a conception which in a manner removes the landmarks which separate eternity from time. The sea now covers three-quarters of the globe. Does the story of the Swiss lake people adumbrate the future of our wheat fields? When the continents whose marble walls and chalky floors are now being laid in the depths of ocean shall merge from those depths,

whether will those waters depart? Can some of the wise men who find it so small a task to go back to the monera and work up to man tell us any of these things? The fact is that man is a fleeting shadow, and "well spoke Athena's wisest son, all that we know is nothing can be known." If we strive to know the complete history of that thing in nature which is the meanest and the least, or that which is the greatest and the grandest, we are brought face to face with the same great questions which we can in no wise solve. Above all we know or can know about anything, lies that which is infinitely more, which we know not and can never know. Beyond the line which divides between the known and unknowable lies the solution of all the greatest problems of the cosmos. One of the most learned men of the world has told us what he knows about "a piece of chalk;" that is to say, about one of the least important forms of this calcium, and we see at once how much vaster than all he tells us, is that which he can not tell. Calcium and magnesia form basic oxides and by combination with acids form corresponding salts. They also combine with the halogens to form haloid salts. In nature these metals are only known as compounds. Calcium combines largely with phosphorus, forming several phosphates. In this combination it forms the solid part of animal bones which, either in the recent or fossil state, are the chief commercial source of calcium phosphate in commercial fertilizers. The physiological importance of calcic sulphate is immediately apparent when we remember that the bony framework is essentially the foundation structure of all higher organisms in the scale of life. It is the office of grass and grains to extract this phosphate from the soil for the use of animal organisms, including physical man. We reserve therefore for another paper the subject of the agricultural uses of calcic compounds, but in the mean time we desire to conclude the list of elements essential to life viewed in the main from the physiological side of their history.

SMALL POWERS ON THE FARM.

The necessity of doing everything which can be done within the home resources of the farm is daily more apparent in every branch of agriculture. The necessity of employing the farm force profitably within doors during inclement weather, when outdoor operations of every sort are peremptorily suspended, enforces itself upon the dullest comprehension. The necessity of avoiding all possibly-avoidable expense and outgo of cash, however small, makes itself apparent. An economical power-safe, reliable and easily operated and kept in order is a thing which will enable the ordinary force of the farm to do very many things for which outside power is now employed. We are strongly inclined to favor for general adoption the use of the local tread railway animal powers. A sweep horse power requires a clear space of not less than thirty feet diameter, and such a space under cover is not often conveniently available. With regard to all engines operated by fire there is the risk of conflagration and the risk of explosion. In a tread power either horses or oxen may be made to earn their rations instead of eating it in idleness when the outdoor operations are brought to a stand by severe weather. These powers are inexpensive, durable and capable of efficient work. They can of course be applied to every purpose to which a wind, steam or water power can be applied. No doubt there are water powers available for turbines for millions of horse power.

A DESTRUCTIVE BIRD.

What has the division of Economical Mythology, United States Department of Agriculture, to say as to the great destructiveness of the common red-wing blackbird, and how to meet the nuisance by preventive measures? This destructiveness has been brought forcibly to the notice of the writer as regards the present corn crop in Southern Maryland. The birds in flocks of millions attack the corn fields when the ear is in the roasting ear stage, and keep it up until the grain is quite hard and mature. The shuck is stripped down from the point of the ear, and the grain eaten off from the cob for from one-fifth to one-third of the length. In certain fields it would be nearly impossible to find a single ear not thus injured. When the attack has been made while the grain is in the milk stage much of the grain left by the bird shrivels and fails to mature, and the loss of the whole ear results. The writer knows fields of considerable extent near tide water marshes where the damage amounts to annihilation. If, however, the outraged owner shoots, traps, snares, poisons, or in any manner destroys a red-wing blackbird or takes its eggs or young, he is, under the Maryland code a criminal, liable to a serious fine for each and every bird destroyed or nest broken up. Here is an example of legislative folly under the inspiration of misguided and ignorant sentimentality. Moreover, the English sparrow, whether prompted by imitative propensity, or by a certain innate propensity to do evil, makes an attack on our corn fields in the same manner precisely, and is likely to prove a very serious pest. Now what shall we do?

