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plaints are just; but good can yet come from established parties. Stand by us and we will help you purify national politics." Then the people would have faith in them, and this independent movement might not be necessary.

Farm, Stock and Home (Minneapolis, Min.) says:

The Alliance movement is gathering strength in every direction. Every day brings news of enthusiastic meetings and strong combinations of industrial forces. The coalition of the Farmers' Alliance, Grange, Knights of Labor and the Union Labor party in Nebraska was effected July 30, and a State ticket was nominated. The platform is substantially the same as the one adopted by the Minnesota State convention. It demands free coinage, denounces land monopoly, railroad extortions, and the existing and proposed tariff. The Australian system of voting is commended, etc. In Michigan the farmers and other industrial forces are coming to the front, and everywhere unrest, dissatisfaction and organization reigns supreme in industrial ranks.

Alabama (Selma) Mirror gives the kind of goods that wear:

For nearly thirty years all the legislation of Congress has been directly in the interest of the manufacturer and the capitalist, but no sooner does the farmer demand protection to his interest than he is met with the cry of class legislation. He is advised to keep out of politics and let well enough alone; but the farmers are not so easily gulled as many suppose. They know that in this country the majority rules, and as the farmers compose a large majority in both political parties, they have quietly determined to assert their rights, and have resolved to go into politics and cast their votes only for good and true men, irrespective of party affiliations, who will pledge themselves to look to the interests of their constituents and to enact such legislation as will give relief to the present depressed condition of the agricultural classes. A mighty revolution in public sentiment has been the result of the movement, and many of the leading members of Congress have already espoused the cause of the farmers.

The Enterprise (Georgiana, Ala.) mentions the fact that some papers have read the Alliance out of the Democratic party:

The Alliance, like Collins' gentleman sheep, has a head of its own, and it proposes to use that head in shaping its course. That the Register reads it out does not make it true, or a particle of difference to the Alliance. The days of bossing are over, and the Register, as one of the old bosses, might as well throw down the party lash, fall into line and move on to glory with the crowd.

The Alliance Herald (Montgomery, Ala.) notes that the Democratic ticket did not nearly poll the party vote in the towns and cities. It says:

The howl in Alabama and Georgia about the Alliance not having the proper Democratic "dor" about it is only intended to keep the ring crowd in office. In the Atlanta district, in which Livingston has been nominated to succeed Stewart for Congressman, the true-blue Democrats and Republicans have united on Rufus B. Bullock, Georgia's carpet-bag governor, whose record was once so infamous in the esteem of these true-blue patriots that they were ready to kick him out of the State.

This, from the Colorado Workman (Pueblo, Colo.), is good:

What queer things the people are called upon to believe now by the politicians. They have the compromise silver bill that stops the coinage of silver after July 1, 1891 held up to them, and are asked to believe it is a "long step" toward free coinage. Next they have the McKinley tariff bill held up to them, and are told that an increase of tariff on what the poor man buys and a decrease in tariff on what the rich man buys is legislation in favor of the poor. They are asked to believe that the election bill, which will compel a man to vote as the boss tells him, or not at all, is purity and freedom of the ballot. Next they are asked to believe that the Government control of railroads would create an army of office-holders, and would perpetuate one party in power, but the fact that the bills which have passed the present Congress creates more new offices than would be required to run the railroads is never mentioned. They are asked to believe that the mortgage companies have been a

great blessing to the farmers of the country, that they have been the means of enabling hundreds of poor men to obtain homes. We are asked to believe this is a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, when there has not been a law passed in the past twenty-five years that has not been in favor of a class against the people.

Labor's Tribune (Carthage, Mo.) asks a very pertinent question:

Of what use is the Declaration of Independence to this country? If the independence and liberty of the great wealth producing population of this nation is up to the ideal expressed in the Declaration, then we must decide that the men who formulated that document failed in their conception of independence and political liberty. We are, however, of the opinion that those grand old patriots and heroes understood to a nicety what the rights and liberties of a free people are, and they expressed the finest ideal of natural and political liberty ever written. The Declaration of Independence simply declares what all people should enjoy in a government by the people, for the people, and of the people, and to preserve freedom, political liberty, and natural rights, the Constitution was framed to be the base and measure of every law of the Government. If in the enactment of laws since the Constitution was adopted the Congress and Senate of the United States had remained on constitutional ground, there would be visible everywhere evidence of a free and a happy people. But since the Constitution has been laid aside by our national lawmakers we find one class of people growing immensely rich and another class growing distressingly poor. This is a natural result of law unmeasured by a just Constitution. Let Congress repeal every law now on our national statutes that is found to be unconstitutional, and enact laws in harmony therewith, and a change for the better will follow at once. Then farming would pay as well as railroading does, and day labor would pay as well as office holding does, and banks will be a thing of the past.

In the Chickasaw Messenger (Okolona, Miss.) Mr. Frank Burkitt, closing an able letter on the sub-treasury, says:

Primarily and as Democrats you and I are opposed to partisanship in government, and would infinitely prefer that the national banks were abolished and that we had free coinage, but recognizing the fact that the banking system and the gold bugs are so thoroughly entrenched behind the legislation of Congress, it is impracticable to overturn them, the 25,000,000 of people, who constitute the basis of our wealth, pay the taxes of the Government, and fight its battles in time of war, demand the relief afforded by the sub-treasury bill, that they and their posterity may remain free American citizens and not become the serfs and vassals of Wall street. The farmers, backed by the toilers in the mines, the workshops, and along the railroad lines of the country, who are in perfect sympathy and accord with them, are strong enough to enforce their demands at the ballot-box, and they intend to do it. The politician, therefore, who has the temerity to oppose the movement had as well begin to hunt a storm-hole, for the cyclone is surely coming.

The Jacksboro (Tex.) Sentinel says truly:

The farmers' movement in the South has assumed such proportions that it has now become necessary for newspaper correspondents to open their campaign of lying. The Washington fakirs who cook up specials for the New York dailies are loaded to the muzzle with charges against the "demagogues who work upon the cupidity of the Southern farmers." It does not require much thought to discover how these fellows know so much about the daily happenings hundreds of miles away. The office holder is getting very uneasy.

The Alliance Union (Eureka, Kan.) says:

The fact is well known within the Alliance, and the politicians of both parties are beginning to realize it, that the Alliance has accomplished what the sword, the press, and pulpit failed to do. The Mason and Dixon line, on which the bloody shirt has been hung every four years, has at last been obliterated. The stock in trade of the politician has been to wave the bloody shirt and keep up sectional strife and hatred to keep the people divided, but the cotton planters of the South and the farmers of the North and West have bid the old parties good-bye and united for their mutual interests. The bloody shirt gang now seek to create dissension and strife within the industrial organizations by defaming the character and reputation of the Alliance leaders.

Official Organ of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union.

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

Volume 3.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1890.

Number 25.

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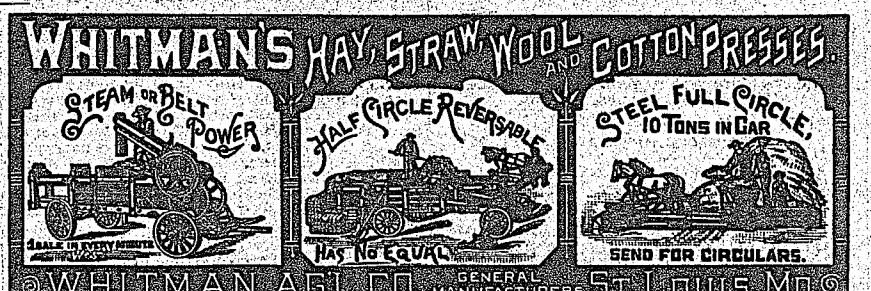
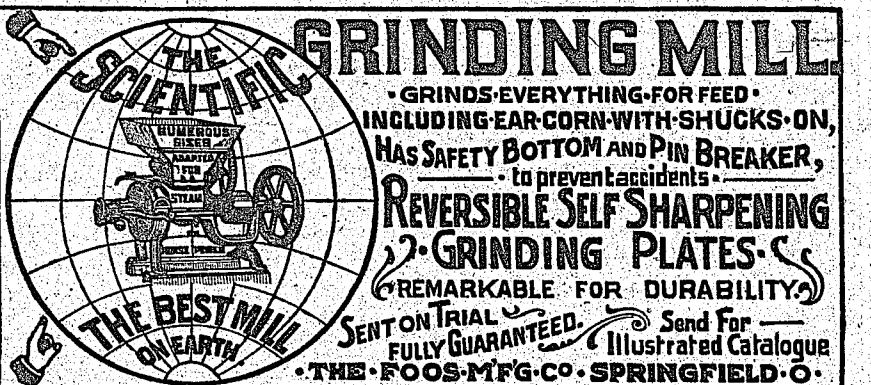


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DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 3.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER 6, 1890.

No. 25.

### THE SENSATION IN GEORGIA.

The sensation of the hour in Georgia and throughout the country is in regard to the senatorial race in that State. There is but one prominent candidate in the field, Gen. John B. Gordon, the present governor of the State. Until recently the place seemed to belong to Governor Gordon. He had represented his State in the United States Senate in great style, has since been governor of the State for two terms, and had been designated by the present United States Senator, Jos. E. Brown, as his choice for his successor. Probably no man of the present day possesses the love and esteem of the people of Georgia in so high a degree as Governor Gordon. With such prestige as this, few, if any, doubted that he would be elected by a unanimous vote of the coming legislature. True, the following of Governor Gordon is largely a hero worship, and attaches to him personally on account of his personal magnetism and his gallant achievements in history, and not to any strikingly wise accomplishments as Senator or governor. Nevertheless, his popularity on that basis was sufficient to make it seem like presumption on the part of any man to attempt to divide with him the votes of the people.

Since the recent meeting of the State Alliance of Georgia, on the 19th ultimo, there has been a great change in the situation. Now papers are having much to say about the fight between Governor Gordon and the Alliance. The assertion is freely made that the Alliance is fighting Governor Gordon, or that the Alliance membership is friendly to him, but the Alliance leaders are fighting him, and that he can secure the election in spite of the Alliance and its leaders. Papers that support Governor Gordon make violent attacks upon the Alliance and its methods, which seem to be offered in the interest of his election. In districts where an Alliance man may have received the regular Democratic nomination for a seat in the State legislature, and such nominee refuses to commit himself for United States Senator, an independent comes into the field supported as a true Jeffersonian Democrat by men who are strong partisans for Governor Gordon, and if the regular nominee will commit himself to the Gordon ticket the independent will be withdrawn. These and many other evidences of war upon the Alliance

by the partisan friends of Governor Gordon might be cited to support the newspaper assertions that there is war between Governor Gordon and the Alliance, but they prove nothing and amount to nothing, because not a word has escaped the Alliance or its friends in regard to Governor Gordon. Any one man on earth is not of sufficient importance to draw the fire of the Farmers Alliance. Individuality sinks into insignificance when brought into contrast with the Alliance. It measures its rights with the government and will in time enforce its wise mandates.

The situation in Georgia is as follows: The farmers have with one accord endorsed the demands of the National Farmers Alliance, including the sub-treasury plan, which divested of all detail is a plan which recognises one of the causes for the depressed condition of agriculture to be a discrimination against the farmer by a regular and great contraction of the relative volume of money every autumn, which is unavoidably accompanied by great reductions in prices at the very time he is compelled to realize from his productive effort for the whole year. This has averaged over 40 per cent each year for fifty years. The farmers thoroughly understand this now, and in their sub-treasury plan provide for a flexibility in the volume of money that will correspond to the fluctuations in demand, which will insure a more stable price, and therefore stop this regular discrimination against them of over 40 per cent. It would be class legislation and undemocratic if the farmers asked any favors or special privileges from the government, but is the very opposite when they demand from the Government regulations which will stop existing discriminations against them. It is really a demand to repeal a financial system that discriminates against agriculture 40 per cent on the average. Recognizing this as one of the most potent causes for the depressed condition of agriculture, the farmers have had prepared a bill which is a fair interpretation of a method to carry out the principles of the sub-treasury plan, and it has been placed before the Congress for action, pending which they have sent petitions asking that the bill or something better be enacted into law; and as candidates are announced for position in the next Congress it is the policy of those devoted to this measure to ask them how they will vote on it, and the presump-

tion is that those who favor the measure will get the Alliance vote. In Georgia the Alliance demands have been called the Alliance yardstick, and without fear or favor every candidate has been measured by the Alliance yardstick, except Governor Gordon. Possibly the Alliance may have intended to submit their questions to him, and possibly not. One thing is certain, they had not done so when during the session of the State Alliance in Atlanta Governor Gordon delivered an address to them in which he came out squarely against the sub-treasury plan and refused to offer anything better to accomplish the desired result. Governor Gordon's course and object is variously construed by the public; some think he intended to give the Alliance a slap in the face, and by rallying all the opposition to it completely destroy it; others think that he feels so secure in being able to command the love and devotion of the members of the Order that he can count on them to forsake the platform of the Order and say, Gordon first and the Alliance second; others think that it would really be more congenial to his tastes to have a following that rolls in wealth and luxury and scatters money like water than to have one with nothing but shouts of admiration to give. These suppositions are all wrong and do the distinguished gentleman great injustice. He is, he must be, the same gallant Gordon he always has been, and he will ever possess the love of the people of Georgia, whether they belong to the Alliance or not. He could not ask Alliance men to forsake their banner of principle for the love they bear him; to do so would be to show himself unworthy that love, and it is believed he would rather forego his ambition than ask such a sacrifice from his friends. He would not rally the opposition as such for the purpose of defeating the Alliance; that is foreign to the man. A moment's calm reflection must convince both sides on this question that his purposes were pure and manly. The Alliance was firmly committed to the sub-treasury plan, and would probably elect a majority of the coming legislature with the understanding that they would vote for no man that opposed the measure. Governor Gordon was opposed to it, and therefore could not accept the position on that platform. He knew that the Alliance men of Georgia expected their representatives to elect him to the United States Senate, and at the same time expected them to vote only for men who endorsed the platform. Here was a conflict that would some time cause dissatisfaction. They must give up the platform or give up him, and he did not want them to be compelled to make that choice. He therefore made the choice for them and practically said *Gordon does not want or expect your support*. This was manly, fair, and right, and there is no use of any abatement in the existing mutual esteem between Alliance men

and their favorite leader. He tells them that he loves them just as well as ever, but he can not work in that harness, and they say they esteem him as highly as ever, but they must find a man who will work on that platform. It is no reflection on Governor Gordon that the issue on this sub-treasury plan is between the farmers, manufacturers, merchants and producers on the one side and Wall street on the other, and that he has taken the Wall street side of the fight, because it is not probable that he knows or believes any such thing, and that he would honestly assert to the contrary; but such is nevertheless the case, and time will demonstrate it. Let the blind and foolish partisans of Governor Gordon make as much war on the Alliance, its objects and methods, as they choose, but let the order remember they should not strike back at him, because he may not be responsible for them; in fact he may have more to dread from partisan and extreme friends than from opponents.

The Alliance, as an organization, will march on to its grand and glorious achievements regardless of these local contests and perfectly oblivious of their results. It is too great to be hurt by defeat, and too wise to be intoxicated by success. It is, however, the plain duty of every member of the Alliance in Georgia, no matter how great a friend he may be to Governor Gordon, to take him at his word in his rejection of their support for this position. That he would rather be defeated than to have their votes, is the only fair and honorable construction that can possibly be put upon the matter.

U. B. Quinn, of Nance, N. C., sends a telegram clipped from a daily paper, telling that the banks of Kansas City and a few other Missouri points are overwhelmed with silver coin, which they are shipping to the sub-treasury at St. Louis to exchange for silver notes, paying an express charge of \$1 for each \$1,000 so shipped. He concludes: "This statement rather staggers a financial dunderhead. If silver coin is such a drug as therein stated, it's hard to understand how the free coinage of silver is going to help matters in the way of making money more plentiful by its circulation or distribution, for according to this statement, the greater the quantity of silver coined the more it will be disgorged from the banks back into the Treasury to be exchanged for silver notes. If the banks become so 'overwhelmed with silver coin' that they have to return it to the Treasury, I don't see how a flexibility of the currency is to be effected by unlimited silver coinage, nor by what process it can get into circulation. If such is to be the fate of unlimited coinage why not issue Treasury notes and be done with it." One of the goldbug arguments in the late silver discussion was that the fashionable shoppers in Macy's New York store refused cart-wheel dollars in change, evidencing the unpopularity of silver. Paper is certainly preferable to any kind of metal as a currency. The great significant fact, however, stares the people in the face, that the bonded debt is payable in coin, and in failing to provide coin preparations are being laid for a corner which will compel an issue of bonds to extend the public debt when it becomes due. Why not cease silver coinage? Because, by virtue of manipulation of the public debt, neither Treasury notes nor silver certificates are full legal-tender. Perhaps the banks, the holders of bonds, help create this impression of the unpopularity of the "dollar of our daddies."

## IS THIS PARTY DOCTRINE?

The National Democrat, through its correspondence, says that the sub-treasury plan is undemocratic. In view of this, and for the purpose of showing what may be considered as Democratic, the following extracts are taken from the annual report for 1888 of W. L. Trenholm, Comptroller of the Currency under President Cleveland. This may be orthodox Democracy, but it discloses a more intense hatred for the only currency belonging to the people than ever John Sherman exhibited. It might be well to cut this out for future reference:

It must be remembered that gold has only been relegated to the second place in our foreign exchange dealings; it is not banished nor disqualified. It has not, like silver, become *functus officio* in international trade; it is still the measurer of commercial values, still the only medium of liquidation that is equally effective everywhere, and the danger now is that, instead of moving in small amounts promptly in sensitive response, as formerly, to fluctuations in exchange, it may some day slide away from us in masses under some sudden escape of influences heretofore concealed from observation, and also perhaps held in check, by the arbitrage system. If we are really exposed to such a danger, we can not begin too soon to prepare for it, and prudence counsels that the first step should be to protect the Treasury against any possible embarrassment. The \$346,000,000 of greenbacks are the weak points in our currency system. The gold coins and certificates stand first, the national bank notes next, the silver coin and certificates third, and the greenbacks last in the order of assured value, and it would be a great benefit to the whole mass of the currency if this, its frailest element, could be eliminated from it. The present state of things seems favorable to the substitution of national bank notes for greenbacks, and to that end I venture to submit for the consideration of Congress the following measures:

1. Funding in bonds the greenback debt of \$346,681,016, or so much of it as may be presented at the Treasury within a limited period of time, say three years.

2. The bonds to be issued only to national banks presenting greenbacks for that purpose; to bear a low rate of interest not exceeding 2½ per cent, and to mature only upon the liquidation of the bank or upon its dissolution, whether voluntary or involuntary, upon expiration of its corporate existence.

3. The bonds so issued to be available only as a deposit to secure national bank circulation and to entitle the banks depositing them to receive circulating notes to the amount of their face.

4. Existing banks to be required, for a time at least, to retain on deposit the bonds they now have to the minimum amount required by existing laws, and to use the new bonds only for procuring additional circulation, or in substitution for whatever bonds they may now have on deposit in excess of the minimum, but the new bonds to be available for all purposes by banks organized after the passage of the act.

5. The National Bank Redemption Agency at Washington to be transferred to New York, and a sub-agency to be established at each central reserve city, the notes of all banks wherever situated to be redeemed at whichever agency they may be presented.

In support of these measures it may be said—

1. That they provide for the retirement of the greenback circulation without even a temporary contraction of the currency, because arrangements can and should be made to issue the national bank notes immediately upon the presentation of the greenbacks for the purpose of being funded.

2. That upon the retirement of these obligations the \$100,000,000 of gold held in the Treasury as a special fund for their redemption will become an available asset and may be paid out, adding just that much to the active circulation.

3. With the greenbacks taken out of the category of demand obligations of the Government, the Treasury will be in a better position than now to maintain the silver coinage at par with gold; and, on the other hand, specie and specie certificates will be held much more largely by the banks than they are now, and this will tend to relieve the strain upon the Treasury.

4. As the greenbacks will not be extinguished, but held in a state of suspended monetary vitality until the failure or liquidation of a bank requires their use in the redemption of its notes, they will constitute a reserve fund lying in the Treasury ready for use, at any moment of emergency, in the redemption of any portion of the national bank currency that may become discredited.

5. Assuming that \$300,000,000 of greenbacks will be eventually funded in this way, assuming that the bonds bear interest at the rate of 2½ per cent annum, payable semi-annually, and assuming that the present tax on circulation is maintained at the rate of one-half per cent every six months, the annual charge to the Government will be about \$4,500,000, and against this it gets the use of \$100,000,000 for paying off that much bonded debt bearing 4½ per cent per annum interest, and escapes the expense of redeeming and renewing the legal-tender notes.

6. Even if the entire \$4,500,000 per annum should be added to the permanent expenses of the Government it would be but a small price to pay for the service which the banks will render both to the Government and to the public through the instrumentality of such a circulation as theirs will then be.

7. The moderate profit of 1½ per cent per annum will be materially reduced by the expenses of redemption and supervision, including loss of interest on the redemption fund, so that the banks will not realize quite as much as the Government pays, but still it will probably constitute a sufficient incentive to banks to fund all the greenbacks they can, and when the whole issue is funded whatever amounts are from time to time paid out in redemption of the notes of failed banks will probably be collected and presented afresh in order that circulation may be obtained for them.

8. The public will be benefited by having a bank note circulation amply secured and of which every note is redeemable in coin or in a certificate representing coin actually on deposit in the Treasury, and redeemable, too, not only at the bank which issued it, but at any central reserve city; a circulation large enough in volume to admit of easy and prompt adjustment to the varying needs of different localities, its flexibility secured by the constant pressure of the Government tax on the one side and the constant inducement of the bond interest on the other, while the numerous points of issue and their wide distribution over the country afford ample protection against combinations or other devices for artificially expanding and contracting the circulation.

9. With such a resource at hand we may view with indifference the transfer abroad of a large part of our burdensome and unprofitable stock of gold, where it will be more useful to us in expanding the markets for our exports of agricultural products than it can be here locked in the Treasury.

10. The national bank system will be restored to healthy activity and stimulated to fresh growth, especially in those parts of the country where such banks are most needed and are now found in least numbers.

The democracy of North Carolina in a recent convention resolved:

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 expand, and that all money issued by the Government shall be legal-tender in payment of all debts, both public and private.

There seems to be as much difference between Cleveland democracy and North Carolina democracy as is claimed between Texas democracy and the sub-treasury plan. Who will decide? Mr. Cleveland's Comptroller of Currency considered the greenbacks as the weakest element in the currency, and recommended their retirement and interest bearing bonds issued instead. These bonds to be used only to secure national bank issues. The North Carolina democracy demand that national banks be abolished and legal-tender (greenbacks) be issued in their stead. Which is democratic? You pay your money and take your choice.

## TEXAS STATE ALLIANCE.

The meeting of the mother State Alliance in Dallas was harmonious and fully representative of the great organization in the Lone Star State. The brotherhood is fully united and rapidly recovering territory lost through misunderstanding and dissension. The sub-treasury, together with the St. Louis platform, was indorsed, and the following resolutions passed, the publication of which is pertinent by reason of falsehoods spread broadcast by venal newspapers and slanderers:

*Whereas,* Reports have been from time to time circulated through the press and otherwise derogatory of our brethren in charge of the Farmers' Alliance Exchange of Texas, and whereas such reports have done the brethren and our Order great injustice and injury, and whereas the books of said Exchange have recently been again examined by an expert accountant and no fraud found, therefore be it

*Resolved.* By the Farmers' State Alliance that we declare all such reports false and unworthy to be believed; and further, that any one cognizant of any fraud in the Exchange management is requested to make same known unequivocably to the end that all guilty parties may be properly dealt with.

The following is the report of the expert who examined into the exchange system by authority of the judiciary committee:

I find that the Exchange did business about twenty months and failed, and the cause of the failure shall be the basis of my report, that being the main object in view.

1. You had about \$85,000 paid in stock, which amount was inadequate to conduct the business proposed by the Exchange in the State of Texas. It would have required a paid up capital of \$500,000 judiciously managed to have successfully carried on the volume of business proposed by the Exchange.