ADDRESS.

BY ROBERT BEVERLY,

President of the Farmers Assembly of Virginia.
The following is the address of President Beverly to the Virginia Farmers Assembly, in Richmond, December 10, 1890:

growth in population. The newspapers, always located in the cities or at court house towns, cry "Prosperity," and of course it is prosperity to the city people, getting their old fees and commissions and buying their supplies at half price, but bankruptcy to the farmers.

What is the particular cause of this condition of things? First, and above all, it is due to the currency having been contracted at the dictation of the money kings—creatures, created by the war, who have with their money been controlling the financial policy of our Government ever since. The currency is locked up to the amount of twelve hundred millions by the Government and its banks (leaving but five hundred million in circulation) and released only (and in such amounts only) at the dictation of Wall street and the monopolists to further their aggrandizing schemes—all my friends, to your detriment. Is it strange that your broad backs should be broken? The trusts and monopolies are run by the money kings, promoted by the tariff and banking laws until there is not any capital left in the country, except the land, and that heavily mortgaged. The holdings of each individual have decreased from \$4 per capita to \$5.83, and the most of that in the pockets of the city people. Nine out of ten of the country people cannot show ten cents of currency. What people can bear this? We are more abject slaves to the money kings, trusts and monopolists than ever the African was to his Southern master. Under the Constitution the negro was the property of his master, and the owner would at least feed, clothe and protect his own property. I ask, who is protecting the agriculturist now? He is at the mercy of the Shylocks. Twenty-five thousand persons own one-half of all the money values of the United States and 250,000 practically own it all, which makes sixty millions of people slaves to the 250,000. I ask how long can the republic be called free under this state of things? Where, then, is the salvation of the republic? If there is any it is in the virtue of the agricultural classes, and in their depressed and straitened condition, absolutely starving for money in the midst of plenty of produce, it will be hard, very hard, to accomplish. Under the law of universal suffrage money I fear will control. Let us try before it is forever too late. Let us organize more thoroughly and show that we will maintain our free Government against money monopolies and trusts. Let us swear that we, actually 51 per cent of the entire population and 78 per cent of the population of the South and West, will control, as we now and ever have supported, this Government for the good of the whole people, and will not be enslaved by monopolies.

The charters of incorporation that our State Legislators have passed *ad libitum* are the nursing mothers of trusts and monopolies. If they are used for the oppression of the people, repeal them, and talk not of vested rights to oppress the people at the hands of the few money kings. The people, through their servants, had the power to give; they have the power to take away. Repeal all of the charters that are used for the oppression of the people, and pass laws that will restrain companies and combines organized for corporate greed to the destruction of the welfare of the producing classes.

Let us proclaim that the agricultural interest of Virginia is the one of greatest importance and that we will control legislation to advance the material interests of the State, and that if our servants in the Legislature do not obey, we will put others in there who

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

ALL mail for the secretary of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union should be addressed to "J. H. Turner, secretary, N. F. A. and I. U., care NATIONAL ECONOMIST, Washington, D. C."

WHEREAS THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, our adopted official national organ, has so boldly and fearlessly advocated our cause and defended our principles: Therefore, be it

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

In calling attention to the foregoing resolutions, passed unanimously by the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union at St. Louis, the publishers of the national journal have nothing more to say at present upon the subject than that the highly complimentary endorsement is duly appreciated. THE ECONOMIST has at all times endeavored to do its duty fully and faithfully, and it now remains for the members to do their duty to themselves, THE ECONOMIST and the cause it represents by giving it an extensive circulation. The individual endorsement of the members by sending in their subscriptions is now and always in order.