2. Your expenses were necessarily large to conduct such a volume of business, which expenses we estimate to be about \$3,000 per month.

3. We were informed by one of your committee that you sold your goods at a profit of 10 per cent above cash laid in house, which would barely pay unavoidable losses and incidental expenses, leaving no profit to pay general expenses, thereby drawing on original investment for about \$3,000 per month.

4. When the mortgages were foreclosed on the building and goods in hand, they sold at a sacrifice of \$20,000 to \$30,000.

5. You were paying interest on money borrowed to build your business house; also on goods bought and money borrowed to meet your mercantile paper, and not receiving interest from your outstandings, made in this item a considerable loss.

6. Any one acquainted with the necessary expenses of carrying on a voluminous business like that begun by the F. S. A. of Texas will readily concur with me in the reasonableness of failure without the least reflection on the part of any of its managers.

The following in relation to the Farmers' Newspaper Alliance was adopted, coupled with a personal expression of esteem and confidence.

*Resolved,* That the Farmers' State Alliance tender Brother C. W. Macune resolution of thanks for his presence and able speech made to-night and his explanation of the Farmers' Newspaper Alliance; that wherever he may go our best wishes and brotherly feelings shall ever be with him, and that this resolution be furnished the press for publication.

The following are the officers elected: President, Evans Jones; vice president, T. A. Anderson; secretary and treasurer, S. O. Daws; lecturer, J. M. Perdue; executive committee, J. T. Crawford, S. G. Granberry, and T. A. High. The delegates selected

to attend the National Alliance convention in December are J. M. Perdue, Sam. H. Dixon, G. L. Clark, and James D. Fields.

## GEORGIA STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

At La Grange, August 14, this representative body of farmers held its annual convention. Colonel J. O. Waddell was elected president, to succeed Hon. W. J. Northen, soon to be governor. R. W. Jemison, of Macon, was elected secretary. A resolution indorsing Governor Gordon for United States Senator was adopted unanimously. This was just at the close of the remarks of the Governor. The published report of his address is quite different from that at the State Alliance meeting one week later:

His message to the people, he said, was brief, but serious. In the providence of God, and by the gift of this people he had occupied several stations of trust. He came throbbing with hope as a soldier of the lost cause, who had enlisted for the whole war. He would be unworthy of the trust placed in him if he did not speak in soberness and candor. He came to talk with them, and proposed to give such thoughts as occurred to him within the last hour. Human government was a serious matter—the most sacred of all earthly things. In monarchies the responsibility rested upon the executive, but in a republic the responsibility rests upon every one who casts a ballot, and there was no shirking of that responsibility. The people were *particeps criminis* if they permitted an unworthy administration. If special privileges be granted, and if compensation for these privileges be not adequate and universal, then wrong has been committed. This was a Government of, for and by the people, and if any wrongs have been committed by granting special rights and privileges it was a violation of the fundamental thoughts and purposes of this Government, as this Government was for all classes. In the silence of the midnight it was whispered that wrongs had been perpetrated on the tillers of the soil and that they paid almost as much taxes as their farms yielded clear profit. The General then asked how these wrongs were to be remedied. He dwelt upon the necessity of organization; second, the necessity of harmony—harmony among themselves; harmony with their neighbors; and lastly, but perhaps most essential, sectional or national harmony. He had no fears that he would be misunderstood. His advocacy of their doctrines was not new to him or them. In his speeches for fifteen or twenty years ago they would say he had come over to the Farmers' Alliance. But it was no new baptism to him—he had not plunged. He hoped to see the day when the tillers of the soil all over the Union were united to secure these great governmental reforms. He defined statesmanship as a high order of common sense, with wisdom to discern the right and courage to maintain it. He denounced the present financial system, and urged them to agitate until the country was fully aroused. The farmers must protect their interests and fight for their welfare, whether they fight for the sub-treasury bill or not; they must fight and get it or something better. They must not quarrel about the road they went, just so they get where they were going. Especially must there be no divisions among themselves. They must have their business done, they must not quarrel about who does it; just so it is done it makes no difference by whom. Under this flag the ship of state would sail to universal freedom. He paid a glowing tribute to Hon. W. J. Northen, whom he designated as a wise leader.

## A Citizen to a Senator.

MR. HOAR, OUR NOBLE SENATOR. When I read to Miranda your tearing down remarks about burning all the factories and living on codfish, she says: There, stop right there, Dan. Didn't I tell you that our Hoar was the truest patriot in the big Capitol? Just listen what he says. Before I would go away from this town, and Congress should fail to pass the elec-

tion bill, I would work for fifty cents a day and eat nothing but codfish, and I would go home and burn up every factory in the State. I call this grit, grit in the gizzard. Few men who'll talk that way. Too cowardly and afraid. But we have a man now who knows what he's about. Yes, sir; rather than not have a law passed which suits him he would quit and go to work for fifty cents a day, live from hand to mouth; aye, live on nothing but codfish at the boot. Yes, sir, and burn up every factory in the State. This I call grit in the gizzard, pluck, patriotism, and pomp.

Hold on, hold on, says I, before you get the thing in a mess and a muss. Hold on, while I submit a few remarks. Firstly, he never said in that cawcuss he would work for fifty cents a day. Secondly, he never said he'd live on codfish. Thirdly, he never said he'd burn up every factory in the State. Fourthly, he never said he'd leave that town and come home.

You go to Jericho, Dan, says she. He said that was his rathers, and are you going to argue that such a man is not going to carry out his rathers. You go and talk to stocks and stones, and remember if I'm nothing but a woman, I've as much sense as a cow at least. He said what he meant, and he meant what he said. He said that he had rather that everybody in the State should be forced to work for fifty cents a day and live on codfish, and that every factory should be burnt to the ground than that the election bill should fail to become a law at this Congress. Now did he not say that? It is not worth while for you to try and beat me down. When I know a thing I know it. When a man of our Hoar's temper wills a thing to be done, do you suppose that he will not take a hand and help do it? Go way, Dan; close your rat-trap. See this ball set on this neck. Brains in here. Sense, knowledge, wisdom.

Well now, my dear Miranda, says I, since you have so much sense and wisdom, please tell me why he preferred to see all the factories of his State burnt to ashes, and himself and all the people forced to live on codfish and work for fifty cents a day?

I'll now, my dear Daniel, says she, try to cram a little knowledge in your noodle gourd. Down in dark rebeldom there is no less than a thousand negroes slaughtered at the polls every election, and a large number driven to take shelter in the swamps. This wickedness is done to prevent these, our friends, from voting their sentiments. And our noble Senator, rather than not to pass this bill so as to employ the United States army to protect our friends at the ballot-box, had rather see our factories burnt to the ground. It is enough to arouse the feeling of a dead stone to see thousands of our brothers slaughtered at the polls, and the remainder driven to the wilds and fastnesses of the swamps, there to perish or eke out a meagre existence on the spontaneous fruits which grow native there. My blood boils in my veins, and if this bill fails, I know what I'll do. See McCormick's factory yonder. This hand will apply the torch to that. Though a woman I'll do my duty.

Woman, says I, you're beside yourself. Too far off to vex your good soul about tales which are told. I've been down in rebeldom and heard no serious complaints there among our friends. Everything is moving smoothly and peaceably.

Daniel, says she, close your jaw. Don't I know that our noble Senator sees that the only salvation

for our civilization is to employ the army at the polls and appoint our own returning board. Then if every brother don't vote we'll make him vote or count him as intimidated. Every friend of our civilization must be protected if it requires a Praetorian guard to do it. All right, here in this State. Only in that dark, God forsaken land, South, there is need of this Praetorian guard yet. Awhile, as necessity arises, it may be utilized to great good in some of the western States and New York. I'll leave. Bon jour, bonhomme, Daniel.

Most noble sir, I'm inclined to believe you are the greatest man in the Senate. The first to foresee the fact that as the nation grows older the tendency is down to original savagery, and to check this we must needs draw the cords of force around the people more closely, seeing that they are not capable of governing themselves. That section which falls the fastest in civilization needs first the strong arm of a centralized power, and if necessary the military, to check its downward career. The civil and enlightened portion of the people must, for self-preservation, hold on to the reins of government, even if they count in their friends by revolutionary methods. There is but one side to this question, and that, the corrupt and savage element must be kept in subjection. Better by far, as you say, that the factories of Massachusetts be burned to ashes and its inhabitants be forced to live on codfish alone than that the savage and unenlightened elements of society should be the ruling elements. Being not capable of self-government in their own States they would make a complete wreck of this fair republic. Then you show your wisdom in forecasting the future so as to be able to pick and choose from those States sunk lowest in darkness such representatives as will maintain our Government on a high plane of glory and renown. The course of all nations is back to barbarism. The military has been made to let them down slowly. The power has been gradually concentrated in the hands of the few until it was placed in the hands of one. Your wisdom is shown in this election bill where all this can be done imperceptibly and without a jar.

Thanks, Senator Hoar; rising generations will thank you and your compeers. Tetter them down. Yes, cord them down with thongs of steel. People who can not govern themselves must not be allowed a voice in our matters. Shall we allow them to send men up here chosen in their own manner? God forbid! Civilization is against it. Christianity is against it. The swamps of Georgia, of Alabama, of Mississippi, and other States, are now full of the bones of our friends bleaching there, and each polling precinct has its own burying-ground. We must go to the rescue of our brothers or be forever undone. Should the worse come to the worst and you and the friends of the nation be unable by your law to go to their rescue let us know it at once. Give the wink and the thing shall be done. Like the heroes of old who burnt their ships on the shore, we will make one funeral pile of our noble State, and not one stone shall be left on another to tell where the factory had been. This is the stuff of the pilgrim fathers. Whatever you say do we will do. We'll be ready. Write soon and let me know how the bill is progressing.

Yours in high reverence,

DANIEL DUWESE.

## The Reason Why.

BY J. A. TETTS, RUSTON, LA.

Every body knows that of all the classes of men the producer pays a higher price for the pleasures and comforts of life than any other. When I say producer I mean the man who by muscular power drags forth from nature's storehouse the elements that go to make a distinction between the comforts of civilization and the meagre necessities of barbarism. The man who guides the plow through seed time and gathers through the harvest; who digs from the bowels of the earth the iron ore, the coal, or anything else that adds to comfort for humanity, is a producer. The mechanic, the lumberman, the weaver, the seamstress, the dairyman, the stock raiser, are all producers. Again I say that of all classes of men the comforts and luxuries of life cost most to the producer. Why? Let us investigate a little. In primitive America every farm and village contained all the elements that went to make up the comforts and most of the luxuries of the inhabitants. As time went on men began to see that specialism was more sensible than universalism. So far as production went Thomas Jones was better as a wheelwright than as a farmer, so Thomas went to making wagons and depended for his farm products on his neighbors, who were better farmers than he. Jack Brown made such a poor out at blacksmithing that he concluded that he had better hire Bill Smith to make his plows and pay him for them in corn and potatoes. So the division of labor brought better results, but with it was developed a class who were useful but who were destined to be a great trouble to all concerned. This was the distributing class. Thomas Jones and Bill Smith were capable of making more plows and wagons than were needed by their own neighbors, so they had to find a market for their products. This set on foot the class who distribute or find a market for the surplus produced. So long as Tom Jones, Bill Smith and Jack Brown could make and do their own trading all went well, because if Bill Smith charged high for blacksmithing Jack Brown could charge more for his corn and potatoes and keep even with him, but when it came to disposing of the surplus there arose a difficulty. Tom Jones had to take for his wagons whatever Peter Thompson, the speculator, chose to give him. Peter Thompson was a sharp trader and at first brought to Tom Jones and Bill Smith good returns for their labor, and they prospered and were well pleased. Jack Brown also employed him to dispose of his surplus corn and potatoes. As time went on each narrowed the field of his labors, until the larger part of his product became a surplus to the neighborhood and Peter Thompson came more and more into demand, and by his shrewdness he made for himself a good living by the exchange and sale of the products of his neighbors, until he came to be looked upon as the most important man in the community. If any one of the people wanted anything not made or raised in the neighborhood Peter Thompson would always supply it from somewhere else.

As the country developed the idea of specialism developed with it, and one point devoted its almost entire attention to manufacturing, another to grain growing, another to cotton planting, and so on. This more widely separated the different classes of actual producers, and called into use more extensively the class represented by our friend Peter Thompson. As

continued progress was made toward developing the agricultural, mining and manufacturing interests of our country the Peter Thompson system was too simple to suit the tastes and ambitions of the class he had represented with so much honor to himself, and use to his friends. This class began to reason that they were the more intelligent, and were in a position to make themselves more useful to themselves. They soon inaugurated cumbrous systems that required much money, and they saw the opportunity to do more for themselves than they had been doing, and what they consider a fair week's pay for their wonderful services a poor farmer or mechanic whose produce they handle would be glad to get for a half year's hard labor. While this class do not mine the gold or precious stones, they handle them from the first, and all that is of value is appropriated that they dare appropriate. While the working men could meet on equal terms and exchange product for product, they could keep the wealth they produced between them in their own hands, but now since this cumbrous system of exchange and distribution has taken full possession of the channels of trade the simple producer is lost sight of in the scramble for possession of his wealth. Poor Thomas Jones now no longer makes wagons and trades for corn, pork and potatoes with farmer Jack Brown. Bill Smith still makes plows, and Jack Brown still buys them, but they have moved so far apart that the plow that he used to get two bushels of corn for now only brings him a peck—it takes so much labor for young Mr. Pierre Thomasson to bring the corn to him that he must have the other seven pecks to remunerate him for his services—that is, remunerate him and his co-laborers. Jack Brown gets the plow, but he now has to pay three bushels of corn for it, so that Thompson & Co. must have the two extra bushels to remunerate them for having it carried through the progressive civilization system of mercantile distribution. While Jones and Brown are daily growing poorer, the managers and employees of the distributive system are daily growing richer. The produce of Brown that used to make comfort for his and Jones' families is now divided, and the lion's share goes to the distributor. The luxuries that the working man produces are taken from the class in the process of distribution. A very good illustration of the system is this: A is the owner of a cow, M is the owner of a churn; A must have butter; he hands B the pail of milk after milking and tells him to pass it on to M to have it churned as he wants butter, and B passes it to C after taking a cupful, C passes it to D after taking a cupful, and so on through E, F, G, H, I, J, K and L. M churns the remainder, takes his remuneration and starts the remainder back through the hands of L, K, J, I, H, G, F, E, D, C, B, and finally A gets probably the empty vessel. This is about the system we, the working men, have allowed thrust upon us through the class we call the distributor. Until we get nearer together, and shorten the distance between the producer and the consumer, we need not hope for permanent relief. All the money in the world divided among the working poor of our country would not keep them from being poor twenty years hence if the same system of distribution remain in vogue. A large number of men and a large amount of money are necessary to handle the produce of American labor, but as the matter now stands the sur-

plus left from a special producer will not market itself and purchase his necessities, in which he comes up with a deficiency.

A produces 1,000 bushels of corn. He needs 300 for his own use; 700 bushels are a surplus. He needs sugar, molasses, clothing, and other things. This 700 bushels will not appear in the market in which he has to purchase these things at half its value, because it will take over half its value to pay cost of delivery in a market where there is a deficiency. In the market where rice, sugar and molasses are a surplus corn is in demand, but it takes a great deal of the surplus to buy a little of the deficiency. In the exchange of these two surpluses and the supplying these two deficiencies is where the distributing class, who should be a blessing, become a curse. They toll both ways. They toll the milk as it is going to the churn and they toll the butter and buttermilk on its return. They fatten while A and M grow lean. A represents the agriculturalist, M the mechanic; B, C, D, E, etc., represent the tollgates that stand between them and rob both of all the wealth they produce. Let us take a little spell at figuring. Since the war there has been produced in the South one hundred and sixty-two million and a half bales of cotton at \$50 per bale, which is too low an estimate. This would amount to seven billion dollars. How much of this seven billions remains on the farms that produced it? But very little of it. On over half of the farms of the South diversified farming is practiced to some extent, which shows that this almost incalculable wealth was not consumed by those who created it. Some parts of the South are wealthier than previous to the war, if the press tells the truth, but this is owing more to imported capital than created wealth remaining. Go to the cities and you see where it has partly lodged in course of transit. Go to the manufacturing cities and the speculative centers of the North and East and you will see where much more of it exists. It passed out of the hands of the cotton planter, and in many cases he yet owes for part of the necessities he consumed while creating it. It is not only so of the South and her cotton fields; it is so of the West and her grain fields. Her stock farms are equally as bleak a picture. Where wealth and comfort are produced the producers have only poverty and are bankrupt. Why? Because the producers are too far apart; the lines of distribution are too long; the opportunities for fraud and robbery are too great. The great army of middle men look upon the producer as only their legitimate prey. They are the eagle who sits upon the tree top and watches the fishhawk. The producer is the fishhawk. When he catches a fish the eagle swoops down on him and takes the fish. Peter Thompson was a friend and useful neighbor to Tom Jones, Bill Smith, and Jack Brown, but from him sprung a race who are like the Bedouins of the desert, who rob the honest caravan. Some narrow minded, short sighted people advise the farmer to live at home. These would have the farmer's wife spin and weave the family clothing, have the Southern farmer trying to grow three dollars worth of wheat where ten dollars worth of cotton would surely grow; trying to raise sugar and rice where it is almost too cold for cotton, and where it would not be certain to mature seed. I am well satisfied with the distribution of agriculture. The North and West can grow wheat and raise pork cheaper than we can,

and we can raise cotton, sugar and rice cheaper than they can; and the men who make cloth, shoes, plows and wagons can make them cheap enough. The trouble lies in the robbery between producer and consumer. Let us all work to bring the different classes of producers closer together and try to keep the wealth we create more in our own hands. The labor in the field ought to be a friend to the labor in the factory and the mine. The labor in the cotton field ought to be a friend to the labor in the grain field. The sugar raiser should be a friend to all, for all consume his product and he consumes a part of each of theirs. They ought to unite to crush off the leeches that are sucking the life blood of all, and then we could see where more of the wealth we produce remains with us.

THE following bill was prepared by Gen. J. R. Chalmers, of Mississippi, for introduction in case he had been declared entitled to a seat as the result of his contest before Congress. It is printed to show that some men are cogitating to discover the "something better" that would seem possible when the faults found with the sub-treasury plan are considered. This bill is unique, and is given publicity as a study in economics, rendered of some interest from the fact that its author has been a prominent party man, and is an old-time greenbacker:

Whereas our Government by a wise system of fostering home industries has greatly promoted every interest that could be protected by tariff duties, and has by the purchase of an amount of silver equal to our annual product controlled the market and enhanced the value of our silver mines, and whereas it has loaned its credit to national banks, and established bonded warehouses to aid both the importers of foreign commodities and the producer of domestic liquors, and whereas by similar legislation it may control the markets of the world for some of our leading agricultural products, and thus give to the farmers protection against the combinations of capital to reduce the prices of their productions; therefore

Be it enacted, etc. That there be established in the Department of Agriculture a bureau to be known as "the Sub-Treasury Bureau," with a chief with a salary of \$4,000 per annum, and with such a number of clerks and employees, to be appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, as he may deem necessary, to be paid the same compensation as is now allowed to clerks and employees doing similar work in other Departments. And that the Secretary of Agriculture shall from time to time make and publish all such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry this act into effect.

SEC. 2. That the minimum price of the following agricultural products grown in the United States shall be as follows: Good ordinary cotton, 10 cents per pound; good merchantable wheat, one dollar per bushel; good merchantable corn, thirty cents per bushel; good leaf tobacco, — cents per pound; and the regulations of the Agricultural Department shall fix the price of the higher and lower grades of these articles in proportion to the prices here fixed.

SEC. 3. That when any farmer who has produced any of these articles in the United States can not sell his products at the price thus fixed in his nearest market town, he may deliver or ship the same to the nearest officer authorized under this act to receive the same and shall receive from him the price fixed by the regulations aforesaid.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of Agriculture may lease, purchase or build from time to time, as may be necessary, such warehouses and grain elevators as the wants of the service may demand, and at such places as the business may demand.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of Agriculture shall draw upon the Secretary of the Treasury for all money necessary to carry out the purposes of this act; and to meet these drafts the Secretary of the Treasury shall have made sufficient legal tender money similar to that now in use and commonly called "greenbacks," and shall, on proper voucher, pay over the same to the Secretary of Agriculture.

SEC. 6. That the Secretary of Agriculture shall have all agricultural products purchased as aforesaid properly graded and classified, and shall fix and publish the prices at which the same can be bought, and shall sell at a small premium so as in time to make the bureau self-sustaining; the true intent and meaning of this act being to secure to the farmers a living price for their products, and to the consumer the benefit of these production as nearly at cost as possible.

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of Agriculture shall pay into the Treasury Department all money received from the sale of such productions and shall from time to time draw the same from the Treasury when needed for repurchase or any other necessary expenses of this Bureau.

Industrial Free Press (Winfield, Kan.) gives good advice:

Alliance men and reform thinkers and workers, don't let your enthusiasm abate and grow cold. You have a work to perform, and to do it well needs your whole efforts. No one can perform this work as successfully as the man true to the cause. With this idea in view, work with a will and success will crown your efforts.

**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 thirty cents per agate line. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement required.

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

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

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

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

Address all remittances or communications to—

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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

SO FAR all efforts by the old parties to force the tariff to the front as the main political issue have proved complete failures. Even the long drawn out discussion in Congress of this measure has not been successful in arousing the old time enthusiasm, much to the disgust and alarm of the party leaders. Heretofore, when no other economic question presented itself upon which the parties could divide and contest, or when it was desirable to defeat or ignore certain measures demanded by the people, the politicians of the two old parties would bring out the tariff. Accordingly at the proper time this measure would be rescued from the political rubbish pile, the dust and cobwebs brushed off, the machinery oiled, and in less time than is required to describe the mode of operation, the people would be aligned on either side and the usual barren and fruitless battle would have begun. The intelligent research which the average citizen has been making of late regarding the true interpretation of past and present conditions, and the causes which have made them possible, has disclosed the fact that many other factors besides the tariff enter into the political economy of this Government. For this reason the people have refused to longer consent to be made periodically the cat's paw of political manipulators, and have demanded the consideration of such measures as they deem necessary for the good of the whole people, regardless of party. All efforts to side-track this determination will prove futile, and all opposition will only conspire to intensify their resolution to have these demands carefully and honestly considered. Such action is one of the gratifying results of education upon economic questions, and will no doubt be followed by others still more pleasing and beneficial to

good government and disastrous to partisan politics. That some legislation is necessary in regard to the tariff laws no one should question, but that all attempts in that direction should be made in a partisan spirit every one should deprecate. As education upon these questions progresses the people will more emphatically insist that all matters of public policy shall be discussed and acted upon under the satisfactory, safe, and honorable principles of "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

THE Topeka Capital, the organ of Senator Ingalls, has undertaken to destroy the Alliance in Kansas by attempting to substitute partisanship for patriotism in matters of public policy. In order to accomplish this end it is making a most violent, malicious, and ridiculous attack upon the Alliance, its objects and officials. It is a matter of congratulation, however, to know that the better and more conservative journals of that section are perfectly willing to allow this paper the full enjoyment of all the notoriety that a course of this character may bring. Such mendacious journalism only tends to strengthen the opposing forces, and in every instance will in the end serve a purpose directly opposite from the one sought to be attained. No doubt the Alliance brethren in Kansas will yet be truly grateful for the kind of opposition they are now receiving from this paper.

THE investigation by a committee of Congress into certain charges against Commissioner Raum and his administration of the Pension Bureau, seems to have developed a few characteristic facts. One is that by ruling of the commissioner those applicants whose claims are certified by certain Washington attorneys are given priority over claims not so represented, and advantage given in such a way as to discriminate materially against those claimants who depend upon the justness of their claims and the honest administration of the laws. The investigation has been of a personal character, and the report of the committee will no doubt furnish interesting reading.

AS THE season for State and county fairs is close at hand, it is urged upon members of the order to secure wherever possible an "Alliance day," and obtain a good Alliance speaker for the occasion. Through this means the doctrines and principles of the order can be placed before many of the best farmers of the country that Alliance literature has been unable to reach.

THE resolutions adopted by nearly all recent State conventions recommend an increase in the volume of currency, but are silent as to the means of getting this additional currency out of the United States Treasury among the people. There are but three methods at present, through national banks, national

expenditures, or the purchase of national bonds. By which process is it proposed to distribute this much needed increase? It might be well to consider this portion of the system, and in doing so, the sub-treasury plan is recommended for consideration.

THE sub-committee on franchise of the Mississippi constitutional convention has agreed upon a plan embodying an educational test and a property qualification for suffrage. A citizen must own property to the value of \$150, or be able to read or understand the constitution so as to explain its cardinal qualifications. How many ways he may construe the provisions of the constitution as occasion may arise is not stated, but his value as a representative might be largely dependent upon it. Who will pass upon the important question, does a poor man understand the constitution? A rich man doesn't have to know anything under the theory of the Mississippi sub-committee.

THE "inconvenient multitude" seems to be gathering strength and numbers with each succeeding day. Neither the war cry of sectionalism nor the frantic appeals to partisanship are capable of checking the rapid growth of this great army of the dissatisfied. Nor is this all; the more the demands of these people are considered the more firmly is the justice of their cause established. For this reason the "inconvenient multitude" now counts among its members honest and efficient men from every legitimate occupation or profession in the land. This "multitude" is not an unorganized mob being led to defeat and disgrace by fanatics and cranks, but it is a thoroughly equipped organization, guided by conservative, competent men, and is just as certain of success as are the promises of the final triumph of right over wrong, sure and abiding.

THE national bank act requires a certain per cent of deposits to be held as a reserve fund for the protection of depositors. This provision of the law is being violated daily. It is being done so openly and boldly that the press, and even the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, gives the amount that the holdings of the banks are below the legal requirements. The question might be properly asked, what better is a national banking system whose provisions are continually set at naught than the old system of State or wildcat banks? Of what avail for the protection of the people is a law constantly violated? If the laws governing national banks were enforced as strictly as the rules governing the sale of peanuts on the streets a large number would lose their charters.

THE force bill will not be passed this session of Congress. It has been laid over until the next session by an agreement among the Republican Senators. It is also somewhat problematical if the tariff bill will not meet with the same fate.

THE REPUBLICS OF THE WORLD.

A Brief Account of the Conditions Under Which They Exist.

I—MEXICO.

In 1721 Mexican independence was acknowledged by Spain, Iturbide being regent. The next year Iturbide was elected constitutional emperor. In 1823 Iturbide was deposed, and exiled; returning next year he was shot. The first liberal constitution was adopted in 1824, with nineteen States and five territories participating in the confederation, with Don Felix Victoria president. After much agitation, contested elections and a reactionary sentiment in favor of the "church party," in 1835 the constitution of 1824 was succeeded by a consolidated republic, with Santa Anna president, practically dictator. This led to the war with Texas, a refractory State, and the defeat and capture of Santa Anna at San Jacinto, and thereafter to Texan independence. Santa Anna, in 1837, resumed office; was succeeded in 1839 by Bravo. In 1841 Santa Anna became dictator, and in 1844 admitted a constitution, becoming president. He was banished. In 1845 began the war with the United States which resulted in disaster to the country, causing the cession of the vast territory now including several States of the American Union. During this war Santa Anna again became president, and in 1853 dictator. In 1857 a liberal constitution was adopted. In this manner revolution succeeded revolution until 1861, when Benito Juarez, a full blood Indian, entered the capital and established many radical measures, among others confiscation of church property to the value of \$375,000,000, besides one-third of the soil; declaring marriage a civil contract, separating church and State, and suppressing celibacy.

This led to demands by France, Spain and England for claims for losses of their subjects, and to the invasion by the three powers, who occupied Vera Cruz in the last part of that year. In 1862 England and Spain compromised their claims and withdrew, leaving the French army in possession and in active hostilities. In 1863 the French occupied the capital and Maximilian was induced to accept the crown, arriving in June, 1864. For three years Maximilian reigned, upheld by French battalions, but upon the withdrawal of the French army was overpowered and captured, and finally shot. With this tragic incident closes the accounts of published histories written in English. Juarez became president in 1871, and set about organizing a real republic. The constitution of 1857, as a basis, was finally amended and adopted in 1874, two years after the death of the true leader of Republican sentiment, Benito Juarez, the Indian. Since then there has been comparative tranquility, the successive administrations succeeding each other

after political campaigns little more threatening than are incident to like changes in this country.

Mexico has on her hands the problem of race rivalry to a degree which should cause the pessimists among her people, if they have the characteristics of Americans of that ilk, to shed perpetual tears. The most authentic statement of the division of population, made some years ago, puts the total citizenship at slightly under 10,000,000, and though later statistics have raised the figures the proportions have not materially varied. It is as follows:

1. Full-blood Indians.....	5,000,000
2. Mestizos (half caste Indians and whites) .....	3,000,000
3. Creoles (whites of Spanish descent).....	1,500,000
4. Gachupines (Spaniards by birth).....	50,000
5. Other Europeans and Americans.....	100,000
6. Full-blood negroes.....	10,000
7. Zambos or "Chinos" (Indo-Africans).....	45,000
8. Mulattoes (Eurafricans).....	5,000

General Porfirio Diaz succeeded himself for a term of four years as President December 1, 1888. The constitution of Mexico is modeled after that of the United States, being in its details the work of Juarez, one of the most accomplished men ever participating in political life, a trained lawyer and original thinker. By its terms Mexico is declared a federative republic, divided into States—19 at the outset, but at present 27 in number, with 2 Territories and the Federal District—each of which has a right to manage its own local affairs, while the whole are bound together in one body politic by fundamental and constitutional laws. The powers of the supreme Government are divided into three branches, the legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative power is vested in a Congress consisting of a House of Representatives and a Senate, and the executive in a President. Representatives elected by the suffrage of all respectable male adults, at the rate of one member for 40,000 inhabitants, hold their places for two years. The qualifications requisite are, to be twenty-five years of age and a resident in the State. The Senate consists of fifty-six members, two for each State, of at least thirty years of age, who are returned in the same manner as the deputies. The members of both Houses receive salaries of \$3,000 a year. The President is elected by electors popularly chosen in a general election, holds office for four years, and, according to an amendment of the Constitution in 1887, may be elected for two consecutive terms of four years each. The senator who presides over the Senate by monthly election acts temporarily in default of the President of the Republic. Congress has to meet annually from April 1 to May 30, and from September 16 to December 15, and a permanent committee of both houses sits during the recesses. The administration is carried on, under the direction of the President, by a council of six Secretaries of State, heads of the Departments of Justice, Finance, the Interior, War and Navy, Foreign Affairs, and Public Works.

Each separate State has its own internal constitution, government, and laws. Each has its governor and legislature popularly elected under rules similar to those of those of the Federation; and the civil and criminal code in force in the Federal District prevails, with few exceptions (Vera Cruz and Tlaxcala), in the different States.

The statistics of the country are quite faulty, both as to area and population, there having been no systematic census by the National Government; but for purposes of approximation the following table will suffice:

Name of State.	Area in Square miles.	Estimated population, 1888.
Federal District.....	463	454,866
State of Mexico.....	7,840	778,969
Morelos.....	1,776	151,540
Tlaxcala.....	1,622	147,933
Guanajuato.....	11,413	1,007,116
Puebla.....	12,019	839,468
Queretaro.....	3,205	213,525
Hidalgo.....	8,161	494,212
Aguas Calientes.....	2,897	121,926
Michoacan.....	23,714	801,913
Jalisco.....	39,174	1,161,709
Oaxaca.....	33,582	793,419
Vera Cruz.....	26,232	633,369
San Luis Potosi.....	27,503	546,447
Zacatecas.....	22,999	526,966
Colima.....	3,746	69,547
Chiapas.....	16,048	269,710
Guerrero.....	24,552	332,887
Yucatan.....	29,569	275,506
Tabasco.....	11,849	114,028
Nuevo Leon.....	23,637	244,052
Sinaloa.....	36,200	223,684
Tamaulipas.....	27,916	167,777
Durango.....	42,511	265,931
Campeche.....	25,834	91,180
Chihuahua.....	83,715	298,073
Coahuila.....	50,904	177,797
Sonora.....	79,020	150,391
Territory of Lower California.....	61,563	34,668

Total for the Republic..... 739,700 11,388,664

To this must be added the Territory of Tepic, of about 12,000 square miles, and estimated population of 29,211. The total estimated population is thus 11,490,830.

The prevailing religion is the Roman Catholic, but the church is independent of the state, and there is toleration of all other religions. In 1889 there were 119 Protestant churches in the Republic. No ecclesiastical body can acquire landed property.

In almost all the States education is free and compulsory, but the law is not strictly enforced. Primary instruction is mostly at the expense of the municipalities, but the Federal Government makes frequent grants, and many schools are under the care of benevolent societies. In 1888 there were 10,726 primary schools, with 543,977 pupils. Higher education is carried on in secondary schools and seminaries, and in colleges for professional instruction, including schools of law, medicine, engineering, mining, fine arts, agriculture, commerce, arts and trades, music. There are also one military and two naval colleges. The number attending these higher schools is stated

at 21,000. The entire sum spent on education is given at \$3,512,000, of which \$802,000 was contributed by the Federal Government, \$1,012,000 was spent by the municipality of Mexico, and \$2,500,000 by the State governments and municipalities. This system is but partially supported, but in the Federal District and the States of Vera Cruz and Hidalgo is a worthy model for most of our American States, perhaps unsurpassed by the educational provisions of any nation.

#### AN OFFICIAL INTERPRETATION.

The Director of the Mint gives the following as the correct interpretation of the silver bill recently passed by Congress:

There seems to be a general misapprehension as to the operations of the new silver law in case the price of silver should advance to parity. Some of the papers state that in such case the Government will cease buying, while others hold that we will then have free coinage. If silver should reach its old parity the Government would continue to buy 4,500,000 ounces a month (or so much thereof as might be offered) under the provisions of the present law. The new law does not provide that purchases shall cease when silver reaches parity, but that the Government shall not pay in excess of \$1 for 37 1/4 grains of pure silver, or what is the same thing, shall not pay in excess of \$1.2929 per fine ounce. The amount of pure silver in the silver dollar being 37 1/4 grains, if the Government paid \$1.2929 per fine ounce (480 grains) it would be paying exactly \$1 for 37 1/4 grains; that is to say, the market value of the pure silver in the silver dollar would be exactly equal to the face value of the coin, so that the Government could lose nothing by continuing to buy at that rate, which the law contemplates. While this would not be free coinage, and in the absence of further legislation there is no provision for free coinage, it would be practically free coinage for 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month; that is, we would receive from depositors 4,500,000 ounces of silver, and give them for it the exact amount of money which 4,500,000 ounces would make in coin. Of course, the Government could not pay in excess of that rate, because if it did the value of the silver in the silver dollar would be greater than its value as a coin, which would be a losing operation.

By this statement the people can understand how completely they have been deceived, and how little those who voted and made speeches in favor of this bill understood its provisions. Instead of giving free coinage of silver when bullion values of the two metals are equal, it continues the purchase, and when silver is the least fraction of a per cent higher than gold, the purchase is stopped at once. This bill was said to be satisfactory to Wall street. Why not?

#### Virginia State Farmers Alliance.

President—Main Page, Brandon.  
Vice-President—J. Brad. Beverly, The Plains.  
Secretary—J. J. Silvey, Amisville.  
Treasurer—G. T. Barbee, Bridgewater.  
Lecturer—Robert Snavely, Wytheville.  
Assistant Lecturer—J. R. Garland, St. Tammany.  
Chaplain—Aldridge Grimsley.  
Doorkeeper—B. F. Beahm, Kimball.  
Assistant Doorkeeper—I. T. Gallehou, Tilson's Mill.  
Sergeant-at-Arms—Milton Pence, Forestville.  
State Business Agent—A. R. Venable, Jr., Farmville.  
Executive Committee—Chairman, Geo. Chrisman, Chrisman; J. M. Russin, Old Church; J. H. C. Beverly, Loretto; H. M. Magruder, Charlottesville; W. J. Compton, Ceres. Will meet in Richmond on third Tuesday in August, 1891.

#### APPLIED SCIENCE

In Agricultural and Rural Economy,

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

#### HORNLESS BULLS.

The large number of persons lately reported killed by bulls brings up the question of hornless breeds of cattle. It is true that hornless bulls may inflict serious and mortal injuries upon their human attendants or unwary or mischievous passersby. Vicious bulls with dangerous horns are a menace to all other animals, as well as to mankind. Valuable horses have been repeatedly killed or ruined by them. It is difficult to see how under any ordinary circumstances a hornless bull or cow could seriously injure a horse. The operation of dehorning is very easily performed on the calf and is trivial and almost painless. A prejudice against this operation, which is baseless and foolish, has been created by societies for prevention of cruelty to animals. These persons who are completely ignorant of everything about surgical operations are making themselves a serious nuisance to the country. Very foolish laws have been passed at their instance which should without delay be repealed. Certainly the skill of the cattle breeder is equal to the task of bringing forward hornless breeds of the highest quality for every purpose for which cattle are useful. Already there are several hornless breeds of great reputation, such as the Aberdeen Angus and the Red Suffolk. The Angus rank as high as any breed for beef, but they are deficient milkers. The Red Poll Suffolk shares with the shorthorn high excellence as a general purpose cow. The Galloways, a small black, rugged, hardy, hornless breed of the Scotch highlands, are unrivaled for beef in rough country, but are too light for our best pastures. The material exists ready to hand to form beef of the highest excellence and capable of replacing the horned breeds with advantage, and it is a serious question whether sound principles do not demand that a movement be made in that direction.

#### THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE BILL.

There has just passed the House of Representatives a bill for the further endowment of the agricultural colleges of the country, with the provisions of which we are not at present acquainted. An amendment was offered or proposed to limit the application of the fund to teaching scientific agriculture. Whether this very proper amendment is embodied in the bill as passed, we are not informed. The latitude given to the application of the fund arising under the original appropriations has given rise to some very peculiar schools. A fact which ought at first to have been clear to every man's comprehension, appears to be creeping through the crania of some few people; the fact, viz.: that an agricultural college is in the very nature of things a school of applied science. An agricultural college, so-called, which is not a school of applied science, is a misnamed farce. Latin and Greek and French and German and geography and grammar had as well be taught in our medical colleges as in the agricultural colleges. If not, we ask why not? A large part of what has been taught in the agricultural colleges, is not only more appropriately taught but actually better taught in the free common schools. A number of persons have been

employed under the title of professors at this sort of teaching. The salaries paid to such professors have been wasted. Another thing which has been caused to be erroneously believed, is that any farmer's son who could barely read and write might be profitably entered at an agricultural college. Would any one think of placing such a child in a medical college? In the light of experience, a bill ought now to be perfected which would prevent such foolishness, which would forbid and prevent board of visitors from making places about these colleges for persons wholly out of place in any faculty of applied science. It is too late for members of these boards to be pleading ignorance of what sort of thing our agricultural college ought to be; it is their business to know before they accept responsible places for which they are in no wise fit. These colleges might have done, and may yet do a very important work. The result of their work ought to be seen in the cheapening of the cost of production in agriculture. That such would necessarily be the outcome of the intelligent and skilled application of science to practical farming, no one ought to doubt who will reflect upon the prodigious results produced by the application of scientific principles in other great industries. It must be confessed that the outcome in the case of the agricultural colleges and stations has been very small compared with what was expected and what ought to have been before now accomplished. The public has been very long suffering about it, but a reaction seems to have come. It begins to be understood that the uncanny methods and works of the professional politician have marred the prospects and destroyed the usefulness of these institutions. The Alliance and other organizations of farmers ought to see after the future of these colleges.

#### THE SOUTHERN PONY OR MUSTANG.

Doubtless from the horses brought to America by the Spaniards, and wholly of the Oriental type, a small breed of horses has been developed in the southern United States and Mexico, locally known by various names, but generally called mustangs. These horses are not very different from the Arabians in size and qualities, the essential points between the two breeds being much the same. The Arabian is generally handsomer both in color and style than the mustang, but the mustang is probably the more enduring of the two. These horses are about 14 to 14½ hands high, rather leggy in appearance, and having long bony heads with rather less pronounced dish face than the Arabians. They are rangy built, having good length of neck and rather slender bodies, somewhat light in the flank, but having good barrels and excellent lung development. They are wide between the jowls and have large strapples. Their limbs are fine boned, clear of long hair about the fetlock, hard, flat and free from wind galls, spavins, thoroughpins, splints and other defects to an extraordinary extent. Their feet are of good size, remarkably well shaped, and the horn of the hoof tough and hard. No breed of horses has ever surpassed them in these respects. Longevity is a decided character of the breed, and they preserve their usefulness long after most breeds, or the few specimens of most breeds which reach old age, become superannuated and worthless. A good mustang will carry an average sized man at a gallop from sun to sun, and not in-

frequently from 75 to 100 miles a day. In harness they are equally capable, and not a few of them if skillfully handled would make admirable roadsters. It is not to be denied that they have headstrong tempers, but when we consider the treatment they receive it is a wonder that they are not worse than they are. Anything is good enough for a mustang, expresses the system of breeding, rearing, breaking and use. Our southern horsemen do not appreciate their horses. They are rough riders rather than horsemen. A lariat, a bull whip, a huge bit, a chain curb, and a pair of spurs with rowels two inches long, constitute the outfit.

There is not a particle of sentimentality about it. If the mustang don't do what is wanted he is made to do it. If he does as he ought to do he has no caress, no kind word, no reward. Why should he do what he ought to do if he can help it? In spite of all this, there is no more excellent breed of horses in the world than these same mustangs. It would be astonishing to see what skilled selection and breeding would do for them, coupled with kind usage and judicious training. For business use a pair of mustangs will wear out two pair of good big horses. For the country physician, or for the city physician who does not care for idle and silly display in a business equipment, a good pair of mustangs will outwear two pair of thousand dollar horses. For delivery of goods, and for a great variety of purposes they can be put to in the city they are the very best horses in the world. Take the city of Washington for example, where the concrete pavements are so disastrous to horse flesh, and where large teams disappear after brief use shrunk up like worms on a hot shovel. Modern vehicles are so light that over concrete they run almost as easily as a bicycle. The ponderous strength of a pair of horses 16½ hands high is utterly useless before such a vehicle over such a roadway, whereas the feet and legs of such a horse can not stand the concrete under their own weight, to say nothing of the difficulty of keeping their feet under them when the concrete is wet and frozen, and makes a good substitute for a skating rink. We repeat it, for a physician's buggy, or a delivery wagon, or for any equivalent business use, a pair of mustangs will do the work with more ease to themselves and with more comfort to the user, and will last many times longer at it than any other horse. A physician with twenty years full practice before him would save many thousand dollars by using a pair of mustangs for his carriage.

**ANOTHER bond call and another million of the people's money given as tribute to the bond owners. How long will this outrage be permitted?**

"**THE BIG GAME OF NORTH AMERICA;** its habits, habitat, haunts, and characteristics; how, when, and where to hunt it." 8vo, 600 pages. 80 illustrations. Such is the work of which a Morocco bound volume lies before us. No such book has before been attempted. The well-known author, Mr. G. O. Shields, has in preparation a similar volume on fishes. These volumes are natural histories of our most interesting species of game and fish. Compiled from nature for the most part by specialists, rendered intensely interesting by vivid descriptions of adventure, peril, and combat written, *con amore*, by devotees of their chase. Especially interesting are the articles on the grizzly and polar bears, the buffalo, the congar, the wolverine, the Rocky Mountain sheep, the goat, the peccary, moose, elk, caribou, and others. Mr. Shields has produced a superb volume and a very valuable work.

#### FROM CORRESPONDENTS EVERYWHERE.

Dr. R. T. Hillman, of Springvale, Ga. writes "Stand to your guns up there among the money changers and continue to disgust the people with the chronic sore headed politician."

Jo. T. Dunning writes from Princeton, Ky., that there is a great difference of opinion as to Mr. Carlisle's course on silver coinage. He acted with the Democratic majority throughout, and favored free coinage. He voted against the bill finally passed, but that was not free coinage, and was opposed by staunch friends of free silver.

E. W. Shultz asks that the Lodge election bill be published in THE ECONOMIST. It is long enough to make a book of 80 pages, and it would be necessary to make it a serial. The bill ceases to be a live issue, as there is no probability of its passage during this session of Congress. The conclusions of Brother Shultz are doubtless right as to the workings of the bill if passed.

C. J. Boozer, from Carthage, Leake, Co., Miss., says "a word to the brotherhood North, East and West, you can count on us of Mississippi to be true to the declaration of the order." He commends a candidate for Congress, lately nominated, J. H. Beaman, as a true Alliance man, who will do all he honorably can to have the principle of the sub-treasury plan become a law.

H. R. Anderson, Mirage, Kan., asks THE ECONOMIST to publish "a statement of all acts Congress directing the issue of currency, legal tender notes, bonds, etc., giving date of act and how made redeemable." This was done in a series of articles by N. A. Dunning, "A Financial History," running through several months, and it is too soon after that publication to cover the same ground.

THE ECONOMIST stands corrected. Robert Schilling, editor and manager of the National Reformer, published at Milwaukee, Wis., writes: "You say no German reform paper comes to mind casually in issue of August 9. What's the matter with the Reformer? It is the only German paper in the country that is not considered socialistic, taking the same views as THE ECONOMIST, and often quoting it. Make a note on it." Duly noted, and thanks for the reminder.

J. P. Dever writes from Colorado, that since a political combination has been formed with other organizations more attention is paid to the movement by outsiders. Outsiders are well enough, and their co-operation is asked and justified by the broad principles of the Alliance, but really those who should most imperatively pay attention are the members themselves. The letter says, "My opinion is that the laboring people throughout the State are sufficiently persecuted to induce them to unite with us and try to get out of the official grind."

A. P. Baskins, secretary of the Florida State Alliance, Anthony, writes that "at a meeting of the board of directors of the Alliance exposition, there was donated 1,000 boxes of oranges as a free gift to the delegates to the National Alliance to be held in Ocala in December next. Florida wants to make our brethren from the different States of the Union feel at home while here, and this donation of 120,000 oranges is freely given to help to make their visit here one of pleasure, and to help them to feel we appreciate the honor of entertaining them as our guests."

J. J. Rogers, superintendent for the States of North Carolina and Virginia, writes: "Colored Farmers National Alliance of Virginia met in the city of Richmond on 21st and 22d; 13 counties were represented. The meeting was harmonious and enthusiastic for the St. Louis demands. Colored Farmers National Alliance of North Carolina met in the city of Raleigh on the 22d and 23d; 28 counties represented; perfect harmony prevailed; St. Louis demands endorsed; sub-treasury bill endorsed by strong resolution and support pledged by influence and votes."

Geo. C. Ward, writing from Kansas City, comments on a former article. Many letters and communications are published in THE ECONOMIST, the name of the writer always given, and those dissenting can have like privilege, if space will permit: "In THE ECONOMIST of August 16, I notice an article from the pen of C. L. Crum, under the caption of 'Why adhere to Gold and Silver,' in which he arrives at the conclusion that we should adhere to gold and silver, but in the shape of bullion as a basis for paper money. Is he not

aware that such money would fluctuate in value in sympathy with the commodity or market value of gold and silver bullion? He says that something must be used as a basis for a circulating medium. Why so? Will Mr. Crum write another letter and tell us what are the basis of our yard stick, pound weight and bushel measure? What if Congress, using its constitutional prerogative, should decree that an inch should be one-fourth longer than it is now, and that fifteen of them should make a foot? Would the basis be changed, or the measure? What is the matter with paper money, based on the resources and wealth and credit of 65,000,000 people, regulated in value by its volume and the national legal rate of interest, and redeemable in labor commodities and tax receipts?"

G. C. Brown, of Mt. Vernon, Ark., is moved to write: "Wake up the clergy, those dreamers who are crying peace, peace, when there is no peace, for the angel is ready to cast in his sickle and reap the vine of the earth. The world's crisis will soon be here, and what of those ministers who have failed to give meat in due season? Overproduction is a lie, say the hungry and starving of America, but over-production of legislative misrepresentatives and high-salaried officials and party tools is a fact. A present salvation from the iron grasp of money kings we must and will have if it should cost a revolution as in 1776."