The Journal of the Knights of Labor will issue on January 2, 1890, a special edition of 200,000 copies. The number will contain a verbatim report of the speeches delivered at the great St. Louis Farmers convention by Messrs. Powderly, Wright, and Beaumont, representing the Knights of Labor; the response on behalf of the farmers by "Stump" Ashby of Texas and the speech on the same occasion by General J. B. Weaver. It will also contain the full text of the treaty of agreement between the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union and the Knights of Labor. The special edition will be supplied in quantities at \$1 per 100 copies. Orders should be sent at once to John W. Hayes, 814 North Broad street, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST Almanac will contain a list of government publications that can be obtained free for the asking. It will designate the department from which they can be obtained, and how to address the communication. There are thousands of books that should be among the farmers. They have to pay for them; why not get them?

Notice of Annual Meeting.

The annual meeting of the Nebraska State Farmers Alliance will meet at Grand Island, commencing Tuesday, January 7th, 1890. The basis of representation as provided in Section 2, Article 1, of constitution, is one delegate for each Subordinate Alliance and one delegate for each twenty members or major fraction thereof. The rapid growth of the Alliance in the State the past year, and the vital questions that will come before this meeting, make it one of great importance, and it is therefore expected that every Alliance in Nebraska will be represented. Alliances that are in arrears for dues should send in quarterly report before January 1st to entitle them to representation in this meeting. Credentials should be promptly made out and forwarded to the State secretary without delay so that arrangements can be made to provide hotel accommodations for all who attend. Reduced rates will be secured on all railroads. In purchasing tickets take receipt of your local agent showing that one full fare has been paid. These certificates when signed by the State secretary will entitle the holder to return at one-third fare. Delegates present will cast the full vote their Alliance is entitled to; no proxies will be admitted. Fraternally,

J. M. THOMPSON, State Sec'y.

Huron County, Michigan.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

A Country Debating Society.
BY HARRY HINTON.

The Solomon debating society having met, Col. Samson was chosen president, judges and critics appointed, and it was then ready for business.

Col. Samson—Gentlemen, the question for your consideration is one of world-wide importance. The question is, "Is the state of the Union sound and solid or corrupt and squashy?" Mr. Highkite is the first speaker.

James Highkite—Mr. President, I am proud always to have an opportunity to raise my feeble voice and hand in defense of the Union. The Union has been my song by day and my prayer when the golden god of day hides his crimson face behind the blushing hills, and when black-winged night holds her leaden sceptre over a slumbering world my sweetest dreams are about the Union. The Union is as solid as a mountain of adamant towering high above the sunlit clouds and bathing its very pinnacle in the dews of Heaven. She is as sound as the gold that formed the calf of Aaron around which the damsels of Israel all danced in a ring to the sound of cymbal and harp when Moses had gone to the top of thundering Sinai to receive the laws of Jehovah.

Bill Square—Mr. President, I call the gentleman to order. We are not discussing the Union to-night, but the state of the Union. The Union itself may be sound and solid in itself, but its state and condition rather corrupt and squashy.

The President—I hope the gentleman will make the distinction.

James Highkite—Mr. Square is quite particular. I'll knock the brass out of the bottom of his kettle and stop the blow of his bugle right in the beginning. This Square man jumped several bounties during the war, hurt his thumb after the close of the war for which he now receives a pension and belongs to the Grand Army and claims to be a staunch Republican.

Tom Tubytew—it is an infernal—

Bill Square—Hold, Tom; let me shut off this gas.

The President—Order! Order! This will never do; I command the peace!

Squire Scroggins—I command the peace. Peace take hold!

Peace having been restored after much wrangling and confusion, the discussion continues.