Orwood (Miss.) Alliance No. 964 sends an endorsement of the legislative committee which is well deserved. Also an endorsement which THE ECONOMIST tries hard to deserve. Praise is sweet, but space can be given to very few such communications, as that belongs to the readers of this paper, and what concerns them most will always be published: "That we sincerely endorse the eloquent speeches and manly action of our legislative committee at Washington in the presentation of the sub-treasury bill before the Ways and Means Committee."

"That we heartily endorse our national organ, THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and recommend it to the farmers and laborers as the best political educator of the country."

W. P. Graves, Union, Tex., writes for information as to the powers and manner of selection of federal officials. These are all appointed except the President and Vice-President and the members of Congress. The members of the Senate are elected on joint ballot by the respective State legislatures, a majority being necessary to a choice, and the members of the House by a plurality vote of the people of the respective Congressional districts. The judges are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, as are the important officials in each department, including ministers to foreign countries, consuls, postmasters of large towns, etc. Smaller fry officeholders are selected by heads of departments, and are really simply clerks and assistants. Their number is legion. No Democrats voted for Reed as speaker, the party caucus making its own nominee, Carlisle of Kentucky.

A correspondent from Meridian, Miss., makes some suggestions which are worthy of note: "I believe that the Alliance can become the most potent factor for good in the politics of the country if the spoilsmen can be eliminated from it. I do not want to debar the Alliance from taking a part in politics, on the contrary I want it to enter every contest. Here is my scheme in outline, the details may come later: Let the two or more parties make their nominations. Then let the Alliance meet and *ballot* on them, and let the nominee for each office, of whatever party, who is strongest with the Alliance be supported by the Alliance vote in its entirety. This will insure acceptable nominations by both parties and will speedily eliminate from office all of the chronic office-holders and a good many of the lawyers. Should neither of the candidates in the field prove acceptable, then, and not till then, should the Alliance pipe an ante-election note. The parties might be notified and requested to improve their offerings, failing which the Alliance be justified in putting forward a nominee of its own. This latter alternative should never be adopted though, except in case of direst extremity. There are many now in the Alliance who will oppose this proposition, claiming that the Alliance should make its own nominations. These are the men we need to be rid of. They are with us only in the hope that their own official aspirations may be forwarded through a 'pull' in the Alliance. There is some corruption crops out in our State, national, and local elections, but it is as nothing to that in the nominating conventions. These we must rid ourselves of or we shall surely die."

## THE REFORM PRESS.

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

The Alliance Tribune (O'Neill, Neb.) makes a strong statement, clearly conforming to reason:

The constant drain of silver and gold from this country to Europe is certainly becoming a serious matter. Seven million dollars last week, and that is about the average, a million a day, and that vast amount represents the interest and profits of alien interests in this country. \* \* \* The result must be sooner or later to disturb values in this country and in a way favorable to the man with money and against the man with labor to sell, as the dollar becomes scarce it naturally becomes dear. One of the crying needs of the times is to stop this alien ownership of property in this country. If the country is good enough for the foreign nabob to own, it should be good enough for him to live in. If foreign aristocrats expect to buy our farms and our factories, control our revenues, and place us in the condition Ireland is in to-day, the sooner the American people find it out the better. But this condition is only one of the results of our financial policy. The scarcity of money in this country has made money valuable here; that is to say, the purchasing power of money is greater here than in Europe, consequently it is brought here and invested; it is simply following a law of trade which is perfectly understood, the man goes with his money where he can get the most for it. Stating the fact suggests the remedy. It is not necessary for us to pass laws forbidding foreigners from coming to our shores, or to prohibit them from investing money in our lands or our factories. Government can effectually stop the transfer of property to foreigners without even intimating that it is not desirable for them to acquire a foothold here. Let the Government but place sufficient money in circulation to meet the demands of business, and the result will be that property of all kinds will advance in price to a point where it would be worth as much, and we believe more than in Europe. When that is the case European capital will look elsewhere for investments, and we will hear no more of alien ownership of property in this country. Nations take advantage of each other just as individuals do, when a man is short of money and is therefore willing to sell his property for less than it is worth the capitalist is then willing to buy, the same is true between nations. The facts are that values have been depreciated in this country by the schemes and machinations of the money power, for the purpose of gobbling up the wealth of the country, and John Bull, who always has an eye open for business, has "caught on" and is coming over for his share. And still there are people who think the old parties who brought about this condition of things should be scolded a little and told to do better but not turned out, and honest men put in their place.

The Alliance Monitor (Abilene, Kan.) asks the people to think before they vote:

A fool never changes his politics. Who ever heard of a half idiot leaving his party. A platform of principles is nothing to him. He follows along after the old name year after year without being able to give a reason for it. But an intelligent man studies the principles of a party to see if they coincide with his ideas of right and justice. He knows that parties change, and he watches to see if they change in favor of his interests and the interests of his neighbor, or against them.

The Alliance Tribune (Topeka, Kan.) notes the nomination of a brother editor, well known as a sterling reformer:

Hon. John Davis, editor of the Junction City Tribune, was nominated for Congress yesterday by the People's party of the fifth district at Clay Center. Mr. Davis has long been working for the principles as set forth in the St. Louis platform, and is undoubtedly the strongest man in that district. The Alliance has made no mistake so far in its selections of candidates.

The Alabama Sentinel (Birmingham) discusses the Pinkerton detective system:

It is incredible that men should sink so low as to sell themselves, body, soul and strength, for the purpose of trying to enslave their fellow citizens; and still more incredible that the people's representatives should not only have

permitted, but have also legalized the existence of these thugs. Their existence could not have been possible if these servants of the people had been true to their trust, or the people had done their duty and chosen representatives not because they were true to their party, but that they were, like Caesar's wife, beyond suspicion.

Recent platform declarations have suggested something to the Chillicothe (Mo.) Crisis:

Endorsing Cleveland is a disapproval of the demand for more money. Endorsing the demand for more money is a disapproval of Cleveland in 1892. The Democrats do both in the same set of resolutions in all localities where the farmers and laborers are kicking up a "rumpus." Now, in which resolution are they sincere? They can not be in both.

The Clod-Hopper (Kosciusko, Miss.) is a vigorous exponent of Alliance principles. It says:

The corn and wheat States are united on the sub-treasury plan, because our beloved money power has worked it to so fine a point on them as to get two-thirds of their earnings. It is urged here that we would pay more for meat, corn and flour, but there is no greater fallacy. On that score it is just a question this way, do you prefer to pay the producers of these articles a price regulated by supply and demand, or do you prefer, as it now is, to pay an unjust tribute to the money powers of the country after the food products are forced out of the hands of their producers? On which side are you? Are you for the money or the man?

To those statesmen who fear that the sub-treasury plan will enable speculators to secure possession of products and hold for a rise this statement from the Colorado Workman (Pueblo) is referred:

Last fall and winter the farmers in Kansas sold their corn for nine cents a bushel or burned it for fuel, but most of the crop was turned over to the bankers to pay interest on mortgages. To day corn is worth fifty cents a bushel in Kansas. Overproduction is a great blessing to the farmers.

The Alabama Mirror (Selma) notes a gratifying fact:

The canvass for the Democratic nominations in South Carolina and Georgia has developed the fact that the Alliance is a power, and has put on the stump speakers who are astonishingly well versed on all public questions, and who can ably compete in eloquence with any of the speakers of the opposition. What is true of the Alliance in those States is also true in this State. All that is needed is for the Alliance to assert itself.

The Mirror is in error in the following in that the admission of colored members and not colored organizations was provided for. This met a condition thought necessary by the brethren from the Northwest. There are colored Alliances in all the Southern States, having separate autonomy, and in harmony with the Alliance, indorsing the provision made:

The National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union permits the organization of colored Alliances, but at the same time denies to them representation in the National Alliance and in the Supreme Council. The Mirror is in favor of equal and exact justice to all men, regardless of race, color or previous condition, but it wants all colored organizations to have their own State and national organizations, as well as their own schools and churches and separate hotels and railroad accommodations.

The National Alliance (Houston, Tex.) talks sensibly and firmly to the million members of the Colored Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, of which it is the organ, General Superintendent Humphrey being the editor:

The general superintendent is expected to be in Louisiana, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Texas and other States. He will visit all the State Alliances in his reach. Let the brethren come up prepared to help in the great work. Let the exchanges be the first consideration. They are our own, and we know now that by supporting them we can free ourselves and our children from the grasp of the dreaded speculator.

Let all see to it that our paper the National Alliance is circulated and the people taught; for remember our hope is in education. Finally do not forget the sub-treasury bill now before Congress. Our government lends hundreds of millions of dollars every year to the rich bankers and rail-

roads without any interest. Then why not lend to the farmers the same way? Farm supplies are much cheaper on cash at 1 per cent, than on credit at 50 to 100 per cent. Let no man forget this. And when the election comes vote for no man who is not in favor of the sub-treasury. Don't let men deceive you about interest and the value of money. It costs no more to print money than to print news papers. The trouble is that a pack of thieves are allowed to print the money and pretend that it costs. Stop this extortion. Your votes can stop it. Vote neither Republican nor Democrat. Vote for yourselves and your families.

Number filed ..... 467  
Average amount of each ..... \$1,252  
Total amount of mortgages ..... \$584,727.80

Number given for purchase money ..... 9

In explanation of this last item we wish to say that we did not read the entire mortgage instruments, but looked in the usual place, immediately after the description of the property, for this subject and while we know that we did this work as faithful as we could in the time at our disposal the result is so startling as to make us almost distrust our own figures. We do not hesitate however to say that according to the records not one mortgage in 20 shows that it was given for purchase money. We have not been able to look up the satisfactions nor to compare these figures with those of preceding years. We shall do this at some future time. In concluding the natural thing is to enquire: If Dane county, one of the most fertile and favorably situated in the State, has such a record, what of the other counties of the State?

The Southern Alliance Farmer (Atlanta, Ga.) tells of the use of money:

If we would investigate the matter thoroughly, we would find that the people are somewhat divided upon the real use of money. The proper function of money is to perform a public use; this means that money is properly intended for the use of all the people, to meet all the demands of commerce. The trouble which is now vexing this country has arisen from the fact that money has been made to serve a class and not the general public. This will always be the case when the circulation is so small. Whenever there is an ample circulation, and that circulation is properly distributed to the people, the power of a class to manipulate that circulation will be gone. The idea now prevailing with the moneyed class, that money is only created for the benefit of the rich, is the cause of all our troubles. A republican form of Government can not exist under the rule of a moneyed plutocracy or aristocracy. Money must meet the demands of the country and of the people; and the reform movement of the present is demanding an increase of money, which will be good for all demands and for all purposes and for the benefit of all people. The only money which will meet these demands is one based upon supply and demand—a flexible currency which the people will not have to borrow through the national banks, to whom they have to give additional security for which they have had to pay, but a money let out directly from the Government. Why should the Government let out the money to the banks, and the people be compelled to pay a heavy interest to the banks, when it could just as well let the money directly to the people without this heavy interest? If the money is for the people, and for the general public, it should not be made the means of their oppression, but the means of their relief.

They have a habit of expressing things strongly out west. Pushing home a misstatement, the Clay Center (Kan.) Democrat says:

The man who wrote that statement would tell a falsehood when the truth would answer his purpose better. Yea, he would lie for Confederate money when he could get solid gold for telling the truth.

The Southport (N. C.) Leader says:

The cry or haste can not be justly sustained against the farmer in thus organizing for his own protection. His steady allegiance to party, often in the face of unwise legislation against agricultural interests, is remarkable. Politicians were blind to the necessities of the farmer, forgetful that upon his prosperity rested the welfare of all classes, whether manufacturer, artisan, laborer or professional man. His failure means the downfall of all the others as well. The importance of the Farmers Alliance can not be lightly passed over, and the political world is fast seeing the wisdom of catering to it.

The Iowa Tribune (Des Moines) says:

There are few business men or companies not dependent upon the mercy of some national bank for existence. There are few laborers employed who could be paid if the banks said nay. Isn't this a pretty state of affairs?

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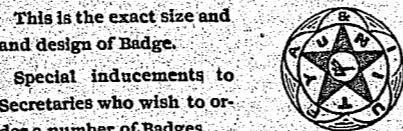
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(Sir Francis 200)  
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Official Organ of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union.

# THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST

Volume 3. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1890.

Number 26.

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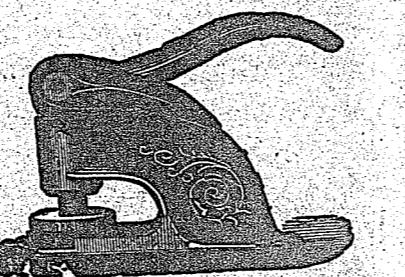
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**THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

DEVOTED TO SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VOL. 3.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER 13, 1890.

No. 26

and not plan. The Order or its committee have never tied to the detail of the bill, as is well known.

WEST VIRGINIA is the youngest State Alliance, and comes forward with a set of resolutions, published in another column, that are pregnant with food for thought. They are very timely and pertinent when Congress is laboring to find a feasible plan for carrying out Mr. Blaine's reciprocity doctrine, and when the shipping interests of this great country are at the lowest ebb. The attention of President Harrison and his cabinet, and of the members of Congress, is called to said resolutions. Again, notice is served on the public that it is folly to expect members of Congress to solve economic questions. They do not have time, and can only reflect the sentiment that is behind them. Congressmen, and all other classes of men except the farmer, are by reason of more frequent intercourse with each other more inclined to polish and manipulate results, while the farmer ponders on causes and principles. It is not surprising, therefore, that he is in advance of the average Congressman, business man or financier in comprehending the governmental financial reform necessary, and that he has offered a remedy fully adequate to the occasion. If so, then he has solved the financial question. Is it not highly probable that the West Virginia State Alliance has offered the true solution to the merchant marine and the tariff questions by making reciprocity practicable, independent of any negotiation with foreign powers?

THE question is being asked by those who have recently begun an investigation of the Alliance, its aims and methods, what does the sub-treasury plan mean, and what does it seek to accomplish? It means more money and less taxation; cheaper money and less tribute; higher prices and consequent increase of the reward for labor in production. It means that the mortgage may be paid with less bushels of wheat or pounds of cotton, and the indebtedness of the people may be cancelled with less hours of toil and under conditions which bode less of slavery. It means that the usurer shall be deprived of his calling and the extortioner eliminated from the business occupations of the country. It seeks to rob money of its power to oppress, and take from the non-producer the principal agent used in his work of spoliation. It

seeks to place labor and capital upon an equal footing by establishing a monetary system upon just and equitable principles, and in accordance with modern ideas and improvements. It seeks to relieve the people from the thralldom of debt by placing within their reach the means of payment to which they are entitled at a time when most needed. In a word, the sub-treasury plan in the ultimate will hasten the time when "equal rights to all and special privileges to none" will obtain throughout the entire nation.

#### HOW IT IS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

There has been a general effort on the part of several newspapers in North Carolina to out-Herod Herod in denunciation of the Alliance and sycophantic laudation of Governor Vance. While the Alliance is used to such attacks, and being impersonal has no feeling in the matter, it must be distasteful to the sensible and well-bred gentleman on the other part to be singled out as the great and only man in the State fully competent to fill a representative position. In looking back over a life practically spent in public office, a sensible man must see that the confidence of the people who called him to the places he has occupied was extended with the implied pledge upon his part to devote his full capacity to their service. To suppose that there is obligation on the part of the people toward a public servant is on a par with the recognition of royalty. Length of tenure is an evidence of continued confidence, by no means implying a homestead pre-emption upon any public place.

How little the facts sustain either the denunciation of the Alliance or the laudations of Senator Vance is scarcely pertinent, but how fully the Senator's ill-championing friends have put him out of line with his people and his party is particularly interesting at this time. It has been the policy of those who claim that Senator Vance is the "great and only" to emphasize their position by denunciations and misstatements often little, if at all, short of libelous, reflecting upon the characters of gentlemen holding responsible positions in the Farmers Alliance. There has been no necessity for this conduct, but to avoid the appearance of unnecessary antagonism to the Senator those who have been subjected to it have submitted to the indignity until it has become sufficiently annoying to demand protest. Last week President Polk, who has been made the target of a double-barrelled slander—one chamber charged with offal by friends of the most illustrious Senator from Kansas, and the other with a scarcely less objectionable load by the champions of the "great and only" Senator from North Carolina—visited his home in Raleigh, bent upon learning who was responsible for the campaign of traducement in his State. The result of his visit can be inferred by a perusal of his paper, from which the following are extracts:

The true inwardness of all this hub-bub over Senator Vance is not fully comprehended by the people, if, indeed,

it is thoroughly understood by the Senator himself. It is now evident that all the enemies of the Alliance in the State are arrayed on that side of the line, and they are pressing the matter with unrelenting activity with the view and the hope that by the use of the power and prestige of his name they will succeed in destroying the Alliance in our State. There are, perhaps, not less than 70,000 North Carolina Democrats in the Alliance, and we feel safe in saying that not 700 of that number ever voted against the Senator. And whatever else may be said of his so-called friends, one thing cannot be successfully gainsaid, among them is to be found all the enemies of the Alliance.

\* \* \* \* \*

The sub-treasury bill was prepared in compliance with the St. Louis meeting of the National Alliance. That body represented Democrats and Republicans from the North and South. It was the people's measure, and the legislative committee of the Alliance desired its introduction and consideration to be free from party bias or coloring. Hence it asked Representative Pickler, of South Dakota, a Republican and an Alliance man, representing a strong Alliance constituency in the Northwest, to introduce it in the House. Mr. Pickler was asked to state that he introduced it by request. This was the original bill drawn by the committee, and is known as House bill No. 7162, entitled "A bill to establish a system of sub-treasuries, and for other purposes." Senator Vance was selected to introduce it in the Senate, as he represented a strong Alliance constituency from the South. He was told that it was not the purpose or desire of the committee to commit him in any manner by the introduction of the bill to its support, and hence he was asked to state that he introduced it by request. He very kindly suggested that, after an examination of the bill, he might probably be able to make some improvements, and full liberty was given him to do so. He modified the bill and introduced it. It is known as Senate bill No. 2806, and is entitled "A bill to establish a system of agricultural depositories for the accommodation of farmers and planters, and for other purposes." Subsequently, and after a conference with Senator Casey, of North Dakota, who had manifested some interest in the matter, Senator Vance introduced a third bill, known as Senate bill No. 2876, and entitled "A bill to establish a system of Government store-houses for agricultural products, and for other purposes." Neither of these two bills were submitted to the Alliance committee. The Pickler bill, No. 7162, contained 12 sections and 139 lines, and provided for the managers of the warehouses to be elected by the people. Vance bill, No. 2806, contained 12 sections and 129 lines, and made managers appointive and under control of the Secretary of the Treasury. Vance bill, No. 2876, contained 10 sections and 172 lines, and placed the warehouses under control of Secretary of Agriculture, and made the managers elective by the people.

\* \* \* \* \*

We append copy of the letter of the Senator referred to, and addressed to Secretary Beddingfield:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1890.

"DEAR SIR: Whenever I have carefully formed an opinion upon a public matter, I have no objection to making it known to every one having a right to require it. In answer, therefore, to your letter of the 16th instant, asking my opinion on several important subjects, I have to say as follows:

"To inquiry one, I answer that I am not in favor of the abolition of national banks and the issue of legal-tender notes in place of their notes in the present state of our financial policy. But I do favor permitting them to bank upon gold and silver coin instead of bonds, and I do favor the making of all money a legal tender which is issued by the Government."

\* \* \* \* \*

"In answer to your eighth question as to my opinion of what is called the sub-treasury or warehouse bill, I have this to say: I am in favor, not of this particular bill (for it is crude and imperfect), but of the principles of the bill, provided it be not established that it is unconstitutional. I am prepared and intend to go as far in the relief of the farmers to compensate them for the losses suffered under unequal and unjust tariff laws as my oath to support the Constitution will permit me. Whether it be constitutional or not, I am not now prepared to say. It is a great departure in our financial policy, and will require careful and elaborate examination. If it were once reported from the committee, it would receive thorough discussion, and the

country could see for itself. My hope and earnest wish is that the discussion will result in some practicable scheme for the relief of our farmers in this direction. I need not, I am sure, go over all of the arguments in favor of something of this kind."

Commenting upon the answer to "inquiry one," the Progressive Farmer quotes the declaration of the Democratic State convention held at Raleigh, August 20, 1890:

That we favor 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.

FROM every section of the United States comes words of praise and encouragement for THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST. There is a perfect ground swell of approbation of its course, and not a word of condemnation. Everywhere the universal verdict is that "it is the greatest educator we have." Not a man has ever induced a person to subscribe for THE ECONOMIST, but has won the gratitude of such person. What is then the plain duty of every reader of THE ECONOMIST who is a well-wisher to the cause of the producer, and a friend to posterity? Evidently since this is a great educational movement, it is to encourage and sustain the best means of education, and if THE ECONOMIST is the best educator, push its circulation. This number closes volume three, and with the next issue THE ECONOMIST takes on four more pages, and instead of being hereafter a sixteen page with cover it will be a twenty-four page without cover.

It ought to have a million subscribers with the present strength of the order and popularity of the paper, and it will soon have them if every reader makes up his mind that he will secure for it at least one new subscriber each week. The inducement is that for every fifty thousand new subscribers the publishers will be able to increase the size of the paper four pages until there is a sixty-four page weekly for one dollar a year. That is the policy that will be pursued. It will not be run as a money-making enterprise, but every improvement and extension that the subscription list will justify will be promptly made.

THE ECONOMIST is not able to furnish large commissions to agents and offer expensive premium lists to the most successful in getting clubs, because it spends every possible dollar in giving the most valuable matter to its readers. Every subscription order received is filed and can be referred to at any time, and all readers who will enter the contest to secure fifty-two subscribers during the coming year will at the end of the year, September 1, 1891, get credit by publication of their names on THE ECONOMIST roll of honor, which will entitle them to such reform literature as THE ECONOMIST will publish in pamphlet and tract form, free.

#### THE NATIONAL FARMERS CONGRESS.

The tenth annual meeting of this body at Council Bluffs, Iowa, was largely attended. A number of interesting papers were read, one on the political obligations of farmers, by Alonzo Wardall, of Huron, S. D., showing something of the animating feeling in the farmers' movement in the great Northwest. We have gathered from the four quarters of the country to counsel together as to the best methods of conducting our business, and to learn by each other's experience that we may profit by our successes, and guard against a repetition of our failures. And it is well that we should thus meet. Each year adds to our store of knowledge, and should render us more useful and helpful to each other.

I have been asked to present a few thoughts upon the political obligations of the farmer, which I shall do from a purely non-partisan standpoint; and although written especially for the farmer, they are applicable to every man who follows an industrial occupation. Two-fifths of the voters in the United States are directly engaged in agriculture (and the other three-fifths are as directly interested in the welfare of the agriculturist). Four-fifths of the taxes of the nation are paid by the farmer, and our interests extend to every county and township. Our products enter into nearly all the commercial transactions, furnishing 80 per cent of our vast export trade, and the raw materials for many of the manufacturers that contribute to the prosperity of the people are furnished by us. The immense carrying trade of our railroads, aggregating in freights and fares for the year 1889, nearly a billion of dollars, is mainly dependent upon agriculture. In the role of commerce, a generous portion of our imports must also be credited to the farmer. In a political way he easily holds the balance of power in the nation, while in many of the States he has an actual working majority. He is intelligent, patriotic, conservative, frugal, temperate, law-abiding, home-making and home-loving. The primary prosperity of the country rests upon his success. Crime, vagrancy, pauperism, idleness, vice, are at a minimum with him. The country undoubtedly owes a great debt of gratitude to its rural population, but here comes the question. Who constitute the country? Are not the farmers, themselves, component parts of that same country, and does not the possession of numbers, power, wealth, and other deep and important interests carry with it a corresponding responsibility? Are we not citizens? And does not that entail upon us certain duties that we have no right to neglect? Possessing as we do such vast interests that must be controlled under our form of government by political action, are we fulfilling our duty, if through indifference we fail to study and practice political as well as scientific agriculture? There exists, and no well-informed man will question it, however he may differ from my conclusions as to the remedy, a grievous and disastrous agricultural depression in nearly every portion of the Union; farming has ceased to reward the husbandman as it was wont; his debts increase, and his debt-paying ability steadily decreases. Dissatisfaction and unrest pervade the land.