James Highkite—Mr. President, you told me to notice the distinction and now I will notice with a vengeance. When I was a child my father taught me to hate the Republican party. This hatred was also succored with my mother's milk, and living or dying, weeping or laughing, in sickness or in health, on land or sea, the most direful curses of a heart reeking in bloody ire shall be poured out upon that party which has been the bane of all society and good government. The Union itself is solid and sound. The Republican party is as rotten as a ton of putrid fish and as squashy as the mud of the Dead Sea. Have we hurricanes and storms, deluges and disasters, pestilence and drouth it is all to be attributed to the blighting curse of the Republican party. But when we notice the flag of our glorious Union with its many stars grounded in heavenly blue we are reminded of the purity and truth of the Democratic party. She is solid. She is sound. No higher wish can my ambition claim than when this mortal frame shall be called to put on immortality that it shall be enshrouded in the glorious stars and stripes, and when the sod shall grow green over the

grave of him who loved his country so well I shall wish no prouder epitaph than this: "Here lies a Democrat."

John Goodson—Lord save our country and be merciful to us poor sinners.

The President—We'll now hear from the next speaker, Mr. William Square.

Bill Square—Mr. President, having the bottom knocked out of my kettle and my pipe closed by my most patriotic opponent, it cannot be expected that I should be able to say anything on the side of this subject on which I was chosen.

The President—The next speaker is Mr. Shannick.

Sam Shannick—Mr. President, it requires no stretch of the imagination, nor any strain upon any one's reasoning powers to at once come to the conclusion that the condition of political affairs is unsound and corrupt. We have had a full sample of that here to-night. As my friends, Mr. Square and Mr. Highkite, threw mud and dirt at each other, so the political demagogues of the day waste their time and the people's patience slanging each other. What the one is or does is a bane and a curse and the same for the other. This shows a depraved condition of things in the politics of this country. It shows that public plunder is the mainspring of all party zeal, and that disinterested patriotism is a thing of the past. This being true, if the condition of the Union is not corrupt now it soon will be. But it is corrupt now. No pure fountain can flow from a corrupt source. Note the men who are generally promoted to office. Are they our most honest and trustworthy citizens? No, sir; not by a jugfull. Who are they that are elected to office? What are his necessary qualifications? First, he must have been faithful to his party, obedient to his bosses, and to have been ready in every work. Next he must be a ready speaker, one who can out-speak his opponent; it matters not how slangy and vulgar he may be. Next he must be able to carry the floating vote—the uncertain vote. These are none of the qualifications of a patriotic statesman. Hence we see the government run by the most unscrupulous men, politics so rotten and vulgar. Decent men often shun and avoid a campaign, and the wisest and safest propositions put forth by a patriotic man are often voted down because he does not belong to the ruling faction. This is American politics, and this has corrupted and sordid the very Union itself.

The President—The point of order is well taken.

Bill Square—Thanks, Mr. President. My mind is relieved of a great burden, for I veritably believed that the Democratic party was a part of this Union. I shall now die in peace, being advised of the fact that James Highkite and the Democratic party is no part of the Union; that they are out of the Union or unworthy to be considered a part thereof. I always thought my opponent was an alien, for when his country called him to arms he took a contract to furnish beavers to the army, and they all had the distemper, which caused the distemper of no less than a hundred soldiers.

The President—Order, gentlemen, order.

Bill Square—A few more words and I am done. It is my pleasure to announce that the Republican party is the Union, and as long as it shall exist the Union will exist, and when it dies the Union dies. Thanks be to Providence, my lot is cast in such an age and in such a country. Ere I turn myself to the wall and fold my arms to the last sleep may my eyes turn for a last look upon the flag of this Union emblemizing the grand old party whose tramp in war made nations tremble and whose breath in peace brought happiness and plenty all over the land.

The President—The next speaker is Tom Tubytew.

Tom Tubytew—Mr. President, I'm ashamed of myself to appear in such a crowd as this, if the speakers who have preceded me have told the truth on each other. The one is a bounty jumper and a pension fraud, and the other an army contractor and a wholesale murderer.

The President—The gentleman must confine himself to the question.

Tom Tubytew—Well, is the state of the Union solid and sound? I must say she is as sound and as solid as a silver dollar. No one dares to put a polluting touch upon this Union, framed by the immortal Washington and the patriots of his day. No sooner than they made the attempt thousands of armed soldiers would spring up in its vindication and defense. It is absurd to suppose such a thing much less to make it a question of debate. Are we, the unworthy sons of noble

sires, so degenerate that we would allow the beautiful fabric of the Union to become in a corrupt and squashy condition? No, sir; tell me not in mournful numbers that she is not the same our fathers left us; that she has disgraced herself and become deflowered.