For generations prior to the war, the American farmer was the peer, socially, politically and financially of any class in the land. Slowly but surely he grew with the country; as the national domain broadened by opening up new States, so his acres increased. His children grew to manhood and womanhood, and settled contentedly upon new farms, and added their share toward the general progress of the country. Socially, either at home or abroad, he was respected and self-respecting. Politically, he filled creditably the position of President, Senator, Congressman, Judge, Governor, Cabinet and Foreign Minister, State and county office to the full extent his numbers and interests entitled him. The country prospered; strikes were rare; tramps unknown, and the Breterian-armed mortgage flourished not. Then came the war and a new order of things. While the patriotic farmer boys were at the front, shoulder to shoulder, with their town and city brothers fighting for the land they loved, because it was their very own, a set of politicians managed to secure the reins of Government, and by bold chicanery and secret intrigue, by golden arguments and treacherous falsehoods, have held it for five and twenty years, and to-day mark the change. Have we a farmer President? No. Have we farmer Senators? Two out of eighty-four. Have we farmer Representatives? Fifteen out of three hundred and thirty. Judges? Unheard of. Gov-

errors? Rarely. Control of State legislatures? Very seldom. Has the country grown? Very rapidly; population doubled; wealth wonderfully increased. How is it with the farmer, has his numbers increased with the increase of population? Yes. Have his acres increased in proportion? No. Has his wealth increased in just proportion? No; far from it. In 1850, he owned 70 per cent of the property of the United States; in 1880, 33 per cent; and it is almost certain that the census of 1890 will reduce that to 15 or 20 per cent? Has he been relieved of a proportionate share of taxes? Ah, no. In 1860, he paid 80 per cent; and in 1885, 80 per cent; that is one blessing he still enjoys unmolested. Are his sons taking warning by their fathers mistakes, and seeking to better their condition? Yes; by leaving the farm and flocking to the already overcrowded cities. The only crop

that seems to flourish and succeed on every kind of soil, always commanding a high price, without danger of over-production, so far as the market is concerned, seems to be the imported, high bred, real estate mortgage at 7 per cent interest and 3 per cent bonus, and the mongrel, domestic, half savage, cross grained chattel mortgage at 10 per cent interest and 10 per cent bonus renewable every 60 days or until death. Like the Russian thistle and the English sparrow, the crop of mortgages have wonderfully increased the past few years, until it has become a question of their overthrow, or the delivery of the land into their possession. The increase of mortgage indebtedness is particularly alarming, more than doubling in the States of Illinois and Indiana since 1880; Illinois increasing from 204,000,000 in 1880 to 416,000,000 in 1887, 103 per cent in seven years, and nearly every Western and Southern State is in a similarly unfortunate condition. Farm property has been steadily decreasing in value for the past fifteen years. The remarkable spectacle is presented of a country growing rich with great rapidity, while the mass of the people who produce all the wealth are growing steadily poorer. A prominent economic writer states that in 1889, 5,200,000 men and women in these United States worked for an average of less than \$200 each for the entire year, and I assert without fear of successful contradiction that the average farmer does not receive \$300 per year net for the labor of himself and family. When he contrasts this meagre income, out of which he must feed, clothe, and educate his family, pay his taxes, interest on his mortgage (no hope of meeting the principal) with the millions harvested by single individuals or corporations annually, and from the very products he helps raise, small wonder that he complains, and less wonder that he begins to look about him for the cause of all this, and a remedy therefor. The result has been inquiry, agitation, education on economic lines, organization for self help and co-operative assistance, and after long consultation, thoughtful men have become satisfied that the only hope for the farmer is to demand a radical change in the system of vicious class legislation that has grown and flourished in the past quarter of a century.

They believe that our legislation is controlled in the interests of Wall Street and the national banks; that our currency has been contracted until it is insufficient for the successful and profitable handling of our commerce; that our railroads and telegraphs, being public necessities, should be run by the Government in the interest of the people; that our rates of interest are unnecessarily high; that corporations and combines for the manifest purpose of enhancing, unduly, the cost of the necessities of life are against public policy and should be prohibited; that taxation is unequal, the greater the wealth, as a rule, the less proportionate tax paid. (In 1850 the total estimated valuation of all property in the United States was \$7,135,000,000, which was assessed for taxation at \$6,024,000,000, while in 1880 it was valued at \$43,642,000,000 and taxed at \$16,902,000,000, of which in both instances land paid full 80 per cent, leaving the necessary inference that banking, railroad, and corporate wealth generally must have evaded taxation). That our farms and the public domain are rapidly and surely being absorbed by corporations and alien landholders, thus threatening the stronghold of American liberty, the free, independent farmer and home owner; that our votes are being debauched in the interests of monopoly by intimidation or bribery; that the American saloon, that foul octopus whose hydro head, up-reared in every peaceful hamlet, brings sorrow, discord and destruction, and whose slimy arms would drag down every virtue and strangle every industry, has become a dangerous factor in politics as well as morals; that one-half of our citizens, and they the best, purest, and most law abiding, our own true wives and mothers, are deprived of the rights

guaranteed them by our great charter that says "All just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed."

In view of all these things, and many more that might be enumerated, that can only be remedied by State and national legislation, it becomes evident that the farmer must wake from this Rip Van Winkle sleep of the last twenty-five years, during which time he has been voted by his party bosses like so many automatons, and if perchance he flared feebly up and threatened to assert himself the bloody shirt was flapped in his face, the straw man yelped, tariff was pounded more vigorously than ever, and the party lash, wielded by skillful and unscrupulous hands, kept the party line intact and the boudlers and vultures still hung to their prey.

But at last, thank God, the morn is breaking; like a great tidal wave the Farmers' Alliance, the Grange, the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, the Patrons of Industry have been growing and rising higher and yet more high, until to-day from three score thousand schoolhouses, those cradles of patriotism and intelligence, swells high above partisan protest and hatred one united demand for

1. More money; issued direct to the people by the Government at a low rate of interest, without the intervention of national banks.

2. Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, and that they shall be run in the interest of the people and at actual cost.

3. The restoration of all unearned land grants to the public domain and provisions made to prevent the securing or holding of large tracts of land by aliens or corporations.

4. The Australian ballot.

Those four demands all agree upon, and most of them upon the other reforms indicated; and side by side with us stand a million and a half of bonded laborers, federated by solemn compact to stand shoulder to shoulder in this great economic war between labor and capital, this "irrepressible conflict" that is even now upon us, and will not down until corruption is driven back to its lair or freedom and patriotism cease on American soil. The uniform decision is we must send representative men to the legislatures and to Congress to give us these reforms. We believe that a Congress composed of one or two classes can not, will not, and should not be expected to understand and provide equally for all other interests. (Our State legislatures, as a rule, are composed in one branch at least, and often in both, of a strong majority of lawyers and bankers, thus giving to those two classes, the smallest numerically, the absolute veto power of all legislation, while in Congress they have for many years occupied nearly three-fourths the chairs, with the disastrous result of impoverishing the masses for the enrichment of a favored few). We must exercise common sense on this as well as other subjects, and if we want work done do it ourselves, and not send a substitute who neither understands nor cares for the situation.

There are two ways of accomplishing this object, first by organizing an Independent Reform Party, with specific objects in view, plainly set forth in the platform, and with representative farmers and laborers nominated to carry them out. This a large number of the States are doing with a strength and enthusiasm that is causing the old parties no little uneasiness and bids fair to replace many a corporation attorney or national banker in Congress with a representative of the people. Second, by asserting our strength and possessing ourselves of the old party machinery and putting true men to the fore on a platform recognizing our demands and condemning the failures of the past, and particularly pledging them to ignore party caucus (that grave of good intentions) whenever the people's interests and our specific demands are at stake, otherwise we shall gain nothing, as a partisan, be he ever so true and honest but a tool of the designing managers of his party, who are pledged body and soul to our enemies the monopolists. Where neither Independent nor pledged candidates are in the field, we urge every farmer and laborer to see to it that a series of questions, including the demands of the Alliance as outlined here, be publicly propounded to the candidates of both parties and a full and positive answer demanded, and where a refusal is made, defeat them if you can. Every farmer should register a solemn vow that with him principle shall be stronger than party, and men be better than platforms. Organize yourselves for protection and education; respect yourselves and honor your calling. Leave the lawyers and bankers at home for a time and strive to secure legislation for the masses and not the classes.

#### THE SILVER BILL.

In answer to the many inquiries regarding the vote on the silver bill a short statement concerning it seems necessary. A bill somewhat similar to the one which finally became a law passed the House June 8th, by a vote of 135 yeas and 119 nays. The bill went to the Senate and was amended so as to give absolute free coinage of silver. It is here given in full with the yeas and nays vote:

That from and after the date and passage of this act the unit of value in the United States shall be the dollar, and the same may be coined of 412½ grains of standard silver, or 25.8 grains of standard gold; and the said coins shall be legal tender for all debts public and private. That hereafter any owner of silver or gold bullion may deposit the same at any mint of the United States to be formed into standard dollars or bars for his benefit and without charge; but it shall be lawful to refuse any deposit of less value than \$100 or any bullion so base as to be unsuitable for the operations of the mint.

Sec. 2. That the provisions of section 3 of "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal tender character," which became a law February 28, 1878, are hereby made applicable to the coinage in this act provided for.

Sec. 3. That the certificates provided for in the second section of this act shall be of denominations of not less than one nor more than one hundred dollars, and such certificates shall be redeemable in coin of standard value. A sufficient sum to carry out the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The provision in section 1 of the act of February 28, 1878, entitled "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal tender character," which requires the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, at the market price thereof, not less than \$2,000,000 worth of silver bullion per month, nor more than \$4,000,000 worth per month of such bullion, is hereby repealed.

Sec. 4. That the certificates provided for in this act and all gold and silver certificates already issued shall be receivable for all taxes and dues to the United States of every description, and shall be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private.

Sec. 5. The owners of bullion deposited for coinage shall have the option to receive coin or its equivalent in the certificates provided for in this act, and such bullion shall be subsequently coined.

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

Yea—Bate, Berry, Blodgett, Butler, Call, Cameron, Cockrell, Coke, Colquitt, Daniel, Eustis, George, Gorman, Harris, Hearst, Ingalls, Jones of Arkansas, Jones of Nevada, Kenna, Manderson, Mitchell, Moody, Morgan, Paddock, Pasco, Payne, Pierce, Plumb, Power, Pugh, Ransom, Reagan, Sanders, Squire, Stewart, Teller, Turpie, Yance, Vest, Voorhees, Welchall, Wolcott.

Nays—Aldrich, Allen, Allison, Blair, Casey, Chandler, Cullom, Dawes, Edmunds, Evans, Frye, Gray, Hale, Hawley, Hiscock, Hoar, McPherson, Morrill, Platt, Sawyer, Sherman, Spooner, Stockbridge, Washburn, Wilson of Maryland.

This bill, with the exception of section six, which

was a rider, and had no connection with silver legislation, carried out the expressed wish of the people. A conference was held between the Senate and House, the result of which was the bill which became a law. The vote of the Senate on this conference report was taken July 11th, by which it was adopted, 39 yeas to 26 nays. A majority of 17 for free coinage of silver was changed to a majority of 13 against it. The House voted on the conference report July 12; the following is the vote as given by the Record:

Yea—Adams, Allen, Mich., Anderson, Kans., Atkinson, Penn., Atkinson, W. Va., Baker, Banks, Bartine, Bayne, Beckwith, Belknap, Bergen, Bliss, Bowden, Brewer, Brosius, Brower, Buchanan, N. J., Burton, Caldwell, Cannon, Carter, Caswell, Cheadle, Cogswell, Coleman, Comstock, Conger, Connell, Cooper, Ohio, Cutchee, Dalzell, Darlington, Dingee, Doliver, Dorsey, Dunnell, Farnuhaar, Featherston, Finley, Flick, Flood, Frank, Funston, Gear, Gest, Gifford, Grosvenor, Haugen, Henderson, Ill., Henderson, Iowa, Herman, Hill, Hitch, Hopkins, Houk, Kelley, Kennedy, Ketcham, Kinsey, Lacy, La Follette, Leidlaw, Laws, Lehbach, McComas, McCord, McCormick, McDuffie, McKenna, Moffit, Morey, Morris, Morrow, Morse, Mudd, Neidringhouse, O'Neil, Pa., Osborne, Owen, Ind., Payne, Payson, Perkins, Peters, Pickler, Post, Quackenbush, Raines, Ray, Reed, Iowa, Reyburn, Rife, Rockwell, Russell, Scull, Simonds, Smith, Ill., Smith, W. Va., Snider, Spooner, Stephenson, Stewart, Vt., Stivers, Stockbridge, Sweeney, Taylor, Ill., Taylor, E. B., Taylor, J. D., Thomas, Thompson, Townsend, Col., Townsend, Pa., Vandever, Van Schaick, Walker, Mass., Wallace, N. Y., Williams, Ohio, Wilson, Ky., Wilson, Wash., Wright, Yardley.

Nays—Abbott, Allen, Miss., Anderson, Miss., Bankhead, Bland, Blount, Boatner, Breckinridge, Ark., Breckinridge, Ky., Brickner, Brookshire, Brunner, Buchanan, Va., Bullock, Bynum, Candler, Ga., Carlton, Catchings, Chipman, Clancy, Clinch, Cooper, Ind., Cochran, Crain, Crisp, Culberson, Tex., Davidson, Dibble, Dockery, Dunphy, Elliott, Ellis, Enloe, Forman, Forney, Goodnight, Hayes, Heard, Hempill, Henderson, N. C., Holman, Hooker, Kerr, Pa., Lanham, Lawler, Lester, Va., Lewis, Maish, Martin, Ind., Martin, Tex., McAdoo, McClammy, McClellan, McCreary, McMillin, McRae, Mutchler, Norton, Oates, O'Neill, Ind., O'Neill, Mass., Owens, Ohio, Parrett, Painter, Peel, Penington, Pierce, Price, Quinn, Reilly, Robertson, Rogers, Rusk, Stivers, Shively, Stewart, Tex., Stockdale, Stone, Ky., Stone, Mo., Tillman, Tracy, Venable, Wheeler, Ala., Whithorne, Wike, Wilcox, Williams, Ill., Wilson, W. Va., Yoder.

By this vote the will of the people was again set aside and the demands of Wall street put in its place. It was an ignominious back down by the Senate and disclosed the fact that that august body, under the party lash, could be made to stultify itself by repudiating its former acts.

Modern Statesmen and the Constitution.

BY LINN TANNER, OF CHENEVILLE, LA.

The farmer's platform, put forth by the National Alliance and Industrial Union at St. Louis last December, has aroused the people of the United States to a more earnest and intense study of their political welfare than any event in the history of the Republic since the days of secession by the Southern States. An avalanche of ideas has been stirred up and poured forth, while the people, from the marble palaces of the rich to the cabin of the wage earner, are all studying the questions of political economy which so nearly relate to the interests of all; and so earnest are the multitudes in their search after knowledge that the bitterness which existed between the different sections of our country has almost entirely been swept aside, and we begin to realize the condition so earnestly besought by the eloquent statesman, Daniel Webster, when he declared there should be "no North, no South, no East, no West," but an undivided country where every citizen could with patriotic pride declare.

"This is my own, my native land." For months we have been reading and listening to arguments pro and con on the merits of what is known as the sub-treasury bill. We have read the opinions of learned doctors of the law, such as Carlisle, Mills, Ex-Governor Hubbard of Texas, Oates of Alabama,

Hampton of South Carolina; and after thoroughly digesting the multiplicity of words used to convey their disapprobation, we are forced to the conclusion that all show a "constipation of ideas" which could be clothed in two words, "unconstitutional" and "paternalism." While "deeply sympathizing with the farming people in the depression of prices of farm products," they seem satisfied that the expression of their sympathy was all that should be required of them. Not one of the learned critics has yet gone down into the vaults of his mighty brain and brought forth from thence a single idea which by being put into effect as a "constitutional" measure could be relied on as a sure means of relief to the oppressed people whom they claim they have the honor to represent. On the contrary, all must submit to the inevitable, and the people of the cotton States, who are considered Democratic, must look on the people of the western and middle States, most of whom are considered Republican, and must in their agony of distress imitate the old plantation darky who was suffering with a toe ache. He, we are told, after grunting and growling and finding no relief, at last caught up his foot in one hand and shaking his fist at the offending member, cried out, "Ache on, damn you; I can stand it just as long as you can." We who have been listening to all this "unconstitutional" twaddle are beginning to think of the Constitution as Rev. Henry Ward Beecher did of malaria. When asked "What is malaria?" he replied, "Malaria is a blanket behind which both quacks and physicians oftentimes hide their ignorance." It is expected of this word "unconstitutional," when fired from the mouth of a modern statesman, that it will act as a newly discovered but powerful explosive, which will scatter to the four winds of Heaven any well conceived plan for needed legislation which promises to protect the interests of the many against the repacity of the few.

It is argued against the sub-treasury bill, that it is "class legislation." Let us for the sake of argument suppose that it is. There are but three great wealth-producing industries in the United States. These are mining, manufacturing and agriculture. All real wealth must come through one or the other of these leading branches of industry. This being admitted, let us examine into the legislation and see how they stand. Do we not find that coal, lead, iron, copper, tin, and every thing produced by mining is protected by laws? Verily it is so. Let us examine into the next on the list. Do we not find that all textile fabrics, that plows, hoes, axes, harness, leather and the thousand and one articles made for home use and export are protected, and constitutionally protected? No doubt it is so, but when we come to the products of the farm, especially cotton and tobacco, are they protected? We fail to find that they are, but on the contrary these are from the farm to the manufacturer, left to contend with a horde of speculators and middle men, "who toil not, neither do they spin," and when the profits are gobbled up and divided up among the non-producers of wealth, and the farmers ask for protection we find the India rubber blanket of constitution suddenly contracts and refuses to be stretched, even under the "general welfare clause" so as to cover the most important industry of the whole nation. Would it not be well to give equal protection to all our industries instead of neglecting one? We have seen it estimated from the census of 1880 that

47 per cent of the population of the United States are agricultural; that 23 per cent are engaged in manufacturing, mechanical and mining. These three are in their interests nearly allied to each other, but the substratum of both manufacturing and mining interest, as well we might say of every other calling or vocation, depends upon the success of the agriculture. If that fails, all fail, and conversely as that prospers, so in proportion must all sales and profits be increased. These being self-evident facts, and all admitting their truth, then why do these sticklers for constitutional law, insist on shelving the sub-treasury bill, when it is declared that "Congress shall have power to coin money, emit bills of credit, and enact laws for the general welfare"? Again, why is it that the Democratic members of the general assembly of Washington are so much opposed to the bill which promises relief to the farming classes, and that so little opposition is heard from Republican members? Are we to infer that Democratic Representatives and Senators are the chosen mouth-pieces of Wall street? and considering themselves the special protectors of the national banks which Jackson and Jefferson, Benton and a host of Democratic leaders, all declared were "dangerous to American institutions"? Do not their actions speak louder than words? Have the national banks made any promises to the Democratic party to assist them in the next Presidential election, provided they kill the sub-treasury bill? Another question before I drop my pen. Is the constitution like the laws of the Medes and Persians? Was it not made for the people, and a clause put in which would allow it to be altered and amended? Then why is it not done? Shall the people continue to be oppressed forever and when they petition and cry out for relief, be met with that "bear in the woods" answer, "unconstitutional." This garment framed by the patriot-founders of our Government was intended to act as a law for less than 7,000,000 of people? To-day we number over 60,000,000. Our progress in science and arts has caused us to be looked upon as a great people. This constitution has become a handy machine in the hands of the politicians. It is used to choke the circulation whenever they find it to their interest to do so; and when expansion is desired, behold! Its India rubber qualities are brought into play, and the earth itself could be hidden beneath its yielding spread. Will not the "vulgar herd" after a few more lessons, come to the conclusion that both Democracy and "the constitution" are not so much composed of fixed principles as has been heretofore supposed, but are the results of political doctors who are so often allowed to misrepresent the people's interests?

#### The Farm and the Ship.

BY A. C. HOUSTON.

The West Virginia State Alliance, at its meeting held in Charleston, W. Va., August 13, 1890, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

*Whereas*, Of the three great industries of the United States, the agricultural, the commercial, and the manufacturing, the first two are in the most depressed state; therefore, with a view to the betterment of their condition,

*Be it resolved*, That the legislative committee of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union be requested to prepare a bill for presentation to the present or the following Congress, containing this provision, viz.: "That all vessels built, owned and manned by citizens of the United States that carry a full outgoing cargo, to be determined by the tonnage of the vessel, one-half at least of which shall

consist of agricultural products, shall be allowed to enter and discharge their returning cargoes at any port of the United States free of all custom duties." That we are persuaded that such a measure properly carried out in detail will not only build up the shipping interest of the country, but result in creating a foreign market for the surplus agricultural products of the United States.

An act carrying this proposition into effect should carefully provide for a full cargo, determined by the carrying capacity of the vessel; and since about 15 per cent of our farm products are now annually exported, and only two or three per cent of our manufactured products, it would no doubt be more just that at least three-fourths of the outgoing cargo should consist of farm products. The kind of imports it would seem should in no manner be restricted, because that would have a tendency to limit the foreign market. The character of the vessel also should not be determined, for the humblest craft should be benefited and monopoly prevented.

It is confidently believed that if such a law as this resolution indicates were enacted by Congress certain and speedy relief would result to the farming and shipping interests of the country. The supreme need of the farming class is a foreign market with better prices, not only for the present surplus of its products, but for such a surplus as the stimulus of this measure would create. If the demand of a foreign market was increased that surplus would only have such limit as the fertility of our soil with the capacity of our farm labor, checked by the home market demand, would determine. The owners of vessels with cargoes three-fourths agricultural products would be compelled to find a foreign market for this surplus, since their returning cargo depended upon it, and it can be confidently predicted that they would find it.

Who will build the ships? Some capital will be provided by the manufacturers who want free raw material. The farmers themselves, if it became necessary, through their own organizations can provide ships for the exportation of their produce. But the moment the carrying trade is made profitable, as it would certainly become under the provisions of such a measure, capital would soon provide transportation facilities. If capital should form a league to prevent the building of ships, a thing hardly possible, an amendment allowing the purchase of foreign built ships would offer a remedy.

In Government statistics it is estimated that the carrying of our foreign commerce costs the people of the United States annually \$250,000,000, and that less than 14 per cent of that sum is earned by American vessels. Here, if it were possible to aggregate that great sum, now really lost to us, all the ships necessary for our foreign commerce could in a short time be built.

Who would be benefited? A part from the indirect benefit to all, the principal direct benefit from such a measure would of course result to the farming industry and the shipping interest of the country. But those manufacturers who have been asking for free raw material would here find an opportunity to obtain it. The lumber, iron, and coal interests would be benefited. Every port on the vast extent of our coast, not only in its sea going population, but in its every class and interest, would be benefited. It would create a merchant marine for the United States, and the stars and stripes, now rarely seen upon the ocean, would become a more frequent sight upon its

highways than the flag of any other nation. See how rapidly reciprocal trade with the Hawaiian Islands built up a mercantile marine on the Pacific coast equal to the demands of the trade.

Some one may object that this is simply free-trade. The same objection is offered to the reciprocity scheme of Secretary Blaine. The free-trader will not object to the measure, but will hardly be satisfied with it. It lacks a great deal of free-trade. It is limited by the ship-building desire and capacity of this country. It is limited by the amount of the agricultural surplus, and also by the demand of a foreign market for that surplus. No doubt for a few years our farm products under the stimulus of a foreign market and better prices produced by this measure will increase, but as our population enlarges, and the home demand becomes greater, the surplus will gradually decline.