She is the beautiful idol of America, the model republic of the world, the beacon-light to the down-trodden and oppressed everywhere.

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spires kiss the skies; note the workmanship thereof and note the throngs emptied from their double doors, and then say to yourself if you can that this Union is corrupt with all this wealth accumulated under its benign institutions, and with all these school-houses and Christian churches and Christian people. No, gentlemen, the thing is impossible. Therefore we must come to the conclusion that the state of the Union is sound and solid and not corrupt and squashy.

The President—The next speaker in order is Mr. Goodson.

Mr. Goodson—Mr. President, may the Lord be merciful and spare the creatures of his hands. Are we not whitened sepulchres clean and nice without and within; nothing but corruption and dead men's bones? What are these magnificent churches if built by funds gained by fraud and deceit? Christian people of high and low degree, vastly rich in the city or wretchedly poor in the country, will leave the sacred sanctuary and go to the election and vote for the shrewdest rascal in the field against a plain, honest man. In their churches they are Christians; in politics they are the abettors of rascals and thieves; and in business they are cheats and liars. True there are good men and sound, but they are often prominent in either business or politics. Their plain honest qualities are not appreciated in a venal age. The chime of church bells has no charms for me when the same churches may have been built on the tears of orphans and widows. Rather worship God under a persimmon-tree. The holy ministers and holy cardinals with robes flowing red with the blood of Jesus have no impression on me if they do not teach their flocks to vote down all rascals and thieves of every political complexion.

Then if we find the sources of thought and of office and of power corrupt, where shall we look for soundness? Surely not in the offices themselves. This thing of soundness is a sounding brass, and this solid thing is a tinkling cymbal. The political atmosphere is a stench, and the state of political affairs is squashy rotteness.

Will this system not be extremely expensive?

The producer pays the entire expense of the present method of handling and selling crops. Our plan is much less expensive, bringing the producer and consumer into immediate contact.

Displacing all speculators and combines or trusts, leaving the Government in their place. With only a charge against the producer of one per cent per annum for advances, and less than one-half of the present rates of insurance and storage.

What will these warehouses cost, and where is the money to come from?

They will cost about \$50,000. We now have \$100,000,000 of gold that has been deposited for a long while for the purpose of redeeming that amount of outstanding treasury notes. Congress has passed a law forbidding the redemption of these treasury notes, which leaves said amount in the treasury unappropriated and unemployed. From this fund we propose to build these houses.

What are a few advantages of this plan?

First, a change of financial masters—from that of bankers and speculative capitalists to the Government. The one with no sympathy or interest in us or for us save that of gain. The other wholly dependent upon us—interested in our morals, intelligence, our physical ability to produce, our contentment, all of which enter into good citizenship. From the one our advances are 80 per cent on value, one per cent per annum.

With the other one advances are about 33 per cent on value with interest all the way from 8 to 70 per cent per annum. Under this plan the producer holds his values, selling on demand of consumers at highest market rates to be had, enabling them to co-operate and fix prices, displacing all speculators and removing the possibility of corners or trusts, thus giving the producer an equitable chance at the well regulated markets of the world.

This is not a revolution by any means, but an enlargement and extension of the present system. Capitalists are now allowed to deposit in the Government vaults \$100,000

in Government bonds, of no intrinsic value, bearing from 4 to 6 per cent interest, the Government advancing to them 90 per cent instead of 80 as to us; allowing them the use of the 90 per cent for twenty years free of

charge, while we ask only one year and to pay 1 per cent per annum; our deposit being based

upon the indebtedness of the country, our deposits being the absolute products or wealth of the country. The same plan has long been adopted with the whisky producers,

who are allowed to put their output into bonded warehouses at the expense of the Government. This plan will give us a flexible currency—the only currency that can

can meet the wants of the people, properly adjusting itself to all classes and all enterprises.

The currency system is owned and controlled by the few at the expense of the many, stimulating and producing speculation, monopoly and trusts. Our system stimulates and excites the production of values and the necessities of life. Under this system if a man wants money he must produce something. Under the present system if he wants money he must be a non-producer, speculator or swindler.

As to the remainder of your questions, combined capital will oppose us, especially that of Europe, which is now through syndicates and combines, investing millions of money in lands, mills and various enterprises in this country, simply because money is scarce and high with us and property cheap. All of which is the result of our present monetary system.

Will this system not be extremely expensive?

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Displacing all speculators and combines or trusts, leaving the Government in their place. With only a charge against the producer of one per cent per annum for advances, and less than one-half of the present rates of insurance and storage.

What will these warehouses cost, and where is the money to come from?

They will cost about \$50,000. We now have \$100,000,000 of gold that has been deposited for a long while for the purpose of redeeming that amount of outstanding treasury notes. Congress has passed a law forbidding the redemption of these treasury notes, which leaves said amount in the treasury unappropriated and unemployed. From this fund we propose to build these houses.

What are a few advantages of this plan?

First, a change of financial masters—from that of bankers and speculative capitalists to the Government. The one with no sympathy or interest in us or for us save that of gain. The other wholly dependent upon us—interested in our morals, intelligence, our physical ability to produce, our contentment, all of which enter into good citizenship.

From the one our advances are 80 per cent on value, one per cent per annum.

With the other one advances are about 33 per cent on value with interest all the way from 8 to 70 per cent per annum. Under this plan the producer holds his values, selling on demand of consumers at highest market rates to be had, enabling them to co-operate and fix prices, displacing all speculators and removing the possibility of corners or trusts, thus giving the producer an equitable chance at the well regulated markets of the world.

This is not a revolution by any means, but an enlargement and extension of the present system. Capitalists are now allowed to deposit in the Government vaults \$100,000

in Government bonds, of no intrinsic value, bearing from 4 to 6 per cent interest, the Government advancing to them 90 per cent instead of 80 as to us; allowing them the use of the 90 per cent for twenty years free of

charge, while we ask only one year and to pay 1 per cent per annum; our deposit being based

upon the indebtedness of the country, our deposits being the absolute products or wealth of the country. The same plan has long been adopted with the whisky producers,

who are allowed to put their output into bonded warehouses at the expense of the Government. This plan will give us a flexible currency—the only currency that can

can meet the wants of the people, properly adjusting itself to all classes and all enterprises.

The currency system is owned and controlled by the few at the expense of the many, stimulating and producing speculation, monopoly and trusts. Our system stimulates and excites the production of values and the necessities of life. Under this system if a man wants money he must produce something. Under the present system if he wants money he must be a non-producer, speculator or swindler.

As to the remainder of your questions, combined capital will oppose us, especially that of Europe, which is now through syndicates and combines, investing millions of money in lands, mills and various enterprises

in this country, simply because money is scarce and high with us and property cheap. All of which is the result of our present monetary system.

Will this system not be extremely expensive?

The producer pays the entire expense of the present method of handling and selling crops. Our plan is much less expensive, bringing the producer and consumer into immediate contact.

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The National Economist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

SINGLE COPY
FIVE CENTS

No. 16.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 4, 1890.

THE KEY TO THE PRESENT POLICY.