This measure was not offered as antagonistic to the sub-treasury plan already endorsed by the Alliance, or as a substitute for it. In passing, I may say, it is unfortunate that the first crystallized sentiment of the Alliance, the sub-treasury plan, should have met with such a reception at the hands of our representatives. If the plan is unconstitutional so has a vast amount of the legislation of the last twenty-five years been unconstitutional. The statute books are full of its precedents. If it is class legislation, so has a majority of the legislation of the last twenty-five years been of the same character. Again, I say, it is unfortunate, on account of the bitter feeling it will create, that there should have been a rally around the constitution and that by many men who are known to be friends to the farming interest, in answer to the first specific demand by the Alliance. That great organization, the Patrons of Husbandry, also stood aloof. Surely the Alliance was wounded in the house of its friends. The course of that measure has demonstrated the necessity of unanimity of sentiment and concert of action as far as it can possibly be attained on the part of all the agricultural organizations. If they all unite then success is assured.

With reference to what I may call, as at the head of this article, the "farm and ship" proposition of the West Virginia State Alliance, it would seem there could be but little division of sentiment among the farmers of the United States. A positive, crying demand for farm products is needed and this measure will create it.

So confidently, by this brief paper in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, the proposition is thrown upon the waters of public sentiment. Let us hear what the farmers think of it, to whatever organization they belong.

A GREAT many false reports are being published as to the action of the State Alliance of Texas on the sub-treasury plan, and the meanest subterfuge of any is that of the Atlanta Journal in which it publishes a single sentence from a set of resolutions endorsing the sub-treasury plan fully and unequivocally. That sentence has an opposite meaning from the resolution as signed by Terrell and Smith. It would be just as fair to say that the Bible was profane because the word God appeared in it, as to mutilate the Texas resolutions as the Journal has, and say they did not endorse the sub-treasury plan.

# 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 thirty cents per agate line. Discounts for time and space furnished on application, stating character of advertisement required.

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

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

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

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

Address all remittances or communications to—

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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

THE result of the House setting aside two days recently for labor legislation was not entirely satisfactory to the representative workingmen. The eight hour bill, the over-time back pay bill, and the alien labor contract amendment bill were all passed, but with amendments on the floor which modify materially the features agreed on by the committee on labor of the House.

At a recent meeting of District Assembly 66, K. of L., a committee was appointed to convey to the Senate the request that the bills be amended so as to restore the provisions of the committee, the changes having practically nullified possibility of securing the original intents of the bills. It is said that the friends of this legislation feared a call for a vote, as that would have revealed that less than a quorum participated, and hence allowed the amendments to be declared passed unchallenged. There was, consequently, no record possible of the votes of members.

It might be well to remember that all bills introduced in Congress demanding the retiring of national bank currency and the issue of greenbacks in its stead are in the interest of the banks and are doubtless inspired by them. By the passage of such an act the banks would reap a harvest of the enormous premium now being paid for bonds, which alone would amount to about \$34,000,000, and at the same time retain possession of their present franchises and the greater privilege still of being the beneficiaries in the grace and favor of the United States Treasury Department. What the people demand is the absolute repeal of the whole national banking act; that the Government shall issue all currency direct to the people as cheaply as possible, and the banks be com-

elled to transact only such business as belongs to that occupation. All other legislation on the subject is a delusion and a snare.

NO STATESMAN ever possessed the love and devotion of his constituency to a higher degree than did Daniel Webster, and yet upon one occasion, when he had differed with the people on a question, they refused to re-elect him. The citizens of Georgia, Kansas, and North Carolina are about to be put to a similar test.

In each State their favorite is offered the people as a candidate for the United States Senate, and has declared against the people's platform. This causes a conflict in each man's breast, the question being which should govern him, his devotion to a friend or his duty to himself, his family, his country, and his God. The situation in these three States is very similar, and it remains to be seen which will stand by their principles with the most tenacity, Georgia, North Carolina or Kansas. There is no doubt that Gordon, Vance and Ingalls represent a class of statesmen who have shown by their inability to comprehend modern conditions and necessities that they have survived their usefulness politically.

THE Progressive Farmer, as official organ of the Alliance in North Carolina, takes a firm dignified and manly stand in the Vance contest. It knows its duty and follows it with a devotion that must be a source of congratulation to every Alliance man in that State. Probably Senator Vance is not to blame for the bitter and unfair war his partisan followers are making on the Progressive Farmer, its editor and the Farmers Alliance, but it must be credited to him till he repudiates it. The Progressive Farmer and its able editor evidently intend to pay no attention to this kind of persecution, and will keep right on shelling the woods with great big chunks of solid truth, let them hurt who they may.

PRESIDENT POLK is the great leader in the move to kill sectionalism, and leave in the place of that glittering monster that has been the potent means of keeping the honest producers of the North and South so equally divided that professional politicians could wield the balance of power, and thereby run the Government in the interest of the exploiting class, a fraternal feeling between all honest producers of every section, race or color in this great country that will heartily co-operate to maintain "equal rights and chances for all, and special privileges to none." May God bless him in his noble work.

AN editorial novelty comes up from North Carolina. A leading party paper in that State copies parts of an article published in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST of August 23, commented on under the heading "Mendacious Journalism." This party paper, seem-

ingly desirous of surpassing in mendacity its two illustrious prototypes originally giving the villainous lies space, quotes as though THE ECONOMIST had indorsed the article. The novelty of this editor's course consists in his claim that because the statements of the article were not specifically denied, though the whole was denounced as a lying publication, they were admitted and indorsed by THE ECONOMIST.

THE strongest reason why the sub-treasury plan is being fought by both the Democratic and Republican parties is because both parties are under the control of those whose interests are against its adoption. The policy of these two parties so far as national finances are concerned is identical. President Cleveland continued the financial policy of President Arthur, and President Harrison has followed exactly the same line as did President Cleveland. This plan, which demands cheap money for the people, meets with antagonism from both the old parties on account of their being dominated by men who ask for dear money in their own interest. The unanimity with which this proposition is being condemned by all bankers, bondholders, and money lenders ought to be sufficient proof of itself that it is a measure in the interest of the people and against the avaricious demands of the non-producers. It is a safe rule for all who labor in production to contest every proposition that is satisfactory to the money-dealing classes. All legislation that is fattening to them is sure in the end to bring a famine to the balance of the people.

THE following resolution was passed by the Texas State Alliance at its recent meeting:

That a committee be appointed by the president of this body, to be composed of eleven members, who shall prepare an address to our people of the State of Texas and the United States, setting forth fully the features of the proposed system of industrial institutes. Said committee shall also take the necessary steps to the end that this matter may be brought to the favorable notice of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of the United States, that said proposed system may be speedily developed into an interstate system. Further, that the presidents of the several State organizations of our Order throughout the United States, and of all other labor organizations with like aims and purposes to our own be, and they are hereby, earnestly requested to appoint each a committee of their respective members, and said committee are hereby urged to co-operate with gentlemen to be selected by the projectors of said proposed system, with the view to the speedy organization of said system in each of the States of the United States.

Already work on this line has been started in Texas, and as soon as well under way it is proposed to bring the matter prominently before farmers in other States, with a view to organizing an interstate system of institutes. Mr. D. E. Bentley has been elected organizer in Texas, and is already canvassing for pupils, with a view to a guaranteed support before lands are purchased and buildings constructed. This is in line with the work of education by the Alliance, and is worthy of earnest commendation.

## THE REPUBLICS OF THE WORLD.

A Brief Account of the Conditions Under Which They Exist.

### II.—MEXICO.

Intimately connected with and directly growing out of the ordinary control exercised by government, the question of currency naturally follows. Silver is practically the sole standard of Mexico, the quantity of gold coin being extremely small, less than \$400,000 per annum of that metal being coined for several years. There are eleven government mints, returns of which show the following output for seven years:

Years.	Silver	Gold.
1880-81.....	\$24,617,395	\$492,068
1881-82.....	25,146,260	452,590
1882-83.....	24,083,921	407,600
1883-84.....	25,377,378	328,698
1886-87.....	26,844,031	398,647
1887-88.....	25,862,977	316,818
1888-89.....	26,031,222	334,972

Much of this Mexican silver coined as dollars, finds its way to China and India, but the local circulation is much greater per capita than that of the United States. The paper circulation is in notes of the national bank of Mexico, slightly less than \$15,000,000, or \$1.25 per capita. There is really no data at hand for a correct statement of the amount of money in circulation. The commerce of the country being largely in the hands of foreigners, and though it is impossible to estimate what the annual depletion is by profits to foreign investors, it is certain that the actual coinage of something over \$2 per capita does not all stay in the country. There is little doubt, however, that the circulation of Mexico is relatively greater than of any European nation, except possibly France. In the absence of a general system of banks throughout the country, this larger volume of currency is needed from the very nature of things. Last year the government granted concessions to a number of new banks in several States, with authority advance money in aid of agricultural and mining enterprises.

The revenue of the government of Mexico for 1888-9 was \$32,745,981, which failed to meet an expenditure of \$38,527,239. The following is the budget for the year ending June 30, 1890:

	Revenue.	Expenditure.
Customs.....	\$20,000,000	Legislative power. \$1,009,036
Excise.....	2,500,000	Executive power... 49,849
Stamps.....	8,000,000	Judicial power.... 465,095
Direct taxes.....	1,500,000	Foreign Affairs.... 43,695
Posts and tele- graphs.....	1,000,000	Home Department 3,546,273
Mint.....	1,000,000	Justice and Educa- tion..... 1,347,521
Lotteries.....	600,000	Public Works..... 6,116,453
Various .....	1,300,000	Finance..... 11,269,781
		War and Navy..... 12,492,835
		\$37,900,000
		\$36,729,542

To this the expense of the several State governments adds nearly \$10,000,000, and municipalities about \$6,000,000 per annum.

The imports have increased rapidly, there being

an increase from \$35,819,000 in 1884-85 to \$44,500,000 in 1888-89. The balance of trade is fairly in favor of the Republic, as the following table of exports will show:

	Sundries.	Precious metals.	Total.
1884-85 .....	\$13,425,190	\$35,128,190	\$46,553,380
1885-86 .....	13,741,316	29,906,400	43,647,716
1886-87 .....	15,631,427	33,560,502	49,191,929
1887-88 .....	17,979,720	31,006,188	48,885,908
1888-89 .....	21,373,148	38,785,275	60,158,423

The debt of the Republic is classed as foreign and internal. The foreign debt is bonded at 6 per cent, and amounts to \$50,000,000. The internal debt has been converted at 3 per cent, and amounts to about \$25,000,000. Thus nineteen years after the close of practically an internal war lasting fifty years, with a generous currency the Mexicans owe about \$7 per capita.

The army is unduly large and expensive, consisting of a total of 27,244 men and 3,000 officers. The navy is insignificant, there being but two gun vessels of high class and three small gunboats. This preparation for defense costs, as shown in the budget quoted above, over \$12,000,000, or one-third the entire schedule of annual expense.

There are 1,270 vessels, including the light craft engaged in coasting, which carry the flag of the Republic. When the inferior nature of many of the harbors is considered it is not strange that these should generally be small. The foreign commerce, like that of the United States, is carried largely under European flags. The growth of the railroad system has been wonderful; from less than 400 miles to more than 5,000 miles in ten years. There are nearly 30,000 miles of telegraph lines, a little more than half of which belong to the Republic; the remainder being in nearly equal parts the property of the States and of private and railway corporations.

The chief agricultural products are maize, of which the yield in 1888 is stated at 46,458,810 hectolitres; barley 2,095,660 hectolitres; wheat, 4,026,925 hectolitres; beans, 2,724,517 hectolitres. The annual cotton crop is of the average value of \$10,857,000; sugar-cane, \$8,735,000; hemp, \$3,718,750; coffee, \$3,200,000; tobacco, \$2,250,000. Vera Cruz alone raises yearly about 5,000 tons of tobacco. Other products are rice, cocoa, vanilla. The cultivation of the vine has proved successful, and sericulture has been introduced. Large numbers of cattle are reared in Mexico for the United States. In 1883, in northern Mexico alone, in an area of 300,000 square miles, there were 1,500,000 cattle, 2,500,000 goats, 1,000,000 horses, and 1,000,000 sheep. In the whole of Mexico in 1883 there were 20,574 cattle ranches, valued at \$515,000,000.

Mexico is rich in minerals, gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, tin, cobalt, antimony, sulphur, and petroleum being either worked or known to exist. There are

upwards of 350 mining enterprises in the country, employing upward of 100,000 men. Between 1821 and 1880, silver was produced to the value of \$900,000,000, and gold to the value of \$4,840,000. Operations are now carried on under regulations drawn up in a carefully prepared mining code. In the 17 months from April, 1887, to September, 1888, 2,077 mines and 33 benefiting haciendas were "denounced." By virtue of a law of June 6, 1887, the executive has entered into more than 100 contracts for the exploration and development of the mineral wealth of many of the States. It is calculated that over \$30,000,000 of capital is engaged in the development of mining interests.

THE second volume of the Economic Quarterly, published by the American Non-Conformist, Winfield, Kansas, is at hand. It contains the full text of "Richard's Crown," by Mrs. Anna D. Weaver, and a paper by Hon. A. J. Streeter, "Does Farming Pay?" besides some selections of poetry. Taken altogether it is a very interesting number, and should have a wide circulation. Also the "Alliance Songster," from the same house contains a collection of labor songs, which will no doubt make it popular where it may be used.

IN THE ECONOMIST of August 30, there was an error in the initials of President Adams of Louisiana, in connection with his address to the State Union. The initials, S. M., used are those of the president of the Alabama State Alliance, so the names were confused. T. S. Adams is president of the Louisiana State Union, and is also commissioner of agriculture for his State.

"THEY have quit trying to answer my logic and commenced fighting my grammar," said an eminent reformer. Nothing could have shown more conclusively that he had gained a victory. So it is in the sub-treasury discussion; its opponents have dodged the issue and are making a cowardly, unfair and bitter war on the officers of the order for advocating it. Such tactics will not win. They simply excite a smile of contempt from the farmer who is too intelligent to be sidetracked by such transparent methods.

THE secret work is now, or should be, uniform throughout all the States under the jurisdiction of the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union. The constitution places it entirely in charge of the president. Consequently the national president is the supreme authority on the secret work, and is responsible for its purity and protection throughout the jurisdictions. Each State Alliance is considered as a complete and separate jurisdiction, excepting only such powers as has been by it delegated to the national and the authority of the national president in all matters pertaining to the secret work. The State president is therefore the highest authority in his State on the secret work, and should receive all instructions in it direct from the national president.

## APPLIED SCIENCE

## In Agricultural and Rural Economy.

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

## SHORT CROPS AND THE PUBLIC GOOD.

The Baltimore Sun of September 1, has this to say under the above heading:

There is not much ground for the belief that occupies some minds that short crops are a benefit to the country. The farmer, it is said in support of this paradox, has less to sell, but he gets more for it. A year ago the price of wheat was about 84 cents. The other day it was \$1.10. Corn has advanced from 43 cents to 55 cents; oats from 26 to 44 cents. Assuming, according to the estimate of the New York Commercial Bulletin, that the farmers had 20 per cent less grain than they had a year ago, they may, with this advance in price, get more money for it. But all farmers have not four-fifths of a crop. Some have a full-crop, while others don't make their seed. Localities where no crop is made suffer greatly, of course. There the farmers must curtail their purchases or undertake the burden of a mortgage. Those already encumbered by a mortgage may be ruined by a single bad year. Their disaster is felt by merchants in a diminished demand for goods, and by the railroads in diminished freight receipts. Even those farmers that have full crops in years when crops are generally bad are not exempt from the evils of the situation. They must pay more for what they buy, the effect of dear food being to enhance the cost of production and put up prices. The fortunate farmer thus bears his part of the public loss.

So far so good; but that is not the whole case. The amount of the crop necessary for home consumption is the same for good and bad crop years. Farmer John Doe feeds to his live stock 50 tons of hay annually. Last year he made 100 tons of hay and had 30 tons to sell, for which he gets \$10, or realizes \$300 for surplus hay. But, on account of the high price of feed, the colts John Doe has to sell either have to be kept over or go off at a reduction of say 20 per cent below their last year's value. In the matter of the oats, instead of having any to sell, John Doe has to buy oats this year. In the matter of wheat, when seed and bread are deducted, he will be worse off than last year. It happens three times in five that when superficial politicians and statesmen figure on wheat they fail to deduct seed and bread from the farmer's crop. Now, a general average of the product is not much, if at all, above 8 bushels per acre; the general average for seed, 1½ bushels, three-sixteenths of the crop has to be resown for seed. To the seed John Doe must add bread, machine toll, harvest expenses, marketing expenses and guano bills before he can begin to figure on his surplus.

As to poor Richard Roe, he paid his guano bill last year and cleared \$100 on his wheat crop; but this year his surplus wheat crop nets him \$100 less than the guano bill. Last year Richard Roe sold 20 tons of hay at \$8. This year he has none to sell; he has to feed all he got at home, at \$10 a ton. He has no oats and has to feed more corn accordingly. In this year of short crops Richard Roe has to face a suit for a guano bill, and his seed wheat is levied on to pay it. What little corn he has to sell won't pay his taxes; so the sheriff comes and gets his colts and sells them at the court house for half price to some man who has thousands at interest in untaxed mortgages; and then there are court "costs," lawyer's fees, sheriff's fees—this last a gross outrage—all to come out first; and then if the tax is not paid the sheriff comes and gets poor Richard's team. As he

leads them away to be sold at half price and "costs and fees" deducted, the sheriff may be supposed to remark, "Mr. Roe, this has been a year of short crops, but after all the farmer gets more for what he has to sell than he does in years of overproduction."

This is not the whole case yet, but we will stop here now, holding back what is left of poor Richard Roe's remains until the politicians and the scientific fellows come again with their figures.

## FAST TIME.

The year 1890 is to be one memorable in the annals of the racing turf. The extraordinary time of a mile in 1 minute and 35½ seconds, made by the chestnut colt Salvator, on the 28th of August, lowers the record 3¾ seconds. The best previous time was made July 31st ultimo, 1.39¼, by Raveloc, and the fastest previous mile must also be credited to the present year, and was run June 28, 1890, by Racine, 1.39¾, thus beating Tenbroeck's time, 1.39¾, which headed the record for thirteen years. Discarding the fabled time of the flying Childers and English Eclipse as undoubtedly wildly erroneous, the fact is clear that the powers of the race horse are undergoing a continuously increased development. No limit can be set to the development which science may produce by the skilled cultivation of the powers of living organisms, aided by the skilled and scientific application of the principle of heredity. In the wonderful performance of Salvator may be seen an object lesson which teaches that the human race may be similarly improved in bodily and mental powers.

## THE AGRICULTURAL FAIRS.

The fair season has opened, and a few exhibitions have been held. These fairs are enjoyable holidays and reunions for country people. Rest and relaxation from business all industrious people must have; and if, with rest and relaxation diversion and entertainment can be furnished, all the better; add to this the object lesson, and the full importance of the agricultural fair unfolds itself to the mind. We particularly recommend all fair-going farmers to look over the machinery department. The replacement of help by machinery, and the substitution of modern conveniences for drudgery work in the country home is the direction in which the farmers must look for relief from the burdens of life for themselves and their families. Let the ladies of the farm household also look beyond their own exhibition at the fair. We suggest it to them to look over the mechanical exhibit. They are very quick to appreciate a good thing of this kind, and yet quicker to detect a humbug. Have your wife along, farmer, when you look over the machines.

## POLLUTED WATER SUPPLY.

It has been developed by Dr. C. W. Chancellor, health officer of the State of Maryland, that Lake Rowland, one of the main sources of water supply of the city of Baltimore, is polluted by sewerage from Lutherville. Here is one case in which vigilance has protected a great community from disease without waiting for the outbreak and the loss of many lives before applying a remedy. In this case a single typhoid patient at Lutherville might have caused numerous cases of sickness and many sad deaths in Baltimore. It appears that patrols are kept on the

lookout for obvious pollutions of Lake Rowland, who take out dead animals and the like when they are found, which is wise and well; but the most dangerous pollutions are the secret ones. The water-closet will probably be responsible for many thousands of deaths before an intelligent public opinion condemns it in toto. It is undoubtedly the most dangerous and deadly of all modern conveniences. Very much may be done in the way of prevention by proper disinfection in the sick room. Let the rule be that nothing shall pass out of the chamber where there is a case of infective disease before it has been thoroughly disinfected. In the earlier stages of these diseases before they are recognized and during the convalescence of the sick are at times full of danger. Lake Rowland is full of private boats, and boating parties are permitted, which is so clearly unwise that it should have been corrected long since. The granting of such permission originally was an act of great folly. Let the lesson be again and again enforced, that one of the most frequent and fruitful causes of death is drinking polluted water. Ice machines using distilled water will prevent much of the spread of disease by the polluted ice. Do not forget that the diseases which are spread by polluted water are the most deadly, as for example typhoid fever and Asiatic cholera.

#### UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

This time it is the North Carolina fertilizer inspection law which interferes with commerce between the States. This law imposes a license tax on the sale of commercial fertilizers, which must be paid by residents and non-residents alike; yet the judges say it restricts commerce by diminishing sales. They do not show how it diminishes sales. It can only diminish sales by the extent to which the tax diminishes the ability to purchase. Undoubtedly all taxation diminishes ability to purchase, and we have the *reductio ad absurdum*, that all State and local taxation is unconstitutional, because it diminishes interstate commerce by diminishing the ability of all the citizens of all the States to purchase what might, could, would or should have been offered them by the residents of their sister States. All taxation tends to diminish the producing capacity of a State, and so diminishes interstate commerce by subtracting from the products available for interstate commerce. All taxation is, therefore, unconstitutional.

But the inspection law, declared unconstitutional because it restricts interstate commerce in manure, has another effect. By preventing cheating in manure it has the effect of increasing the crops of the State and reducing the cost of their production, and so increases potentially interstate commerce. Did the learned judges look before they leaped? Certainly they have taken a tumble, heels over head. In the dressed beef cases the judge held it was the intention of the law to prohibit and destroy interstate commerce. In the case of the fertilizer inspection law, the intention was to make two blades of grass grow where only one blade grew; the two blades to cost less than the one blade to make them grow, the tendency whereof is clearly favorable to interstate commerce. This is a good case for our scrap-book of the curiosities of constitutional law. We believe the North Carolina statute in this case made and provided ought to be unconstitutional, because the tax is paid by the consumer, to wit, the farmer; but we do not

believe the judges have made out their case of unconstitutionality.

#### EFFECTS OF COMBUSTION.

Experience demonstrates that the amount of cubic air space in houses of common ventilation necessary to each individual as a healthy standard is about 1,000 feet. Bear in mind that the sick room requires more fresh air than is necessary for those in health. Let it be remembered that, if lights are kept burning, one ordinary gas burner vitiates the air about as rapidly as the respiration of four adult persons occupying the room. The combustion of one cubic foot of coal gas destroys the oxygen of 8 cubic feet of air and produces about 2 cubic feet of carbonic acid besides other impurities. A common gas burner consumes 3 cubic feet of gas per hour, or destroys the oxygen of 24 cubic feet of air. This destruction of oxygen is sufficient to devitalize many hundreds of cubic feet of air from which the oxygen is taken, which devitalization is further greatly increased by the simultaneous diffusion through the air of the apartment of the carbonic acid and other impurities which are the products of combustion. Now, therefore, if in summer a lamp must be kept in a sick room, put it behind a screen in the fire place. In that case it will create an upward draught through the chimney which will carry off the impurities produced by its own burning, and also very materially promote the general ventilation of the apartment. The unpleasant glare of the light will be prevented by the screen and nearly all the heat produced goes up the chimney, whereas if the light is suddenly required it is ready without delay, fuss and confusion. In the winter when there is fire in the fireplace put the lamp outside the door.

The delights of home, the good things and the blessings of this life, are the small things and not the great. Lack of the knowledge of this thing, or failure to live up to this knowledge, often causes even the home of affluence to be the abode of discord, discomfort and discontent. What may be styled household science is sadly neglected among us. Domestic hygiene and sanitary police of the home and its apertures are not named among the subjects to be taught in any part of our educational system. When will some qualified persons write a plain, simple book on the domestic hygiene and sanitary police of the country home?

THE State of Michigan will be organized September 17 with at least ten counties and about then thousand members. Thus another great Commonwealth wheels into line and joins its sister States of the South and West in the great struggle for justice and reform.

#### The Avalon (Mo.) Aurora says:

A correspondent asks what the farmers really and ultimately mean by taking a hand in politics, and wants to know if all this is not simply for the purpose of electing some of their political riders to position in 1892? The answer is plain, simple and emphatic. The farmers of this country want and intend to have a Government that don't collect so much taxes; that the greatest burden of legislation is to get rid of the surplus and prevent accumulations in the Treasury. They will never more submit to political riders. They intend not to re-elect men who fail to work for the true interests of the whole country. It would be well for office-holders to cut this out and paste it in their hats.

#### FROM CORRESPONDENTS EVERYWHERE.

J. R. Conway, Pilot Grove, Mo., writes that there will be an "1890 picnic" at Chouteau Springs, September 19. Harry Tracy is to be orator of the day. State President Hall and State Lecturer Williams are expected to be on hand. The organization in Cowper county is prospering.

J. W. Burt, president of Lincoln Parish Farmers Union, La., writes for the vote on rechartering the national banks. It is given in THE ECONOMIST of July 12, page 265. Mr. Burt says: "I suggest that all Alliance men, North or South, should refuse to listen to any speaker or read any newspaper that would attempt to keep alive sectional strife. I think that was the only object and purpose of the force bill, a solid North against a solid South. A divided people and enslaved people; a united people, a free people. Long live THE ECONOMIST and Farmers Alliance."

At a meeting of Oak Grove Union, De Soto Pa., La., held July 26, 1890, the following preamble and resolutions were approved: "Whereas, It has pleased our Heavenly Father to remove by death our president and friend, C. M. Marr, therefore be it resolve, that by his death our Lodge has lost one of its most zealous workers, the Alliance in general one of its strongest advocates. He whose star has gone down from our Lodge will, we fear, never be replaced by one of equal worth and capacity. His wife has lost a kind husband; his little children a devoted father; the community an upright honorable citizen. Further, that we extend our sympathy to his bereaved wife and helpless children. We will ever be ready and willing to assist our sister and children in any way we can benefit them. We hope they, as well as we, will again meet our friend Charley in Union around the Master's Mansion, where all is peace, purity and happiness."

S. McLaughlin writes from Hamilton, N. Dak.: "I was pleased to note in THE ECONOMIST that the Louisiana Alliance, in convention, condemned and resolved not to affiliate with those men who supported the lottery legislation; we were severely tried up in this cold State on lottery legislation last winter, but we made it too hot for the conspirators, although the bill passed the Senate strong and had a good prospect of passing the House; yet the known determination of Governor Miller to veto, downed it. It was the old politicians of the grand old party that attempted the scheme. Although they were the prime movers, some bad Democrats took a hand with them, and after all this we find an unexplainable inconsistency in the better element of the Republican party at their late State convention. While commanding Governor Miller for his stand against the conspirators, and prophesying that his name would go down in the history of Dakota as that of honest John Miller, because of his stand against the dishonest men who attempted the scheme by offering a large money consideration and supplying seed-wheat to the destitute farmers. Yet this convention had no word of condemnation for any of these men. They did not, like the Louisiana men, refuse to affiliate with them, but on the other hand, these men in both parties are the prime and active movers in caucus, committee and convention. Is it any wonder that the better class of thinking citizens sees reform only in independent action, and that there is a growing want of confidence in the old parties, composed as they are of so much corruption? It is easier to move out and build anew, than to clean the old stable."

Lewis W. Beard, of Arcadia, La., makes a suggestion in a letter now more than a month old: "Let the Government establish in every county a treasurer's office, wherein will be deposited current money (of Government make) enough to answer all the demands of trade. Let each and every State formulate a list of staple articles with prices annexed, which will be deemed the statute price of each and every article named in the list. This being done, now comes the operation of the plan. Any producer of any article named on said list may, on making proof before said office that he has on hand and ready for immediate delivery a given quantity of one or more of the articles named in said list, the product of his own farm, workshop, or manufactory, and binding himself in indemnity and delivery of the same within three days after notice at any time within twelve months, receive therefor the statute price of the articles named in his application, less three per cent, which is to be retained by the office to defray the expenses of the same. This plan dispenses with the necessity of building expensive warehouses, and reduces the risk by fire to a minimum. It makes the products of labor and industry the basis for

currency, and makes the hands of the producer the first hands through which the currency of the country passes; thus putting a premium upon industry hitherto unknown. It makes each and every applicant a Government custodian of the property named in his application. It forces the Government to provide a common currency for the immediate use of the people. It prohibits the intervention of many speculators and gamblers in futures. A wise administration of the plan would render inflation and hurtful contraction impossible."

James H. Powell, State agent of the Colored F. A. and I. Union, Augusta, Miss., writes: "The great question now before the American people is the farmer to become a national slave, or to be placed on a level with men in other industries? That is a problem that our white brethren seems to be more or less perplexed with. The colored farmers are watching with single eye the leaders of this great organization (who claim that superiority in management), and who have made so many failures at striking the key-note or the true letter of the organization. That is, down with our own old politicians, and send new men. It is the aim of every colored farmer of Mississippi to send men to our national legislature who will represent the farmer. The Mississippian's fort is the farm, and its products is his pride. We know that the men who have been sent there before will not do that. We need not look to men who have been elected on old issues to reform in Washington. Men the farmers have elected by the agent of political excitement over their own interests are too shrewd to yield to what they claim Alliance sophistry. The Farmers Alliance has found a powerful machine for locomotion, but they will not work in unison. Every time an old politician speaks favorable in one or two instances, and captures the farmer's ear, they place an everlasting faith in it until that delusion is unfolded to his dismay. We wanted a silver bill passed, it is of no advantage to the laboring farmer. We want a sub-treasury law, and if we depend upon our present members to do anything we are deluded. If we recognize THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST and follow its advice on the silver and sub-treasury plan (I believe it to be right), we will at all times be led aright. The Maryland State Alliance has taken the right step toward securing proper men to represent them in law-making bodies. We want to reduce the foreign shipment of gold and silver. We want the national banking and large bond interest abolished by degrees. We will be satisfied with nothing less."

Brother Walter Muir, writes: "The organs of monopoly have much to say in favor of subsidizing American steamships. Would it not be in better taste to advocate such a reduction of the tariff on all the material entering into the building and equipment of ocean steam vessels as would enable our people to build them as cheaply as they can be built on the Clyde, or in any other part of Europe. Then, let our Government pay them a fair compensation for carrying our mails as do the governments of Great Britain, France, and Germany pay their steamships for such service. How can Americans hope to successfully compete with the British in foreign commerce when it costs 40 per cent more for the building material here than in Europe. Let Congress pass an act declaring that everything used for the construction and equipment of steamships built in this country shall be free of duty, then we should soon have a merchant marine of which the nation might be proud. Then an American sea captain who has had the misfortune to encounter a storm when abroad, and has been obliged to put into Britain for repairs would not have to keep an account of all the material used in repairing his vessel, and pay duty upon it when he returned home, as we believe he is obliged to do under our tariff laws. Any other subsidy than that paid for carrying our mails would be but another tax upon the producers of the nation. Any scheme looking to the subsidizing of steam vessels, other than payment for mail service, should be opposed by the members of Congress from the Western and Southern States, for it is but another method to levy a tax upon them to enrich Eastern capitalists at their expense. Give our people the same chance to invest their capital in competition with other nations on the high seas, and the American ocean gray-hounds would soon be as numerous as those of England, and Americans would have the pleasure of going to the continent of Europe in a steamship carrying our own dear flag over the quarter decks, which is a pleasure he can not have at present, nor has enjoyed for a number of years, unless he took a trip on a vessel of our navy."

## THE REFORM PRESS.

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

The inconsistency of the Democratic convention of Nebraska favoring free silver coinage and indorsing Cleveland is seen by the Alliance Motor (Broken Bow, Neb.):

One thing is certain, the people had inaugurated a movement which had the Democrats endorsed it and manifested greater solicitation for the welfare of the State than party success, Attorney-General Leese would not be able in the future to say with truth, "ever since the organization of Nebraska as a State the railroads have managed to control her political organizations." Democrats in the west profess to believe in the principles of the Alliance in toto. How they can consistently endorse Cleveland's administration, which was in policy identically the same as his predecessor's, is a mystery unsolved and incapable of solution or explanation. Democrats will remember that before Cleveland took the presidential chair he made a furious attack upon the free coinage of silver.

The Alliance Tribune (Topeka, Kan.) says:

Editor Hudson crowds out of the Capital three columns of interesting plate matter to give place to an alleged interview with an unknown person from an unknown State, reported by a person who was ashamed to give his name to the public and thus be branded as the leading idiotic liar of the State, because the article from beginning to end shows conclusively to any one of average intelligence that by no possibility could it be true; and secondly, it shows the writer to be possessed of a very small brain or he would not have written so thin a series of falsehoods. We are surprised that the Capital should publish such a piece of claptrap, because the editor knows that the Alliance was organized thirteen years ago as a local protective association against horse thieves in one of the border counties of Texas, instead of about two years ago to down the North, as this nonentity tries to make out.

The Free Lance (Oakland, Ill.) says:

If the average American voter could be made to think more of what is really involved in his ballot he would not be such a slave to party. His mind would naturally turn more to the highest interest of his home and the well-being of posterity rather than success.

Midland Mechanic (Kansas City, Mo.); true in every respect:

Fifty years ago we had no bonded debt to gnaw like rats at the cribs of industry. We had no millionaires, nor tramps, nor financial machinery, by which the rich grow richer and the poor poorer. After our vast public debt had accumulated, while we were in possession of the medium of exchange which carried our flag to victory we paid off public indebtedness at the rate of from \$250,000,000 to \$300,000,000 annually. But as soon as the currency was taken from the channels of industry production faltered, labor ceased to find employment, our public revenues dried up, and the debt burden became petrified from inability of production to liquidate it. Then, to make the burden still more burdensome, property values were so reduced and tax money became so appreciated that it would require twice or thrice the amount of labor and commodities to pay our annual interest that it took when money was plenty and prices high. It is harder for 65,000,000 people to pay \$100,000,000 a year for the bonded debt now than it was for 40,000,000 to pay \$300,000,000 twenty-five years ago.

The Dakota Rivalist (Huron) is not disposed to believe that an official will work "just for fun":

The commissioner of labor and statistics by the grace of Gov. Mellette, Frank Wilder, of Aberdeen, is sending out blanks to the secretaries of the Farmers' Alliance calling upon them to report to him the number of farmers who are members, and attaching the pretended authority of the law to compel this return to be made to him. To the many who want to know about this we will say that you don't have to. If you want to answer do so, but if that office wants these returns for statistics a much better way would be to request the information from the State secretary. There are two plausible explanations of this action. First, the Republicans are very anxious to know the strength of their oppo-

nents, and they will not hesitate to use all the machinery of the State at public expense to accomplish this purpose. Second, Frank is running an organ in the pay of the Pierre capital committee, and they have set the office of commissioner of labor and statistics at work to gather up this valuable information for their benefit. This latter explanation is the more reasonable from the fact that those who raise the cry of stop thief! are the ones who clean up the crowd. Immaculate Pierre can not play the farmers quite so easily as all that comes to.

The Torch of Liberty (Mound City, Kan.) teaches:

The political situation has come to this: It is boodle against your vote—every vote purchased kills two votes, and places labor that much nearer the poor-house.

The Northern Light (Tacoma, Wash.) has been consolidated with the Independent; no change of name. Does it intend this as a forecast:

Jacques Alexander, the fasting Frenchman, has completed his sixteenth day of abstaining from food. The bankrupt Russian government offers him \$5,000 (40,000 rubles) to divulge the secret of his power to sustain life without food. Mr. A. declines, saying that he would sell his secret to only the French or English governments. I wonder whether our governmental machinery is not going to try its hand at it, since it is already in possession of official investigations made by some of its consuls on the subject of how workingmen's families of five persons can manage to live on a twenty-four cent meal. What Russia needs for the support of her fighting soldiery—our plutocracy may need for the support of the industrial army.

The Western Farmer (Leoti, Kan.) says:

The Democrat party of Ellis county has indorsed J. J. Ingalls. The Democrat delegation in the seventh congressional district stood about thirty-nine in favor of Ingalls and forty-five in favor of Simpson. The Democrats in a number of other counties have indorsed the Republican nominees and are using all their powers to defeat the people's ticket. There is no difference between the Democrat party and the Republican party, and the sooner they go together, the better it will be for the people. This great scare of Democrat, or Republican, has kept the masses fighting each other while the leaders have been busy stealing our homes and robbing us of all we hold dear. We want our enemies all together so we can concentrate our forces upon them.

The Alliance Herald (Stafford, Kan.) moralizes:

"When bad men combine the good must associate, else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle." Edmund Burke must have looked forward to the present crisis when he penned those lines. When trusts, monopolies, and corporations combine, and stand by each other through every thing, is it not time honest men should associate and work together? Should farmers and laborers be less faithful and loyal to each other than rogues?

Labor's Tribune (Carthage, Mo.) thinks reform should not be divorced from common sense:

There are some good men known as preachers who need some common sense on the finance question. Some of these goody fellows tell the people that there is as much money in circulation now as there ever was. Such ignorance is criminal.

Our Country (Jonesboro, Ark.) says:

They tell you the land-loan bill and the sub-treasury bill are impracticable, yet this same American country had tried both schemes before the present wise-acres had an existence. It worked well for the people then. Read up a little, gentlemen. Look at the land-loan scheme of Pennsylvania colony, and the tobacco warehouse system of Virginia, and the warehouse scheme of 1848, which brought France out of an extremity of dire necessity and made her people prosperous and happy. Not practical eh? Well, we admit it don't suit the rag-tag and bob-tail politicians, but it suits the great mass of producers.

The Arcadia (La.) Herald, publishes the following resolution by Bienville Parish Farmers Union:

Whereas the Hon. Newton C. Blanchard has received the nomination to succeed himself as a candidate for member of Congress at the nominating convention at Alexandria; and whereas knowing that Mr. Blanchard is an honest, up-

right and energetic worker in Congress, judging from his past record, and that it is his intention to work in Congress to bring about a better financial state among the farmers, relieving them from the oppressed condition under which they are now laboring, and, furthermore, indorsing the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operating Union platform and sub-treasury plan: Therefore, be it resolved, that we indorse Mr. Blanchard's nomination at Alexandria, and promise to give our undivided support in securing his election as our next representative in Congress.

The Examiner (Hartford, Conn.) says:

It is announced the Farmers Alliance will hold the balance of power in Oklahoma's newly elected legislature, the upper house being in the hands of the Republicans, the latter having also a majority on joint ballot. And what will the Alliance do with that balance? is asked. Nothing. There can be no such thing now as a "balance of power" between the two old parties. They are merely two factions of the same party fighting for control of the spoils, and have to serve the power that has the most money and patronage to bestow, keeping within factional lines or indulging in individual breaking away to aid the other faction, as circumstances may decide which is best calculated to serve special ends. There was a time when a balance of power had some potency. That was when the two political organizations had some defined principles. But that time has gone with the advent of great corporations, trusts, and syndicates. And the members of legislatures generally being the representatives of these bodies, find it the easiest thing in the world to change sides as the interest of their masters demand. So a "balance of power" can have no effect where there is a wish to over-balance it by a shifting of votes in this way. The only thing of permanent value is a good sweeping majority. And the farmers, laborers, and all other honest reformers will constitute this majority when they realize the wisdom of all pulling together.

The Farmers Leader (Pipesville, Minn.) supports the Independent ticket. It says:

The committee rooms in the capitol have been in a state of siege by the representatives of the different manufacturing interests, and for once during the lifetime of the nation the indignant protests by the Alliances all over the land has had its effect; else the McKinley bill would now be a law, and it will soon be knocked completely out by the reciprocity idea. Wonder how the fellows feel who voted for the bill?

The Great West (St. Paul, Minn.) says:

Two weeks ago the Great West stated that we were approaching a crisis, and advised the farmer to "keep some money in his stocking!" One week after that issue the whole commercial world was shaken. The papers kept remarkably quiet. Call loans last week went up to 190 percent on the New York Exchange. Money is still tight, but the wonderful efforts of the Government officials, and the watchful care of the "Clearing House" over the New York banks averted a crash. Twenty-five years ago the crash could not have been avoided—not is the country safe yet. You better put a wad in your stocking for a few weeks any way.

The Western Advocate (Burr Oaks, Kan.) gives a pointer:

Wherever in this sixth district a republican paper has favored Baker for Congress, the money that is backing John J. Ingalls has been used to start a new paper loyal to his interests.

The Patrick Henry, strongly anti-monopoly and truly American, says:

With 22,000,000 acres of our land, and our largest flouring mills in her possession, what is there to hinder England from raising her own wheat and grinding her own flour in the very face and eyes of the farmer, then shipping it to England in English vessels, thus cutting off one of our best foreign markets for wheat? That's protection.

The Industrial Free Press (Winfield, Kan.) says:

Under the present system too large a percentage of the earnings of labor goes to the tool owner. Statistics show that the average income of unskilled labor was less than \$200 per annum, and that of unskilled only \$346 per annum in 1884, and heaven knows it is less now. Think of living and paying house rent for even two persons, let alone any more, on \$200 per year, or even \$346. Our authority for these statistics is as good as there is in the country; the Rev.

Dr. Lyman. Now, let some addle-pated ignoramus have the Hymalian impudence and abyssmal gall to say, oh we are all right, never was more prosperous, don't need any new laws. Verily there is a tap loose somewhere, and we, the people, have located the tap.

The Frankfort (Kan.) Sentinel is cynical:

Any people that will advocate peace, kindness, charity, mercy, and brotherly love one day in seven and practice the opposite the other six days, could not enjoy a good government if they had it, for they are but one-seventh civilized.

The Clark County Clipper (Ashland, Kan.) creates the inference that a system of reeconomically conducted public warehouses would not be a bad thing:

Farmers in Kansas should not forget last season and this one. The immense corn crop of last year was not cared for as it should have been. It was fed and wasted in every possible manner. Two bushels were fed where only one was needed, simply because there was an abundance and a low market. In some portions of the State corn was burned for fuel to save the trouble of procuring coal. All that could be put on the market at any price was hurried away. The railroads were importuned to give a special corn rate in order to hasten the disposal of the crop. Now in less than a year we find a corn famine. Millions of bushels were sold at 12½ cents, in some cases a little more and in some a little less, while now the same grades bring four times as much. And the end is not yet. The farmers who sold at from ten to fifteen cents last winter will next spring pay a dollar or more for every bushel they plant. It will not do to waste a good crop. Our population has increased to sixty-four million people, and it is next to impossible to produce a surplus that will not disappear inside of a year. Let us then bear these facts in mind and care for the next bountiful crop Providence gives us.

News Reporter (Three Rivers, Mich.) says:

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We recognize the people as free political as well as free moral agents. We regard them as having the mental and intellectual qualifications of citizenship, and we desire to teach them the manly independence guaranteed to them by the Constitution of our country. Hence if their constantly increasing intelligence leads them to believe that they can best serve their own, their family's and their country's interests by sticking to party, we say stick to party until you accomplish the good sought, or become convinced that it can not be secured in that way. And, on the contrary, if you have already become convinced that reform can not be secured through the party machines controlled by the party bosses, and feel sure that something may be done independent of these, then we say strike out independently. We do not urge the formation of third, fourth or any other kind of parties. That is not necessary. A revolt from bossism and ring rule does not require the formation of a party; it simply requires concert of action on the part of the people, temporarily acting together for a specific purpose. That purpose accomplished or not, as fate may will it, each is perfectly free to take his own course in the future. That is all there is of it, and we wish each voter to be thus free and independent. For a farm organization to set itself up as a scarecrow to frighten farmers back into party ranks and under boss rule is a course of doubtful progression, but it is one that is eminently popular with the bosses.

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## THE REFORM PRESS.

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

The inconsistency of the Democratic convention of Nebraska favoring free silver coinage and indorsing Cleveland is seen by the Alliance Motor (Broken Bow, Neb.):

One thing is certain, the people had inaugurated a movement which had the Democrats endorsed it and manifested greater solicitation for the welfare of the State than party success, Attorney-General Leese would not be able in the future to say with truth, "ever since the organization of Nebraska as a State the railroads have managed to control her political organizations." Democrats in the west profess to believe in the principles of the Alliance in toto. How they can consistently endorse Cleveland's administration, which was in policy identically the same as his predecessor's, is a mystery unsolved and incapable of solution or explanation. Democrats will remember that before Cleveland took the presidential chair he made a furious attack upon the free coinage of silver.

The Alliance Tribune (Topeka Kan.) says:

Editor Hudson crowds out of the Capital three columns of interesting plate matter to give place to an alleged interview with an unknown person from an unknown State, reported by a person who was ashamed to give his name to the public and thus be branded as the leading idiotic liar of the State, because the article from beginning to end shows conclusively to any one of average intelligence that by no possibility could it be true; and secondly, it shows the writer to be possessed of a very small brain or he would not have written so thin a series of falsehoods. We are surprised that the Capital should publish such a piece of claptrap, because the editor knows that the Alliance was organized thirteen years ago as a local protective association against horse thieves in one of the border counties of Texas, instead of about two years ago to down the North, as this nonentity tries to make out.

The Free Lance (Oakland, Ill.) says:

If the average American voter could be made to think more of what is really involved in his ballot he would not be such a slave to party. His mind would naturally turn more to the highest interest of his home and the well-being of posterity rather than success.

Midland Mechanic (Kansas City, Mo.); true in every respect:

Fifty years ago we had no bonded debt to gnaw like rats at the cribs of industry. We had no millionaires, nor tramps, nor financial machinery, by which the rich grow richer and the poor poorer. After our vast public debt had accumulated, while we were in possession of the medium of exchange which carried our flag to victory we paid off public indebtedness at the rate of from \$250,000,000 to \$300,000,000 annually. But as soon as the currency was taken from the channels of industry production faltered, labor ceased to find employment, our public revenues dried up, and the debt burden became petrified from inability of production to liquidate it. Then, to make the burden still more burdensome, property values were so reduced and tax money became so appreciated that it would require twice or thrice the amount of labor and commodities to pay our annual interest that it took when money was plenty and prices high. It is harder for 65,000,000 people to pay \$100,000,000 a year for the bonded debt now than it was for 40,000,000 to pay \$300,000,000 twenty-five years ago.

The Dakota Ruralist (Huron) is not disposed to believe that an official will work "just for fun":

The commissioner of labor and statistics by the grace of Gov. Mellette, Frank Wilder, of Aberdeen, is sending out blanks to the secretaries of the Farmers Alliance calling upon them to report to him the number of farmers who are members, and attaching the pretended authority of the law to compel this return to be made to him. To the many who want to know about this we will say that you don't have to. If you want to answer do so, but if that office wants these returns for statistics a much better way would be to request the information from the State secretary. There are two plausible explanations of this action. First, the Republicans are very anxious to know the strength of their oppo-

nents, and they will not hesitate to use all the machinery of the State at public expense to accomplish this purpose. Second, Frank is running an organ in the pay of the Pierre capital committee, and they have set the office of commissioner of labor and statistics at work to gather up this valuable information for their benefit. This latter explanation is the more reasonable from the fact that those who raise the cry of stop thief! are the ones who clean up the crowd. Immaculate Pierre can not play the farmers quite so easily as all that comes to.

The Torch of Liberty (Mound City, Kan.) teaches:

The political situation has come to this: It is boodle against your vote—every vote purchased kills two votes, and places labor that much nearer the poor-house.

The Northern Light (Tacoma, Wash.) has been consolidated with the Independent; no change of name. Does it intend this as a forecast:

Jacques Alexander, the fasting Frenchman, has completed his sixteenth day of abstaining from food. The bankrupt Russian government offers him £5,000 (40,000 rubles) to divulge the secret of his power to sustain life without food. Mr. A. declines, saying that he would sell his secret to only the French or English governments. I wonder whether our governmental machinery is not going to try its hand at it, since it is already in possession of official investigations made by some of its consuls on the subject of how workingmen's families of five persons can manage to live on a twenty-four cent meal. What Russia needs for the support of her fighting soldiery—our plutocracy may need for the support of the industrial army.