Those who are deprived of the right and power of participation in the government of their country are not free men; those who have the right but fail to exercise it fully cannot long remain free. The agricultural masses of this republic are themselves largely responsible for the evils of which they complain. They have failed to exercise any influence upon the Government and the law-making powers proportionate to their numbers and importance in society. They have been lacking in self-respect and self-assertion. They have too often followed in the lead of presumptuous mediocrity and permitted unscrupulous cunning to shape the policies of the Government. They have plodded along, passively submitting to every imposition and bearing the heaviest incidence of every national burden, sometimes in silence and sometimes with unheeded complaining. True, they have at times passed protesting resolutions, but their resolutions have been ignored. They have organized for protection, but hitherto these organizations have been spasmodic, isolated, fragmentary and usually treated with supreme indifference. Consequently their influence upon legislation and their power to promote their rightful interests have been merely nominal. True, at election times aspiring politicians fed the farmers and producers on fulsome flattery. But those politicians in power and a policy to be adopted, the producers were not consulted nor would their advice be respected. A resolution passed by fifty members of a board of trade or bankers' association had more influence in passing or preventing the passage of laws than fifty thousand farmers in isolated factions, howling themselves hoarse for or against the same measure. Last week ex-President Cleveland, at a banquet given by the Boston Merchants' Association, and addressing the merchants, bankers, brokers and speculators there assembled, said:

There seem to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth; the first is by war as the Romans did—this is robbery; the second, by commerce—this is generally cheating; the third, by agriculture—the only honest way wherein a man receives a real increase of the seed thrown in the ground, a kind of a continual miracle wrought by the hand of God in his favor as a reward for his innocent life and industry.

But not only does Mr. Cleveland declare that the special interests he was addressing should be the chief care of the Government, but that they also give to the country "the privilege of recognized membership in the community of nations." Shades of patriot farmers and laborers of 1776-'83, who risked your liberties and lives, who struggled and starved the long, weary years from Lexington to Yorktown, who suffered untold hardships and made innumerable sacrifices that America might be free to enter as a member of the community of nations, how soon your heroic lives and noble deeds are forgotten! The Tory traders and traitors of New York who stood up for George the Third receive just as much credit as you do now! And yet, were it not for you, it is more than probable that this country would not have entered the community of nations in 1783, and it is possible that Mr. Cleveland, instead of being the honored ex-President of the greatest republic in the world, might be simply a

wheeler. Whether Mr. Cleveland intended it or not, he in the foregoing expressed and exposed the key to the policy of this government for the last quarter of a century, including his own administration. The policy, "the chief care," of our national government has been to foster the trading, the banking and the

speculating interests. And it has developed them to an abnormal extent at the expense and to the abnormal depletion and depression of other interests. The results of that policy are seen in the present condition of the producers throughout the Union. They are seen in the deserted farms of New England, whose former owners and tillers have fled to the cities or to the West. They are seen in many counties of the West with rural population stationary or decreasing. They are seen in the deserted agricultural colleges where youths can not either be coaxed or paid to learn practical farming. It does not pay. But we can not agree with Mr. Cleveland that this should be the chief care of every enlightened government. Daniel Webster's ideal of the duty of government was entirely different. He said: "The great interest of this country, the producing cause of its prosperity, is labor! labor! labor!" The government was made to encourage and protect this industry and give it security." This government was not founded specially to foster speculation in the products of labor, trading in the circulating medium, clipping coupons or shaving notes, but to protect honest, useful labor. Hear the old philosopher, Franklin:

There seem to be but three ways for a nation to make more wealth. This shows that we are growing wiser, and that the law is mightier than the sword in making millionaires. But will Mr. Cleveland for a moment lift his eyes from gazing upon the spoils, and Mr. Cleveland his vision from contemplating the greatness of the tribute takers, and look at the other end of the line, where the spoils come from, and at those from whom the spoils come? They will find that just in proportion to the magnificence at one end will be the misery left at the other end. They will find that the bigger the dividends and profits accruing at one end, the bigger the debts and the greater the privations accumulating at the other. They will find the producers toiling early and late, and yet the harder they toil and the more they produce the less those products bring them in return. There is no mystery about this apparent paradox, however. Products can not pay big rents, interest, dividends and profits at one end of the line and leave fair and adequate returns to the producers at the other end. This is an impossibility. The organized producers recognize this, and they propose that the system which despoils them, for the benefit of favored classes, must be changed; that scarecrow farmer must have clothes to wear, instead of rags, and a house to live in instead