The Western Farmer (Leoti, Kan.) says:

The Democrat party of Ellis county has indorsed J. J. Ingalls. The Democrat delegation in the seventh congressional district stood about thirty-nine in favor of Ingalls and forty-five in favor of Simpson. The Democrats in a number of other counties have indorsed the Republican nominees and are using all their powers to defeat the people's ticket. There is no difference between the Democrat party and the Republican party, and the sooner they go together, the better it will be for the people. This great scare of Democrat, or Republican, has kept the masses fighting each other while the leaders have been busy stealing our homes and robbing us of all we hold dear. We want our enemies all together so we can concentrate our forces upon the bill?

The Alliance Herald (Stafford, Kan.) moralizes:

"When bad men combine the good must associate, else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle." Edmund Burke must have looked forward to the present crisis when he penned those lines. When trusts, monopolies, and corporations combine, and stand by each other through everything, is it not time honest men should associate and work together? Should farmers and laborers be less faithful and loyal to each other than rogues?

Labor's Tribune (Carthage, Mo.) thinks reform should not be divorced from common sense:

There are some good men known as preachers who need some common sense on the finance question. Some of these good fellows tell the people that there is as much money in circulation now as there ever was. Such ignorance is criminal.

Our Country (Jonesboro, Ark.) says:

They tell you the land-loan bill and the sub-treasury bill are impracticable, yet this same American country had tried both schemes before the present wise-acres had an existence. It worked well for the people then. Read up a little, gentlemen. Look at the land-loan scheme of Pennsylvania colony, and the tobacco warehouse system of Virginia, and the warehouse scheme of 1848, which brought France out of an extremity of dire necessity and made her people prosperous and happy. Not practical eh? Well, we admit it don't suit the rag-tag and bob-tail politicians, but it suits the great mass of producers.

The Arcadia (La.) Herald, publishes the following resolution by Bienville Parish Farmers Union:

Whereas the Hon. Newton C. Blanchard has received the nomination to succeed himself as a candidate for member of Congress at the nominating convention at Alexandria; and whereas knowing that Mr. Blanchard is an honest, up-

right and energetic worker in Congress, judging from his past record, and that it is his intention to work in Congress to bring about a better financial state among the farmers relieving them from the oppressed condition under which they are now laboring, and, furthermore, indorsing the National Farmers Alliance and Co-operating Union platform and sub-treasury plan: Therefore, be it resolved, that we indorse Mr. Blanchard's nomination at Alexandria, and promise to give our undivided support in securing his election as our next representative in Congress.

The Examiner (Hartford, Conn.) says:

It is announced the Farmers Alliance will hold the balance of power in Oklahoma's newly elected legislature, the upper house being in the hands of the Republicans, the latter having also a majority on joint ballot. And what will the Alliance do with that balance? is asked. Nothing. There can be no such thing now as a "balance of power" between the two old parties. They are merely two factions of the same party fighting for control of the spoils, and have to serve the power that has the most money and patronage to bestow, keeping within factional lines or indulging in individual breaking away to aid the other faction, as circumstances may decide which is best calculated to serve special ends. There was a time when a balance of power had some potency. That was when the two political organizations had some defined principles. But that time has gone with the advent of great corporations, trusts, and syndicates. And the members of legislatures generally being the representatives of these bodies, find it the easiest thing in the world to change sides as the interest of their masters demand. So a "balance of power" can have no effect where there is a wish to over-balance it by a shifting of votes in this way. The only thing of permanent value is a good sweeping majority. And the farmers, laborers, and all other honest reformers will constitute this majority when they realize the wisdom of all pulling together.

The Farmers Leader (Pipetown, Minn.) supports the Independent ticket. It says:

The committee rooms in the capitol have been in a state of siege by the representatives of the different manufacturing interests, and for once during the lifetime of the nation the indignant protests by the Alliances all over the land has had its effect, else the McKinley bill would now be a law, and it will soon be knocked completely out by the reciprocity idea. Wonder how the fellows feel who voted for the bill?

The Great West (St. Paul, Minn.) says:

Two weeks ago the Great West stated that we were approaching a crisis, and advised the farmer to "keep some money in his stocking!" One week after that issue the whole commercial world was shaken. The papers kept remarkably quiet. Call loans last week went up to 190 per cent on the New York Exchange. Money is still tight, but the wonderful efforts of the Government officials, and the watchful care of the "Clearing House" over the New York banks averted a crash. Twenty-five years ago the crash could not have been avoided—nor is the country safe yet. You better put a wad in your stocking for a few weeks anyway.

The Western Advocate (Burr Oaks, Kan.) gives a pointer:

Wherever in this sixth district a republican paper has favored Baker for Congress, the money that is backing John J. Ingalls has been used to start a new paper loyal to his interests.

The Patrick Henry, strongly anti-monopoly and truly American, says:

With 22,000,000 acres of our land, and our largest flouring mills in her possession, what is there to hinder England from raising her own wheat and grinding her own flour in the very face and eyes of the farmer, then shipping it to England in English vessels, thus cutting off one of our best foreign markets for wheat? That's protection.

The Industrial Free Press (Winfield, Kan.) says:

Under the present system too large a percentage of the earnings of labor goes to the tool owner. Statistics show that the average income of unskilled labor was less than \$200 per annum, and that of unskilled only \$346 per annum in 1884, and heaven knows it is less now. Think of living and paying house rent for even two persons, let alone any more, on \$200 per year, or even \$346. Our authority for these statistics is as good as there is in the country; the Rev.

Dr. Lyman. Now, let some addle-pated ignoramus have the Hymalayan impudence and abyssmal gall to say, oh we are all right, never was more prosperous, don't need any new laws. Verily there is a tap loose somewhere, and we, the people, have located the tap.

The Frankfort (Kan.) Sentinel is cynical:

Any people that will advocate peace, kindness, charity, mercy, and brotherly love one day in seven and practice the opposite the other six days, could not enjoy a good government if they had it, for they are but one-seventh civilized:

The Clark County Clipper (Ashland, Kan.) creates the inference that a system of economically conducted public warehouses would not be a bad thing.

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## VIRGINIA STATE ALLIANCE

## Its Officers and Their Post-Offices

President—Mann Page, Brandon.  
 Vice President—J. Brad, Beverley, The Plains.  
 Secretary—J. J. Silvey, Ammissville.  
 Treasurer—G. T. Barbee, Bridgewater.  
 Lecturer—Robert Sutney, Wytheville.  
 Assistant Lecturer—J. R. Garland.  
 Chaplain—Rev. Aldridge Grimsley.  
 Doorkeeper—B. Frank Beaman, Kimball.  
 Assistant Doorkeeper—T. T. Goldthorn.  
 Sergeant-at-Arms—Wilton Pence, Forestville.  
 Executive Committee—Chairman, Geo. Chrisman; Chrisman; J. M. Ruffin, Old Church; J. H. C. Beverley, Loretto; H. M. Magruder, Charlotteville; W. J. Compton, Ceres.  
 Will meet in Richmond third Tuesday in August, 1891.

## COUNTY ALLIANCE DIRECTORY.

1. Rockingham, C. R. Harman, Mt. Clinton.
2. Page, Wm. Rosser, Luray.
3. Rappahannock, T. R. Kemper, Ammissville.
4. Wythe, S. D. Steffey, Rural Retreat.
5. Halifax, J. D. Hankins, Basses.
6. Princess Anne, W. L. Whitehurst, C. H.
7. Nansemond, W. A. King, Suffolk.
8. Southampton, Robert M. Edwards, Bowers.
9. Mecklenburg, T. V. Allen, Skipwith.
10. Pittsylvania, P. C. Keecey, Keching.
11. Norfolk, I. M. West, Cornland.
12. Brunswick, J. A. Browder, Smoky Ordinary.
13. Isle of Wight, J. A. Johnson, Windsor.
14. Sussex, G. W. Jackson, Yale.
15. Surry, R. T. Marable, C. H.
16. Shenandoah, J. W. Hallen, Lautz Mill.
17. Frederick, Samuel Baker, Opequon.
18. Smyth, A. D. Freeman, Rural Retreat.
19. Prince George, C. H. Marks, Garyville.
20. Dinwiddie, J. C. Smith, 26 Pine street, Petersburgh.
21. Charlotte, W. S. Morton, Hillsdale.
22. Rockbridge, M. Lindsay, Engleman.
23. Montgomery, W. S. Smith, Riner.
24. Blount, R. C. Copass, Ceres.
25. Washington, W. W. Rickets, Abingdon.
26. Chesterfield, M. A. Cogbill, C. H.
27. Hanover, Rev. S. S. Hebron, Old Church.
28. Culpeper, S. W. Thompson, C. H.
29. Powhatan, I. S. Winfree, Sublett.
30. Faquier, W. W. Teats, Bealton.
31. Appomattox, T. J. Spratt, Spanish Oaks.
32. Albemarle, H. M. Magruder, Eastham.
33. Elizabeth City, R. H. Watson, Hampton.
34. Amherst, C. J. Campbell, Amherst.
35. Tazewell, D. A. Daugherty, Shawver's Mill.
36. Greensville, J. H. Cat, Emporia.
37. Loudon, N. T. Brown, Lincoln.
38. Louisa, H. J. Harris, Apple Grove.
39. Henry, W. J. Wells, Preston.
40. Henrico, C. W. Chidley, Solomon's.
41. Nelson, R. H. Randolph, Colleen.
42. Goochland, C. H. Powell, C. H.
43. New Kent, J. N. Harris, C. H.
44. Prince William, Wm. M. Wheeler, Wellington.
45. Caroline, J. J. Williams, Milford.
46. Prince Edward, J. J. Adams, Farmville.
47. Amelia, George K. Taylor, C. H.
48. Fluvanna, C. S. Thomas, Columbine.
49. Campbell, R. E. Reid, Rustburg.
50. Lunenburg, T. C. Matthews, Lochlevon.
51. Orange, R. O. Halsey, Unionville.
52. King and Queen, L. R. Bagby, Stephensville.
53. Essex, B. B. Brockenborough, Tappahau-
54. Nottoway, Geo. Dunn, C. H.
55. Buckingham, W. W. Haskins, C. H.
56. Augusta, J. H. Connell, Staunton.
57. York, W. H. Evans, Messick.
58. Greene, W. N. Parrott, McMullin's.
59. Grayson, R. J. Cumming, Stevens Creek.
60. Pulaski, J. B. Buckingham, Snowville.
61. Bedford, Stephen Allen, Oiney, Coleman's Falls.
62. Franklin, George C. Gravely, Snow Creek.
63. Madison, T. L. Carpenter, Haywood.
64. Clarke, M. L. P. Reed, Boyce.
65. Charles City, S. D. Mullord, Wilcox's Wharf.
66. James City, F. W. Hammond, Toano.
67. Craig, J. W. Caldwell, Newcastle.
68. Floyd, J. J. Vest, Terry's Fork.
69. Giles, M. F. Farier, Newport.
70. Stafford, C. A. Bryan, Courthouse.
71. Spotsylvania, J. H. Biscoe, Granite Spring.
72. King George, Dr. J. Sydnor Massey, C. H.
73. Scott, W. L. Hiltons, Hiltons.
74. Accomack, B. F. Gunter, Jr., C. H.
75. Northampton, W. B. Wilson, Bay View.
76. Wise, G. W. Bond, Guest's Station.
77. Westmoreland, W. C. Marmaduke, Mont-
78. ross.
79. Russell, I. M. Bays, Elk Garden.
80. Botetourt, J. H. Rocaburn, Fincastle.

## OFFICIAL.

## NOTICE TO SECRETARIES.

Always give the name and number of your ally, your post-office, and your county when writing to the President, Secretary, Business Agent or chairman of executive committee. It will save time and trouble in looking up your name.

We are now prepared to furnish rituals at 50 cents per dozen; the revised constitution at 50 cents per dozen; sub constitutions in sheet form at \$1.50 per hundred; trade cards at 50 cents per hundred. All orders will be promptly filled if the money accompanies the order. You can remit either by postoffice money order, postal note, registered letter, or bank draft. Money sent any other way is at your risk. We don't want any more stamps.

J. J. SILVEY,  
State Secretary.

## NOTICE TO ORGANIZERS.

Organizers working in counties where County Alliances have been organized will please report to the County Alliances all they organize, with the postoffice address of the secretaries. All reports must be mailed to this office within three days after organization has been perfected. After having received a commission, if you find that it will be impossible to work the territory assigned you, you will please return your commission to me.

J. J. SILVEY,  
State Secretary.

## NOTICE.

County Secretaries should send a duplicate of their reports to Geo. Chrisman, Chairman of the State Executive Committee, Chrisman, Rockingham County. Secretaries of sub-Alliances must notify me promptly of all rejections, expulsions and deaths; also whenever change is made in the office of Secretary. We are constantly sending out important matter to the Alliance, and it is very necessary that we communicate directly with the Secretaries.

J. J. SILVEY,  
State Secretary.

## NOTICE TO ORGANIZERS.

I am requested by Major Mann Page, President State Alliance, to notify all organizers who held a commission under Col. Barbee, to apply to me and have their commission renewed, if they wish to continue in the work of organizing. I will not recognize any reports from Organizers after their commissions have expired. County Secretaries will please give me at once the name and postoffice of their Lecturer so that I may send him a commission as Organizer for the county.

J. J. SILVEY,  
Secretary Va. State Alliance.

81. Alleghany, W. H. Cather, Covington.
82. Dickenson, D. B. R. Sutherland, Stratten.
83. Warren, N. S. Waller, Front Royal.
84. Gloucester, M. C. Richardson, Hay's Store.
85. Warwick, W. Y. Jones, Warwick C. H.
86. Highland, W. H. Matheny, Monterey.
87. Bath, T. S. McClintic, Shanklin.

## COUNTY BUSINESS AGENTS' DIRECTORY.

88. Albemarle, W. Gordon Merrick, Glendower.
89. Amherst, G. B. Higginsbotham, Sandiges.
90. Appomattox, Homer C. Babcock, Mineral.
91. Bland, Elias Repass, Ceres.
92. Brunswick, J. R. Mason, Jr., Valentines.
93. Charlotte, James D. Sheppard, Smithville.
94. Chesterfield, Thomas Davis, Robins.
95. Campbell, C. C. Goggins, Leesville.
96. Culpeper, C. T. Fowler, Brandy Station.
97. Dinwiddie, J. N. Beck, Sutherland's.
98. Fauquier, J. S. Mason, Marshall.
99. Frederick, J. I. Larrick, Middletown.
100. Floyd, P. Shelton, Basham's.
101. Greenville, John H. Cato, Emporia.
102. Grayson, James P. Carico, Stephens Creek.
103. Hanover, J. M. Ruffin, Old Church.
104. Isle of Wight, John F. Ramsey, McClellan.
105. King and Queen, W. H. Walker, Walkerton.
106. Lunenburg, T. Y. Allen, Skipwith.
107. Montgomery, J. W. Rumburg, Big Tuunel.
108. Madison, James W. Banks, Woltown.
109. Nansemond, Bruce Smith, Somerton.
110. Norfolk, W. A. West, Cornland.
111. Page, C. W. Broyles, Luray.
112. Pittsylvania, J. T. McLain, Statesville.
113. Prince George, G. W. Williams, Newville.
114. Princess Anne, John L. Babcock, Norfolk.
115. Rappahannock, W. G. Rudasill, Woodville.
116. Rockbridge, E. L. Kirkpatrick, Alone.
117. Rockingham, Maj. Geo. Chrisman, Chrisman.
118. Shenandoah, J. W. Hollard, Lantz Mills.
119. Smyth, C. T. Snavely, Marion.
120. Southampton, J. J. Thrner, Sebrell's.
121. Surry, J. L. Hargrave, Surry C. H.
122. Sussex, John D. Owen, Wakefield.
123. Warwick, Geo. H. Sykes, Warwick C. H.
124. Washington, W. J. Kendrick, Moab.
125. Wythe, Wm. M. Coley, Rural Retreat.
126. York, J. J. Nottingham, Grafton.

## SEALS.

The State Secretary has made arrangements to supply the Alliances with seals delivered free for \$2. All orders should be sent to J. J. Silvey, Ammissville, Va.

STATE LECTURER Robert Snavely writes: "I am pleased to inform you that THE ECONOMIST holds a high position in the estimation of many Virginians who are not members of our Order, while among Alliance men it stands paramount. My recent journey to Eastern Virginia was most delightful. I was greeted by audiences numbering from 1,000 to 3,000 people, who gave me the kindest attention. God bless the big hearted of Old Virginia."

THE Coldwater (Mich.) Sun says:

From every source of information within our reach we gather that the general result of the work of the Farmers Alliance for the year has been satisfactory. The State Alliance meetings are nearly all adjourned, and encouraging reports come from all over the field. The people have never been so awakened on the subject of reform as now, and they are taking hold of the matter regardless of old party ties.

FORT SCOTT (Kan.) Industrial Union tells what is exactly true:

The best writers on political economy and finance of the world agree that the productive capacity of the earth will not pay over 3½ per cent on capital, or to make it more plain, the average annual increase of the wealth of the world is not over 3½ per cent. The average rate of interest in the United States for the last thirty years has been more than three times that amount, which explains the cause for the mortgage on the farms and homes of the people. Take the power away from Skylock to rob the people through usury by placing the money control absolutely in the hands of the people, the Government, and place upon it the same regulations as that of postage stamps, then the people will commence paying off their mortgages and beautifying their homes.

J. J. SILVEY,  
Secretary Va. State Alliance.

NOTICE.  
 Resolved, "That the County Alliances be called upon to pay five cents additional per capita out of the County Alliance treasury to defray the expenses of the National Alliance; and that the additional tax be engraven in the State constitution; and that when there is no County Alliance the five cents be paid by the State Secretary out of the money remitted to him by the Subordinate Alliances." The attention of the County Secretaries is called to the above resolution which was adopted at the last annual meeting of the State Alliance. So each County Secretary is expected to remit to me, with his next quarterly report, ten cents dues for each male member reported to him in good standing; five cents of which goes to the National Alliance.

J. J. SILVEY,  
Secretary Va. State Alliance.

We will ask the brethren to be patient with us for a reply to their letters. We have not yet finished answering the bulk of letters that accumulated while we were in attendance at the State meeting. The proceeding and constitution will soon be placed into the hands of the printer, and just so soon as they reach this office, we will mail a copy of each to each Secretary and delegate. We have sent an order to THE ECONOMIST Publishing Company for 5,000 copies of the new rituals, and will mail four copies to each suband County Alliance immediately on receipt of same. Delegates should not fail to exemplify the secret words to their county President, Secretary, and Lecturer, as given them at Lynchburg, so that all irregularities may be corrected and the work made uniform throughout the State.

J. J. SILVEY,  
Secretary Va. State Alliance.

## SEALS.

The State Secretary has made arrangements to supply the Alliances with seals delivered free for \$2. All orders should be sent to J. J. Silvey, Ammissville, Va.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST.

## SUPPLEMENTAL PAGES

## The Cotton Bagging Convention.

The convention of the National Alliance which was called by President L. L. Polk, met at Atlanta, Ga., March 19, at the Alliance exchange. President Polk called the meeting to order, and without delay the delegates commenced their labors. Several matters of great importance were discussed. It was, however, decided to appoint a press committee, who should give out only such information as was considered proper. The convention held three sessions during the day, only adjourning long enough to take their meals. It was nearly eleven o'clock at night when they concluded business for the day.

Whereas, at New Orleans, in September, 1889, a conference was had between prominent representatives of the cotton growers of the South, and members of the cotton exchanges in the United States, an agreement was entered into which was to take effect on the first day of October thereafter, fixing the tare on cotton covered bales at sixteen pounds, and on jute covered bales at twenty-four pounds, which was satisfactory to alliancemen. And, whereas, by the opposition of several important cotton exchanges, this agreement was rendered a nullity. And, whereas, we invited the cotton exchanges of this country to a conference on this same subject at St. Louis on December 5th, 1889, which they refused to notice by letter or otherwise. And, whereas, our president, Colonel L. L. Polk, recently urged upon these parties to express their wishes or plan for an adjustment of this question, at a meeting to be held in Atlanta, Ga., March 19, 1890, and only one reply was received with encouragement and that from Mr. James Tobin, of Augusta. And, whereas, after a careful consideration of the whole subject in all its phases, we, the presidents and accredited representatives of the State Alliances of the cotton section, in conference assembled in Atlanta, Ga., March 19, 1890, do unanimously reaffirm the equity and justice of our demands on this subject; and we do, therefore,

Resolved, That we urge the alliancemen of the cotton States to stand by the action of the St. Louis Supreme Council on the use of cotton bagging or any other fiber than jute, and that each allianceman be, and is hereby instructed to deposit said cotton-covered bales in warehouses, to be provided, and, with liberal advances, as can be had thereon, and to allow said cotton-covered bales there to remain until the demands made shall be complied with.

Resolved also, That your national and State officials do hereby pledge their utmost ability and unceasing efforts in behalf of the people to obtain full and fair facilities for marketing their cotton.

L. L. POLK, President.  
 W. S. MORGAN, Arkansas. S. M. ADAMS, Alabama.  
 W. I. VASON, Florida. L. F. LIVINGSTON, Ga.  
 T. S. ADAMS, Louisiana. J. B. DINES, Missouri.  
 S. B. ALEXANDER, N.C. E. T. STACKHOUSE, S. C.  
 S. D. A. DUNCAN, Texas. R. W. COLEMAN, Miss.  
 J. P. BUCHANAN, Tenn.issippi.

Resolved, That the representatives of the cotton States, here assembled, do assert that the compound lard bill now pending in Congress is unwise, special, and class legislation, and will increase the burdens

of one class of producers and only benefit a monopoly that by no means manufactures a pure article of hog's lard, and members of Congress are hereby most respectfully and earnestly requested to oppose the passage of said measure.

It was also resolved that the above resolution pertaining to national legislation on the compound lard bill shall be printed in THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST, and be placed on the desk of each Senator and Representative.

Resolved, That the State presidents of each Alliance or Union be requested to assist in every possible way J. F. Tillman, the national crop statistician, in securing accurate crop reports.

Resolved, That our president, L. L. Polk, be instructed to assure the brethren in the cotton States that the outlook for the manufacture and supply of cotton bagging is much better than for the past year, and will probably be equal to the demand.

The above resolutions were unanimously adopted.

BRADSTREET says: "For the purposes of the new railway tariffs Hungary has been divided into fourteen zones, by which the fares are regulated, the effect of which has been a great reduction in the amount paid for traveling and a consequent increase of traffic, which up to the present has yielded a considerably enhanced total revenue, in the net, as well as the gross, the larger amount of work having been conducted without any material addition to the cost. The London Railway Times adds: 'The effect of the change has been to reduce most of the fares by from 20 to 50 per cent, and in some cases by as much as 75 per cent. The zone system came in operation on August 1 last, and a month had scarcely elapsed before it became apparent that a decided step in the right direction had been taken. In that period the volume of passenger traffic increased by nearly 100 per cent, but as the comparison which showed that result was with the previous month, some allowance had to be made for the fact that August was the height of the traveling season, and that there was consequently a great deal of pleasure traffic from other countries flowing over the Hungarian lines. Still, if we carry the comparison back to the corresponding month of the previous year, when similar influences were at work, we find that the number of passengers increased nearly threefold, while from August to December, inclusive, more passengers were carried than in the whole of the year 1888 or in 1887. The returns for 1887 were 5,538,000 passengers, for 1888 5,381,000, and for 1889 9,079,000, of which total 5,548,000 were carried between August and December, and this in face of the fact that a bad harvest and the prevalence of epidemics had combined to restrict the growth. Notwithstanding the enormous reduction in fares, the receipts for 1889 exceeded those for the previous twelve months by 904,200 florins. From the results thus far accomplished M. Gabriel Baross, the minister of communications, to whom the credit of the movement has to be given, believes that he is justified in estimating his receipts for 1890 at 2,000,000 florins higher than those of 1888; and, as to the question of extra expense, he says that the results up to the present time have been accomplished without the necessity, on the part of the state railways, to buy a single additional coach, or add a single man to their staff of servants.'